Katerina Karakasi

ARCHAIC KORAI

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On the front cover: Akropolis Museum 670, detail (*see* Plate 153). Photo: Kostas Kontos, Athens
On the back cover: Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 2530, detail (*see* Plate 233). Photo: Kostas Kontos, Athens

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Πρόσωπο ζωντανεμένο ἀπὸ μιὰν ἀπίστευτα πλούσια
καὶ τρυφερὴ διακύμανση τῆς σάρκας,
σχεδὸν ζωντανῆς στὸ ἄγγισμα τοῦ
βλέμματος, στὸ χάδι τοῦ χεριοῦ.
Μάτια μισόκλειστα σ᾽ ἔκφραση βαθιὰ
εὐδαιμονικῆς γυναικείας φιλαρέσκειας.

The face is animated by incredibly rich delicate modeling,
especially lifelike around the eyes, which are half-closed
so as to express a profoundly feminine desire to please.

M. Brouskari, Μουσεῖον Ἀκροπόλεως.
Περιγραφικός Κατάλογος (1974)

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το βιβλίο το αφιερώνω στους γονείς μου Φιλαρέτη και Δημήτριο και στον αδελφό μου Παντελή

I dedicate this book to my parents, Philareti and Demetrios, and to my brother Pantelis

Introduction

The archaic korai have been the subject of any number of archaeological studies, many of them highly detailed. This is especially true of the korai discovered on the Akropolis in Athens. After the spectacular find of fourteen korai near the Erechtheion, which were unearthed on January 24, 1886, in the presence of Greece's King George I, English archaeologists, especially, focused their attention on these statues, determined to fit them into the context of known archaic monuments. Chief among these scholars were Hans Schrader (1909), Guy Dickins (1912), and Humfry Payne and Gerard Mackworth Young (1936). Ernst Langlotz finally produced a catalogue of all the Akropolis korai (1939) that is unexcelled to this day, with detailed descriptions that have never been equaled. In his long introduction, moreover, he tried to explain the function of korai in general, of which a great number had by then come to light. The next major survey was presented by Gisela M. A. Richter (1968), whose catalogue of virtually all the known korai included an especially rich complement of plates. Thanks to them, scholars were able to see images of many works for the first time. Richter's work was followed by several collections of archaic sculpture from specific sites. Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg's work on the sculpture of Samos (1974) is particularly noteworthy. In much the same way as Langlotz before, she based her interpretation of the korai and kouroi of Samos on detailed descriptions intended to assign even the tiniest fragment its appropriate place in the history of archaic sculpture. Klaus Tuchelt (1970) and Volkmar von Graeve (1983, 1985, 1986) produced comprehensive studies on the korai of Didyma and Miletus.

In addition to providing an inventory, all these scholarly contributions, of which I have mentioned only a selection, attempted to arrange the korai chronologically and define their styles so as to be able to ascribe them to the various art centers if not to specific known sculptors. These same goals have also been pursued in countless articles, as well as in handbooks on archaic sculpture such as those of John Boardman (1981) and Wolfram Martini (1990), and also in the relevant volume of the *Handbuch der Archäologie* series on Greek sculpture by Josef Floren and Werner Fuchs (1987). Nearly all the korai from the larger sites have now been adequately published, as have the majority of isolated finds, the latter being the focus of numerous more recent articles.

In reviewing the scholarly literature, there still seemed to be something missing. Many writers have commented that a stylistic and chronological arrangement of the sculptures, difficult enough in itself, does not provide satisfactory explanations for all the issues the korai raise. Yet by and large writers have avoided addressing basic questions having to do with the meaning and function of these figures, with the dedicants who commissioned them, and with the historical and cultural contexts in which they were produced.

One notable exception was the widely discussed monograph by Lambert Schneider (1975), in which he undertook to investigate the korai's "social function," for the first time incorporating in his study extensive passages from the literary sources, primarily from the sixth century. In his novel interpretation of the statues, Schneider denies that they were "images of actual young women," proposing instead that they served as "idealized images" meant to stimulate in those who saw them a desire "to bear themselves in the manner represented by the figures." His view is now largely accepted, even though there has been little effort to check his arguments.

Another, more recent approach to an interpretation of the korai and kouroi was offered by Hans von Steuben (1980). In his monograph on a kouros head in Frankfurt am Main he tried to reconstruct the specific historical and cultural climates in which kouroi were commissioned, so as to be able to begin to understand the motivations of their donors. In so doing he arrived at new conclusions regarding the kouroi's distribution and significance, including the reasons why they were produced in different sizes in different periods and places, and what they meant to the people who commissioned such monuments, whether tyrants or prominent members of a particular society.

The present study does not concentrate on questions of chronology and style, which are still by no means completely resolved. On these issues I have adopted the reasoned judgments of previous researchers unless for some reason they seemed unjustified. The dates, for example, rely mainly on the suggestions of Langlotz, Richter, and Freyer-Schauenburg. Where they diverge I have tended to posit a compromise date, unless on the basis of my own research I was able to determine a new chronological placement.

My chief source in this investigation, my point of departure, was what the korai themselves tell us. I first noted their external features, their condition, their sizes (a matter of reconstruction in the case of surviving torsos and other fragments), and finally their appointments: clothing, jewelry, and—if present—attributes and meniskoi.

All this information is laid out in tables, along with notations relating to kinds of marble, sculptors and workshops, and discovery sites. The text treats the works in roughly chronological order, beginning with the korai from Samos, which are among the earliest. From these I proceed to the Ionic mainland, then to the Cyclades and nearby islands. Finally, I deal with the korai from Athens and Attica.

All known korai are included, with the exception of those few examples from Magna Graecia and Cyprus that add essentially nothing to the overall picture.

A synoptic table incorporating all manner of specific details is also provided. Particular pains have been taken to determine wherever possible the precise spot where each kore originally stood. Only with this information, in combination with the building history of a given site and the related literary and epigraphic testimony, is it possible to draw worthwhile conclusions about a statue's role in cult practice at a given sanctuary.

Finally, the crucial issues regarding the korai's identity and function and the motives and social position of the people who commissioned them are discussed.

Archaic Korai also provides detailed photographic documentation of the statues. Through new photographic material (especially of korai that were not yet known when Gisela M. A. Richter published her fundamental study), this book tries to complement the pictures of the archaic maiden statues.

Samos

Dating

The chronological sequence of the Samian korai presented here (table 1.1) is largely based on the dating suggested by B. Freyer-Schauenburg.[1]

Of the 172 Samian sculptures she discusses, only a very few provide clues to their place in the chronological sequence.[2] These are the small head no. 17 (plate 17),[3] which had been used as building material in the foundation of the great altar and accordingly cannot have been created later than 540, and the female head no. 86,[4] which, however, is part of a votive relief and for that reason is not included in the table; it was found in a Polykratic foundation trench for the South *Stoa* and therefore dates from before Polykrates, to the decade 540/30. In addition, the korai of the Geneleos Group (plates 24–29) can be assigned to the period between 560 and 550, as their base was created as part of Rhoikos's redesign of the sanctuary.[5]

Freyer-Schauenburg's chronology of the Samian korai is therefore based almost entirely on considerations of style. Her overall scheme is generally accepted in the field, though some scholars have suggested different dates for specific works.[6] Deviations within the chronology of the Samian korai are on the whole only slight, differing by at most five or ten years from Freyer-Schauenburg's painstakingly reasoned proposals. It is important to bear in mind that it is nearly impossible to achieve absolute certainty, given the brief periods of time involved.

Table 1.1 makes it clear that the earliest Samian korai are considerably earlier than the earliest Attic ones, for three larger than life-size examples were produced as early as the 7th century.[7] These are followed by an interval of roughly half a century from which there is as yet nothing to indicate any further dedications of korai. Scholars have sought to explain this in various ways. E. Buschor,[8] for example, finds it necessary to blame it on art thefts by the Romans, whereas Freyer-Schauenburg[9] suspects a decline in stone sculpture in favor of bronze casting. B. S. Ridgway[10] finds it merely coincidental that none of the period's statues have survived. W. Martini also suggests that the lapse of forty to fifty years between the last of Samos's Daedalic korai and the new type wearing the "sleeved chiton" could merely be the result of coincidence in preservation, though the obvious change in costume represents a definite "caesura in the manner of modeling." Martini agrees with E. Langlotz,[11] who views this caesura not as a developmental break but rather as "an abrupt change with structural alterations."[12] Other researchers simply attempt to fill the gap with works of small sculpture, reducing the length of the interval by arguing that clay figurines make their appearance in the late 7th and early 6th centuries.[13] Even though the typological development of the eastern Ionic statue type as represented by the Cheramyes korai borrows from these early terracottas, this in no way alters the fact that no Samian korai have yet been identified from the period of time in question. A look at the island's economic development may suggest a possible explanation for this strange, decades-long interruption in the dedication of korai. In this period the Samians controlled the major sea lanes. They were considered to be thalassokrats, and thanks to their various trading ties[14] were enjoying abundant revenues. It is conceivable that dedicators of votive gifts to the Heraion now abandoned the "accustomed" korai, favoring instead other monuments alluding to the new foreign ties or even actual events that had enriched them.[15] Evidence of this is provided by the bronze krater of Kolaios[16] and a number of bases for the dedication of entire ships to the goddess.[17]

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[1] Samos XI, pp. 13ff. For the most recent dating of the Cheramyes korai, see Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 7ff., esp. pp. 14, 21 with n. 40.

[2] Samos XI, pp. 1f.

[3] Ibid., p. 40 with n. 128. See also U. Kron in Athens 1986, p. 52, n. 17.

[4] Samos XI, pp. 170, 172 with n. 8, pl. 71.

[5] Ibid., p. 128.

[6] For example, Freyer-Schauenburg dates the so-called Cheramyes Hera, no. 6 (pl. 4–7), to 570–60 (Samos XI, pp. 21f., no. 6, pl. 5, 6); C. Rolley to c. 570–60 (Rolley 1994, pp. 261ff., illus. p. 265); W. Fuchs to c. 560 (Fuchs 1983, p. 161, illus. pp. 159–60); G. Richter to the second quarter of the 6th century (Richter 1968, p. 46, no. 55, illus. pp. 183–85); and finally J. Boardman to c. 560 (Boardman 1981a, p. 84, illus. p. 87). The kore with a hare, no. 7 (pl. 8–9), also dedicated by Cheramyes, is another example; Freyer-Schauenburg dates the work to c. 560 (Samos XI, p. 27, no. 7, pl. 7, 8), but C. Blümel places it c. 560–55 (Blümel 1964, pp. 42f., no. 34, illus. pp. 94–98). Freyer-Schauenburg dates the kore with a partridge, no. 20 (pl. 19), to c. 540 (Samos XI, pp. 43f., no. 20, pl. 11), Boardman, however, to c. 540–30 (Boardman 1981a, p. 86, illus. p. 97). A last example of divergent dating is provided by no. 16 (pl. 14–15), which Freyer-Schauenburg places in 550 (Samos XI, pp. 39f., no. 16, pl. 9). Fuchs/Floren see this kore as an early Geneleos work from the period before 560 (Fuchs/Floren, p. 345). They find the somewhat old-fashioned execution of her back reminiscent in style of the Cheramyes kore no. 6 in the Louvre (pl. 4–7). A date between that work and the Ornithe of the Geneleos group (pl. 26–27), which it resembles in the way the chiton is gathered, among other things (Samos XI, p. 38f.), would therefore seem appropriate. Nevertheless, certain features of kore no. 16 argue against such an assumption; these are described by W. Martini as follows: "The poor craftsmanship, the unsuccessful projection of the left leg, also the way the realistically modeled right forearm is freed from the body" (Martini 1990, p. 146). The date originally proposed by Freyer-Schauenburg therefore continues to be valid.

[7] A number of scholars have recognized that the upper body fragment of kore no. 3AB (Samos XI, pl. 2) and the lower body fragment no. 1 (Samos XI, pl. 1) belong together. See Buschor 1934ff., I–II, pp. 23f., illus. pp. 72–73, 75; *LIMC* IV I (1988), p. 670, nos. 93, 94; and finally Samos X, p. 61 with n. 215. In the Vathy Archaeological Museum on Samos the two fragments are mounted together to form a single statue. If one accepts this reconstruction attempt, it means that only two larger than life-size korai from the second quarter of the 7th century have survived. In the following, however, I treat these korai as three different statues, as in Freyer-Schauenburg, Samos XI, pp. 13ff. See also Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 76f., nos. K1, K2, K3.

[8] Buschor 1934ff., II, p. 37.

[9] Samos XI, pp. 4f. See also Fuchs/Floren, p. 361.

[10] Ridgway 1977, pp. 88f.

Opinion is also divided regarding the resumption of korai dedications in the Heraion, particularly as they relate to Attic korai. Martini, for example, assumes that korai begin to appear some ten years earlier in Attica than on Samos, though he proposes a date for the Cheramyes korai that is earlier than usual.[18] Comparison of the Samos and Attica dating tables shows, however, that aside from a single tomb kore (Hagios Ioannis Rentis, plates 108–9, 230–33), the series of Attic korai on the Akropolis and in Eleusis begins somewhat later than the second group of Samian korai.[19] The priority of the eastern korai is supported by the fact that two statues were dedicated in the Heraion as early as 575 (plates 3–7), also by the observation that one of the early korai from the Akropolis, namely Akr. 619 (plate 128), is reminiscent of the Samian korai, especially those of Cheramyes, in its forms and its drapery treatment.

Table 1.1 shows a slight increase in Samian korai dedications (three statues) before 560 (plates 8–11), immediately followed by their apogee (560/50: 13 korai plus the three of the Geneleos Group) (plates 10, 12–17, 24–29). A total of 19 korai are known from the first half of the century, only 11 from the second half.

We know that between roughly 575 and 560, Rhoikos and Theodoros redesigned the sanctuary and erected the first temple of colossal size. After this extended period of major structural changes, which required grading work and the repositioning of numerous votive gifts as well as creating new opportunities for the erection of such monuments,[20] the number of votive gifts, including korai, increases.[21] Around the middle of the century there were nine of them. Afterward, however, only a few more korai were set up on Samos, especially during the reign of Polykrates (538–22). Of these seven statues, only three are known with certainty to have stood in the Heraion; the original locations of the others are unknown. Moreover, recent thinking suggests that kore no. 4 (plate 36),[22] which according to its inscription was dedicated to the Nymphs, is not from Samos at all; in all probability it came from Miletus.[23]

One could have expected that votive offerings in the Heraion were even more splendid in appearance during the island's heyday under Polykrates, but the decrease in the number of korai (table 1.1) indicates that dedicators were denied access to the public sphere and thus were less able to glorify themselves. If the find spots of the three korai outside the Heraion can be considered reliable indications of where they actually stood, one could say that potential dedicators were in fact forced to retreat to other, less important island sanctuaries.[24]

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[11] Langlotz 1939, pp. 11ff.

[12] Martini 1990, p. 139. The same writer states elsewhere (ibid., p. 147) that "the dedication of statues fell out of fashion in the last quarter of the 7th century and only became common once again nearly two generations later."

[13] Buschor 1934ff., V, p. 82; K. Vierneisel, *AM* 78 (1961), pp. 46f.; Tuchelt 1970, pp. 142ff.; Fuchs/Floren, p. 368.

[14] Shipley 1987, p. 69; Gehrke 1986, pp. 118ff.; Xenophon, Ath. 2.2.6, uses the term "thalassokratores," θαλασσοϰϱάτοϱες ("lords of the seas"), which was applied to city-states in certain situations. For a general discussion, see J. Koder in *Griechenland und das Meer, Beiträge eines Symposions in Frankfurt am Main im Dezember 1996* (1999), pp. 103f.

[15] We learn from the fragment of a 6th-century bronze inscription tablet found in the Heraion that a certain "Amphidemos, the fortunate captor of a considerable number of ships, dedicated no fewer than six . . . to Hera and one to Poseidon." D. Ohly, *AM* 68 (1953), pp. 111f. with n. 44. See also G. Köpke, *AM* 82 (1967), pp. 100ff.; G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 106ff.

[16] Steuben 1980, p. 21, n. 26; Karakatsanis 1986, p.190 with n. 523; Shipley 1987, pp. 64f. For detailed information on the dedication of bronze kraters and votive cauldrons as prestige objects in a social context, see Samos X, pp. 91ff., 101ff., esp. p. 106.

[17] The discovery of hundreds of votive wooden ships in the Heraion also confirms a special characteristic of the Hera cult. These small ships were presumably carried by simple seamen in processions to the cult goddess Hera as "modest equivalents for the known dedications of entire vessels." See H. Kyrieleis, *AM* 95 (1980), pp. 92ff. For the ship bases, see Walter 1990, p. 82, illus. 92.

[18] Martini 1990, pp. 139f. See Attica table 10.1.

[19] Samos no. 5: 575; no. 6, no. 6A: 570–560; Akr. 582, 589: 570–560.

[20] For the latest findings relating to the history of the construction of the Heraion on Samos, see Kienast 1992, pp. 171ff.; also Kienast 1998, pp. 111ff.

[21] Samos XI, pp. 3f.

[22] Samos XI, pp. 18ff. with n. 22, no. 4, pl. 1; now MIA.

[23] "The kore fragment comes . . . from Miletus. The torso was discovered in the mandra of Mullah Mahmud ('behind the mosque')": N. Ehrhardt, *EpigrAnat* 21 (1993), pp. 3f.; see pp. 35f., n. 16.

[24] If the korai were not removed from the Heraion, it would appear that they were originally set up in other shrines. For the recently discovered Artemis sanctuary north of the Heraion, within the city limits of present-day Pythagoreion, see K. Tsakos, *AAA* 13 (1980), pp. 305ff. See also Shipley 1987, pp. 79, 262, no. 1400.

Size

Not a single Samian kore has survived intact; many are known only from fragments. It is striking that all of them were discovered without their heads. Only three small heads[25] of statuettes (plates 17–18) have been found, two of which are now considered lost. In the following paragraphs I have attempted to reconstruct the original sizes of these torsos and fragments from the dimensions available.[26] In table 1.2, based on the korai's reconstructed dimensions, the following division results:

larger than life-size	7
life-size	13
smaller than life-size	3
larger statuettes	3
smaller statuettes	7

The three early Samian korai (plates 1–2) can be considered "colossal," following the classification system of P. Karakatsanis.[27] According to his definition, the term "colossal" is appropriate for any statue more than one-and-a-half times life-size, or roughly 2.40 m in height. In the tables, however, I have kept to the designation "larger than life-size" (more than 1.65 m tall).

The two Cheramyes korai (plates 4–7) illustrate how narrow the boundary between "colossal" and "larger than life-size" can be.[28] Without their heads, kore A in the Louvre stands 1.72 m tall, kore B in Samos 1.82 m, so that one can assume original heights of roughly 2.20 to 2.30 m;[29] in Karakatsanis's terms they therefore stand on the threshold of the colossal. It is striking to discover that the first korai were produced on Samos roughly a century earlier (c. 675) than those of Attica. Also worth noting is that on Samos korai make their first appearance long before kouroi, the reverse of the sequence in Athens, where kouroi can be identified roughly twenty years earlier than the first korai (tables 1.1, 1.8).

The table moreover shows that of the many korai created after the dedication of the first three larger than life-size statues in 675–30 and on down to 540, only four can be assigned to the larger than life-size format. The majority of them (10) can be described as life-size. Of the remaining nine, two are smaller than life-size, while all the rest are in the format of statuettes.

During the reign of Polykrates (538–22) the number of korai produced continually decreases, as does their size. In noting this fact, one must bear in mind that we have no assured "life-size" kore from the Heraion, as comparison of tables 1.2 and 1.6 reveals. The statues no. 25 (plate 23) and the even slightly larger than life-size no. 26 (plate 23) come from Myli, a village very close to the sanctuary, and no. 28 came to light in Tigani, so that nothing certain can be said about its original location.

From Polykrates' time, then, only four smaller korai are known from the Heraion, even though this period is generally thought of as Samos's golden age.[30]

If we consider the sizes of the statues dedicated in light of the architectural aspect of the sanctuary, it becomes evident that the format of the sculpture decreases to the same degree that the Hera temple is increased to colossal size.[31] The same trend can be traced in the island's kouroi.[32]

Analyzing the korai's sizes in relation to their chronological sequence permits us to draw important conclusions. Archaic monumental sculpture is first represented on Samos by larger than life-size female statues; colossal kouroi only come later (table 1.8). One might have expected the reverse, assuming that the dedicators of large statues of young men were eager to demonstrate their power and influence.[33] One reason for the early appearance of large statues of women could be that in the early period Hera was revered mainly as a patroness of marriage and fertility, and her cult was associated more closely with the female sphere until, one could suppose, seamen and merchants also came to use the Heraion as a central sanctuary.[34]

One find from the Heraion may confirm this explanation: a pillar-shaped limestone statuette of a woman from the first half of the 7th century, holding one hand in front of her genitals (plate 30).[35] Her gesture points to a fertility rite that was already associated in the imagination of the earlier Carian population with the "powers of the great goddess on the Imbrasos."[36]

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[25] Samos XI, no. 17 (pl. 17); nos. 18 and 19 (pl. 18) are missing.

[26] Dimensions have been taken from Freyer-Schauenburg's catalogue, Samos XI, pp. 13ff., and from Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 13ff., esp. pp. 21, 32 for the Cheramyes korai and the statuette no. 9A.

[27] Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 9ff. See also Martini 1990, pp. 86f. for the problems associated with the concept "colossal." See also D. Kreikenbom, *Griechische und römische Kolossalporträts bis zum späten ersten Jahrhundert nach Christus* (1992), pp. 3ff., and the review of it by K. Fittschen in *Gnomon* 66 (1994), pp. 612ff. See also Samos X, pp. 91ff., esp. pp. 94f.

[28] Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 76f., 185f. According to his data, the estimated height for no. 1 is more than one-and-a-half times life-size, for no. 2 one-and-a-half times life-size, and for no. 3 far more than one-and-a-half times life-size. See also Samos XI, pp. 13ff., nos. 1–3. Martini 1990, p. 86, adopts a similar opinion when he states: "borrowing from Herodotus, the designation colossal is better reserved for statues that tower twice as high as a person or more. It appears that the korai never attained colossal size in this sense."

[29] Kyrieleis 1995, p. 23.

[30] Steuben 1980, pp. 22f.

[31] Ibid., p. 21.

[32] Their height of 10 ells clearly decreased in the period after 570/60. See Karakatsanis 1986, p. 193 with n. 537. For the significance of body size among the Greeks, see W. J. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* 4, ser. 2 (1949), pp. 294ff. For the system of measures (ells): Fuchs/Floren, pp. 88ff. with n. 19. The height of the Isches kouros is 4.80 m. For the size of colossal kouroi in general: Samos X, pp. 30ff., 93ff. For the proportions of the Isches kouros: E. Guralnick, *AA* 1996, pp. 505ff.

[33] Steuben 1980, pp. 19ff.; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 193; Martini 1990, pp. 130f.

[34] For an evaluation of the celebrants during the Hera festival, see U. Kron in Athens 1988, pp. 135ff., esp. pp. 141ff., illus. 4, 5. See also p. 31.

[35] A. Furtwängler, *AM* 96 (1981), pp. 104f., pl. 23. Fuchs/Floren, p. 341, see this limestone figure as a "precursor of monumental sculpture on Samos."

[36] Furtwängler, loc. cit., p. 104.

Attributes

The majority of Samos's korai once held attributes.[37] Since their forearms and hands are as a rule missing, and for the most part only torsos and fragments of torsos survive, attributes can be ascertained in only ten of them (table 1.3). These ten are distributed throughout the period from 570 to 530.

The attributes are highly varied. A pomegranate, possibly restored,[38] was perhaps held by nos. 6 and 6A (plate 4), a flower by no. 25 (plate 23), a hare by nos. 7 and 9A (plates 8, 11),[39] a dove by no. 21A b (plate 20), a partridge by no. 20 (plate 19), and objects that can no longer be identified by no. 13 (plate 13), no. 16 A (plate 16), and no. 24 (plate 23).[40] According to Freyer-Schauenburg, all these objects can be thought of as votive gifts to the deity.[41] They do not define the deity, but rather characterize the maidens carrying them as worshipers bearing gifts.[42]

Many of these attributes, such as the dove,[43] the hare,[44] the apple,[45] and the pomegranate,[46] can be interpreted as fertility symbols. The dove, like the partridge[47] and the hare,[48] was sacred to Aphrodite. The pomegranate is found as an attribute of both votive korai and funerary korai,[49] and can be considered an appropriate offering to various deities,[50] among them Hera, Aphrodite, Demeter, Athena, Astarte, und Dionysos. A flower held in the hand is a symbol of youth, as the written sources[51] and countless examples in depictions of young women in vase painting[52] attest.

Even if the pomegranate of kore no. 6 has been restored, it would be highly suitable as a gift to Hera in her capacity as goddess of fertility;[53] before Zeus chose Hera as his consort, she, like Aphrodite, was considered an earth-bound nature[54] and fertility goddess concerned for the well-being of man and nature.

F. Muthmann presents a number of examples of links between the pomegranate and Hera:[55] it appears not only as an attribute in votive statues dedicated to Hera, but is also presented to the goddess as an actual fruit and in the form of artistic representations. Fertility rites are suggested by a kernos discovered in an offering pit at the Heraion, its rim adorned with a pomegranate as well as animal figurines and human heads.[56] Up into the time of the Roman Empire the pomegranate was associated with Hera; as late as the end of the second century A.D. Philostratus wrote: "The pomegranate, of all plants, is the only one that grows for Hera."[57]

Turning to animals, the hare is not directly associated with Hera but could have been a standard offering to her;[58] in addition to the kore with a hare in Berlin, no. 7 (plate 8), there is the recent find of a statuette, no. 9A (plate 11), that also holds a hare in her hand.[59] Heretofore it has been presumed that the Berlin kore, given that it was created around 560, could have been consecrated to Aphrodite, inasmuch as a temple was erected to the goddess in the Heraion at that time.[60] This in antis Temple A, in the northern section of the sanctuary, was first assigned to Aphrodite by Buschor,[61] but the most recent findings by H. Kienast[62] have now made this view untenable. In his opinion, the structure was rather a treasury, and even though inscriptions refer to Aphrodite[63] it must be thought of as the property of the great goddess Hera. As is well known, Hera and Aphrodite at times fulfilled similar functions. In Sparta, for example,[64] there was a xoanon bearing the double name "Aphrodite-Hera," to which mothers of brides brought offerings before a wedding. The hare was probably an appropriate votive offering for both deities, for both were seen as protectors of the female sphere[65] and patronesses of conception[66] and marriage. Whereas Aphrodite was more the embodiment of sexuality and erotic love, Hera was associated with the family, virginity,[67] and marriage.[68]

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[37] Samos XI.

[38] Ibid., pp. 25f. with nn. 57–59.

[39] The statuette no. 9A carries a hare in her left hand. For a detailed discussion, see Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 32ff., illus. 27, pl. 8. See also E. B. French, *ARepLondon* 38 (1992), p. 56, illus. 44.

[40] U. Kron, in Athens 1986, pp. 57ff., esp. pp. 61f., bases her discussion on the interpretation of the object held by the small kore no. 16A. If she is carrying keys it would be possible to interpret her either as a priestess or as Hera in her capacity as θεὰ κλειδοῦχος κατ' ἐξοχήν. The conical marble peg, however, suggests a spindle or distaff rather than keys. The nature of the attribute held by the so-called donor of the Geneleos Group is also unclear. Freyer-Schauenburg, Samos XI, pp. 118f., assumes that he is probably holding a bird. Other scholars are of the opinion that it is a drinking horn; see, for example, E. Walter-Karydi, *AM* 100 (1985), p. 95.

[41] Samos XI, pp. 44.

[42] Dickins 1912, p. 32.

[43] O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* II (1913), pp. 122ff.

[44] Idem, *Die antike Tierwelt* I (1909), pp. 210ff.

[45] M. Lugauer, *Untersuchungen zur Symbolik des Apfels in der Antike* (1967), pp. 77ff.

[46] Muthmann 1982.

[47] Keller, loc. cit., II, pp. 156ff.

[48] Keller, loc. cit., I, p. 216; Kyrieleis 1995, p. 21 with n. 39, where he includes a detailed bibliography on the connections between the attribute of the hare and the goddess Aphrodite.

[49] Muthmann 1982, p. 60; Pötscher 1987, p. 91.

[50] Pötscher 1987, pp. 84ff.

[51] Schneider 1975, pp. 33ff.

[52] Let me here cite only a single characteristic example: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (1956), p. 156, no. 80: Paris, Louvre A479, from the middle of the 6th century (depiction of a hetaera with a flower). For the flower as erotic symbol, see G. Koch-Harnack, *Erotische Symbole* (1989), pp. 72, 177.

[53] Muthmann 1982, pp. 53ff.

[54] R. Renehan, "Hera as Earth-Goddess: A New Piece of Evidence," *RheinMus* 117 (1974), pp. 193ff. But compare Pötscher 1987, pp. 9ff., 130.

[55] Muthmann 1982, pp. 58f. See also S. Charitonidis, *AEphem* 1960, pp. 160f. and n. 6.

[56] K. Vierneisel, *AM* 76 (1961), pp. 28ff., appendix 24–33. For the pomegranate alone, ibid., appendix 32, 6; Walter 1965, p. 26, illus. 22; Walter 1990, pp. 95f. See also A. E. Furtwängler, *AM* 95 (1980), p. 173.

[57] Philostratus, vit. Apoll. 4, 28.

[58] Samos XI, p. 29 with n. 87. Freyer-Schauenburg mentions two marble hares that were brought to the Heraion, according to the sources, as votive gifts.

[59] Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 32ff., illus. 27, pl. 8. The statuette (surviving height from the neck cutout to above the knee: 0.45 m) was discovered in a stream bed in the area southeast of the temenos on January 18, 1999. For the find spot, see also H. Kyrieleis, *AA* 1978, p. 393, illus. 10; E. B. French, *ARepLondon* 38 (1992), p. 56, illus. 44. Thus statuette no. 9 A, with a hare in her hand, can be considered a votive gift to Hera. For the substantiated Hera attributes, see *RE* VIII1 (1912), 383f., s.v. "Hera" (Eitrem); see also *LIMC* IV1 (1988), pp. 659f.

[60] See also Buschor 1934ff., V, pp. 83f.; Blümel 1964, p. 43. Freyer-Schauenburg, Samos XI, pp. 29f., assumes that the kore with a hare was consecrated to Aphrodite, for her inscription refers only to θῆι and does not give the deity's name, as does the Cheramyes kore, for example, which was clearly dedicated to Hera.

During the Heraia, Hera's wedding feast,[69] called Tonea (Toneia or Tonaia) on Samos, worshipers washed the cult image at the shore, placed cakes before it, and adorned themselves with wreaths of willow[70] or laurel.[71] In Argos, where the goddess was also responsible for the marshes and flowering plants, she was given the cognomen "Antheia" (flower goddess).[72]

The flower in the hand of kore no. 25 (plate 23) would accordingly suggest that it was presented to the goddess Hera as a votive gift; at the same time, the attribute emphasizes the worshiper's youth. The fact that this sculpture was found near the Myli bridge led Freyer-Schauenburg[73] to conclude that the kore was likely a votive offering from one of the rural sanctuaries erected on Samos to the nature gods.[74] W. Pötscher offers the suggestion that as consort of the supreme Olympian god it was only natural for Hera to take other domains under her protection, for example marshes or herds of cattle, "which were previously—also simultaneously—'represented' by other deities, nature deities."[75]

Since the sanctuary occupies swampy ground, it is easy to imagine that the Nymphs lived here.[76] Moreover, there is the mythic tradition that the sanctuary of Hera was founded by the Lelegians and the Nymphs.[77] It is altogether conceivable that on Samos the spheres of influence of Hera and the nature deities were identical. If one accepts such a view, then kore no. 25 (plate 23) with a flower in her hand could be considered a votive offering for both: the proximity of the discovery site of Myli to the Heraion could support such an assumption. Also, according to Freyer-Schauenburg the animals being presented by korai 20 and 21AB (plates 19, 20) are repeatedly identified in archaic monumental sculpture as fertility symbols.[78]

The various attributes of the Samian korai therefore suggest Hera's multiple aspects, as goddess of weddings, marriage, and fertility.[79]

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[61] The mention of Aphrodite and Hermes in inscriptions led Buschor to link this peripteral Temple C and the in antis Temples A and B with these deities; he assigned building A to Aphrodite, buildings B and C to Hermes: E. Buschor, *AM* 72 (1957), pp. 77ff.; E. Buschor and O. Ziegenaus, *AM* 74 (1959), pp. 2f. See Samos III, p. 63, n. 214.

[62] Samos III, pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 63ff.; Kienast 1992, p. 192.

[63] Samos III, p. 65 with nn. 229, 232. For the issue of Aphroditic features in the cult of Hera, see also Kyrieleis 1995, p. 21 with n. 39.

[64] Pausanias III, 13, 9.

[65] Muthmann 1982, p. 53 with n. 159. According to Muthmann, a conflation of the two deities can also be seen in numerous terracotta busts and in figures from the sanctuaries at Paestum and the mouth of the Sele.

[66] Hera, for example, as Kourotrophos for Heracles: Diodorus IV, 9. See Th. Hadzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (1978), p. 38. See also p. 111 with n. 43.

[67] "One of the marriage's necessary prerequisites was Hera's virginity": Burkert 1977, p. 211. In the cult Hera's virginity was restored by way of a cathartic bath (Pausanias II, 2, 38–39).

[68] Pötscher 1987, pp. 138f.; Burkert 1977, p. 210.

[69] See Nilsson 1906, pp. 46ff.; E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 1ff.; *RE* VIII1 (1912), 378f., 391ff., s.v. "Hera" (Eitrem); *LIMC* IV1 (1988), p. 660. The name "Tonaia" refers to the winding of lygos (willow) branches around the cult image of Heracles, *RE* VIA2 (1958), 1704f., s.v. "Tonaia" (Ziehen).

[70] For the willow wreath: M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (1982), pp. 249f. See also U. Kron in Athens 1988, pp. 138f. with n. 18. For the most recent results in lygos research: H. J. Kienast, *AM* 106 (1991), pp. 71ff., pl. 5–8.

[71] Athenaios 672D, 672E, 673AB; Burkert 1977, p. 213; Pötscher 1987, pp. 125f. According to E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), p. 20, the Ionians could have taken over various rites, such as the use of lygos wreaths, for example, from the Carians. The goddess Hera herself "they brought with them from their western, Peloponnesian homeland."

[72] Pausanias II, 17,2. Muthmann 1982, p. 53 with n. 160; Pötscher 1987, p. 139.

[73] Samos XI, p. 57.

[74] Ibid., p. 20: "Veneration of the Nymphs, widespread in popular belief, found expression in rural shrines everywhere." Because of uncertainty about where it was found, kore no. 4, with its dedicatory inscription to the Nymphs, can no longer be considered the earliest surviving inscription for Samos. For the origin of kore no. 4, see pp. 35f. (M1A), n. 16; for the veneration of the Nymphs in general, see Nilsson 1955, pp. 227ff., esp. p. 233.

[75] Pötscher 1987, p. 140.

[76] Ibid., pp. 72f.; G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 162f.

[77] Athenaios 672AB. See also E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), p. 20: "The time of the founding of the sanctuary cannot be all too far from the turn of the 10th to the 9th century. The Ionians may have encountered the veneration of a great nature goddess with many features in common with Hera among the Carians." For the Carians, Lelegians, proto-Hatti people, see also U. Kron in Athens 1988, p. 138, n. 18.

[78] Samos XI, pp. 44ff.

[79] Moreover, it is known that Hera might have several temples in her sanctuaries. According to Pausanias VIII, 22,2, for example, she had three temples at Stymphalos, in Arcadia: as a virgin (Pais), as a wife (Teleia), and as a widow (Chera). See Samos III, p. 66 and n. 232.

Marble and Artists

The next issue to be discussed is whether our knowledge of the types of marble used for the korai of Samos provides any clues to the home of the sculptors who carved them (tables 1.4, 1.5).[80]

Once the Samian korai are arranged in tables it becomes apparent that the earliest, larger than life-size statues (no. 1, no. 2ABC, no. 3AB: plates 1–2) were made of marble imported from Naxos.[81] In this they differ from the remaining korai, ranging in date from 575 to 520, all of which were made of the native whitish-gray marble (see table 1.4).[82] Whether or not the unfinished small korai heads nos. 18 and 19 (plate 18), now missing, and kore no. 22 (plates 21–22) were made of imported marble is difficult to determine, especially since the identification of types of marble, despite the development of various methods, continues to be a problematic issue.[83] Freyer-Schauenburg considers kore no. 22 to be Milesian work, not so much because of the marble as owing to certain stylistic features.[84]

According to A. Dworakowska,[85] at least four sites have been identified on Samos where white marble was quarried in antiquity. V. Guérin had already noted the presence of white marble in the Kerki massif and its surroundings in the 19th century.[86] O. Reuther[87] has determined that this "not very valuable" marble was used in the earlier building phase of the Heraion.[88]

There are also outcroppings of white marble in a northerly direction, on the way from the Kerki massif to the port of Seitani, as well as south of the Kerki massif in the direction of Marathokampos and on the way from Vathy to the strait. Quarries on the Phournoi Islands, off the southwest coast of the main island of Samos, also yielded a high-quality, yellowish-white marble.[89] Near the Heraion there are two ancient quarries, one north of the Kastro, near the Hagia Trias monastery, and one east of the theater near the Spiliani grotto. The monastery Panagia Spiliani was later erected in the grotto. In 1983 H. Kyrieleis[90] discovered near Manolates,[91] in the northern part of the island, an additional ancient site in which whitish-gray, striped marble was quarried. From these observations one concludes that the majority of the korai were made of local marble and carved on the island itself.[92]

We know that the Samians maintained close ties to Naxos and that Samian sculptors were familiar with the Cycladic school of sculpture.[93] Already in the Daedalic period they were producing larger than life-size female statues for the Heraion, as the oldest fragments show.[94]

The names of the artists Theodoros and Rhoikos are of course familiar from written sources. The only maker of family votive statues, including korai, known to us from inscriptions is Geneleos.[95] He is generally credited by scholars as πϱῶτος εὑϱετής[96]—the archaic sculptor who introduced the figure of the striding kore (the right foot forward), with the chiton grasped at the side.[97] Freyer-

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[80] Samos XI, pp. 13ff. The marble designations in table 1.4 are taken from Freyer-Schauenburg's catalogue.

[81] Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 105; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 37. See also Shipley 1987, pp. 56, 64; Samos X, p. 126.

[82] Fuchs/Floren, pp. 341f. See also Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 19 with n. 82; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 175; Martini 1990, p. 40; Shipley 1987, pp. 55ff., esp. p. 64; Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 104f. with n. 23; Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 7ff., esp. p. 11; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 37 with n. 2.

[83] The relevant bibliography is found in Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 105 with n. 25.

[84] Samos XI, pp. 7, 52ff.: "The Milesian provenance of kore no. 22 cannot be proven with absolute certainty; it is simply my opinion that it is easier to fit it into that context than that of Samos." See also J. Boardman in *Gnomon* 48 (1976), p. 822. L. Marangou, in *Stele, Festschrift N. Kontoleon* (1980), pp. 413ff., esp. p. 418, n. 29, also regarded the lower body of statuette no. 5 from the Heraion as Milesian work. For Samian and Milesian features, see U. Kron in Athens 1986, pp. 62ff., n. 66.

[85] Dworakowska 1977, pp. 99ff., illus. 5, 6. For a general overview of the ancient marble quarries on Samos, see Kienast 1992, pp 206ff. with n. 29, illus. 46ff.

[86] V. Guérin, *Description de l'île de Patmos et de l'île de Samos* (1856), p. 282.

[87] O. Reuther, *Der Heratempel von Samos* (1957), p. 22.

[88] See Kienast 1992, pp. 206ff., esp. p. 210. The quarry lies 2 km west of the shrine near the shore, and it provided the building material for the second dipteros.

[89] Most recently Kienast 1992, p. 210, illus. 49.

[90] H. Kyrieleis in Athens 1986, p. 37. The recently discovered colossal kouros was carved from this native whitish-gray marble. See also Samos X, pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 126f.

[91] For all the above-mentioned sites, see Shipley 1987, pp. 252ff. with illus. 23 (schematic geological map). For Manolates, see Kienast 1992, p. 210, illus. 54.

[92] Samos XI, p. 6; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 340f.; Boardman 1981a, p. 35; E. Homann-Wedeking, *JdI* 55 (1940), p. 263.

[93] Fuchs/Floren, pp. 151, 340f.: "Artistic exchange between the two sculpture schools forms the basis for the early creation of monumental marble sculpture on Samos." See also Buschor 1934ff., II, pp. 23f., V, pp. 76f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 19f. with n. 82; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 175. See also Samos X, pp. 61ff. According to Kyrieleis, the carving of the back of the colossus on Delos is similar in principle to that of the Isches kouros.

[94] Samos XI, pp. 2 with n. 10, 6; Fuchs/Floren, p. 341. These are compared with female figures from the Cyclades, for example with the Nikandre from Naxos. For general information on connections among sculptors throughout the region, see Samos X, pp. 55ff., 61, esp. p. 126.

[95] The "two-line inscription (ΗΜΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΓΕΝΕΛΕΩΣ) lies above the hem of Phileia's mantle on the right side." Samos XI, p. 108, no. 58, pl. 46, 47; Buschor 1934ff., II, pp. 26ff., illus. 90–101. A second inscription "from an early period" names a certain Hortios, ἐποίε[ι] ὅϱτι[ο]. Because of the fragmentary nature of the inscription it is impossible to form any conclusions about the earlier monument, and for that reason this artist's name will not be considered further. For the inscription, see G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 113f., pl. 49,1.

[96] E. Walter-Karydi, *AM* 100 (1985), p. 103. For a general discussion of the πϱῶτος εὑϱετής, see A. Kleingünther, *Philologus* Suppl. 21, I (1933), p. 17.

[97] Buschor 1934ff, II, pp. 28f.; Samos XI, pp. 126, 129; Fuchs/Floren, p. 345.

Schauenburg sees this as a "new beginning, which in many respects served as the basis for the further development of eastern Ionic art in the second half of the sixth century and had repercussions far beyond the island's immediate vicinity."[98] She moreover asserts that there are so-called core works that one might attribute to various sculptors on the basis of the "search for new ways of expression," and that all the korai share elements of the Ionic style.[99]

Geneleos himself appears to have imitated Milesian models. The motif of the gathered chiton is already found in an early votive relief from Miletus (plate 42) dating from the years 580/70. There are also earlier examples of the striding pose in Miletus, but only in the so-called mantle kouroi.[100] Nevertheless, Geneleos can be credited with having combined these earlier elements into a unified whole.

After the discovery of the Geneleos Group in 1911/12 there were frequent attempts to attribute other statue fragments from the Heraion to his workshop as well.[101] However, none of the surviving korai can be definitely attributed to his hand, aside from the fragments of a standing kore that also should be part of the Geneleos Group.[102]

Fuchs/Floren are of the opinion that kore no. 16 should be attributed to Geneleos, and see it as the model for the Ornithe.[103] Freyer-Schauenburg[104] also sees a close connection between this kore and the Geneleos Group but ascribes it to a "lesser artist" who was indebted to Geneleos. In her opinion the kore is to be dated "after 550 rather than before," or by no means around 560 as Fuchs/Floren suppose. The realistic treatment of the right forearm, which has been freed from the body, argues against their assumption.[105]

Other extraordinary but nameless artists who worked in the Heraion are known to us from the dedications of Cheramyes. With the discovery of an additional kore in 1984, which may be considered an exact counterpart of the Cheramyes kore in the Louvre, the number of Cheramyes statues has risen to a total of four.[106] Contrary to the argument put forward by Buschor[107] that the Cheramyes korai in the Louvre and in Berlin were produced by different masters, Kyrieleis maintains that the three large korai A (Louvre), B (Samos), and the kore with a hare in Berlin (plates 4–9) were all produced by the same sculptor.[108] According to Kyrieleis, the amazing typological and stylistic similarities between korai A and B leave no doubt that the two figures are by the same artist. This can be seen not only in the "sinuously rounded volumes of the body and especially the columnar form of the lower body" but also in the "masterly flow of line" in the little cloak's "bundle of folds streaming down from the right shoulder," the brilliant invention of the hand half covered by the edge of the veil, and the delicate rendering of the drapery folds.[109] The slightly smaller kore with a hare[110] reveals a more distinctive modeling and a different, "more textural," quality in the small diagonal mantle than that of korai A and B. According to Kyrieleis, these deviations are not due to stylistic differences that might be traced to a different artistic approach, but have to do with the statue's interpretation. He feels that the figure of this kore was deliberately conceived as smaller and rounder, as the artist meant to emphasize its childlike forms. He believes that this kore is the younger sister of the other two, and that the attribute she holds is one of her toys.[111]

As mentioned above, the literary sources provide us with the names of two artists on Samos, Rhoikos and Theodoros,[112] neither of whom can be linked to the carving of korai. They are credited with the invention of the method for casting large bronzes (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35, 152). Rhoikos is particularly famous as an architect, ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος[113], Theodoros as an engraver and gem cutter.[114] Theodoros is also identified by Plato as ἀνδριαντοποιός,[115] but with no indication of what material he worked in, bronze or marble. These sources led G. Schmidt[116] to wonder whether one might be able to attribute certain sculptural fragments from the Heraion to Theodoros. For example, he considers the artist to have been the inventor of the Samian colossi, for as an "outstanding innovator" he must be associated only with works of the highest quality, such as the Samos/Istanbul kouros.[117] Schmidt's attribution presents problems, however, in that we have no assured epigraphic evidence on Samos, and the literary sources allow no definite statements to be made about these artists and their works. His attempt to identify a "universal artist" on Samos in the early period, one who worked as an engraver, a gem cutter, and a sculptor of marble colossi, is for the moment only a daring conjecture.

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[98] Samos XI, p. 129.

[99] Samos XI, pp. 6f., 24 with nn. 44–46. The "core works" are the Cheramyes kore (no. 6), the Geneleos korai (nos. 60A–D–62), the kore with a bird (nos. 20–21AB), and kore no. 23. Martini 1990, pp. 218ff., also speaks of a homogeneous style in the Geneleos Group and the Cheramyes statues, though he presumes that there were several different sculptors, especially in the Geneleos Group. H. P. Laubscher, *IstMitt* 13/14 (1963/64), pp. 83f. with n. 45, credits the Samos school with a leading role, remarking apropos the connection between the sculptural schools of Samos and Miletus that "the leading art center of eastern Ionia . . . was Samos rather than Miletus. Its influence was felt not only in Miletus and its colonies but also in Ephesus." In this context, see the upper torso of a kore in the Ephesus museum that shows a great similarity to the Samian korai, especially those of Cheramyes. See U. Muß and M. Büyükolanci, *ÖJh* 68 (1999), pp. 33ff. with n. 10, illus. 1–4; for a different opinion, see H. Kyrieleis, AM 99 (1984), p. 107.

[100] For the votive relief from Miletus, see Fuchs/Floren, p. 345, pl. 33, 6. For the "mantle" kouroi, see Tuchelt 1970, pp. 61ff., K21–K33bis; Samos XI, pp. 150ff.; Özgan 1978, pp. 42ff.; L. Marangou in *Stele, Festschrift N. Kontoleon* (1980), pp. 413ff., pl. 196ff.; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 378f., pl. 32,2 ("mantle" kouros from Cape Phoneas, c. 540). For the kouros from Cape Phoneas, see also H. Kyrieleis, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 111ff., esp. pp. 114ff.

[101] Karakatsanis 1986, p. 182 with n. 497; G. Schmidt, *AM* 86 (1971), pp. 31ff.

[102] Buschor 1934ff., III, p. 45, illus. 154f.; Samos XI, no. 60A–D, pl. 47f.; G. Schmidt, *AM* 86 (1971), pp. 34f., pl. 22, 2–3; 23, 3–4.

[103] Fuchs/Floren, p. 345.

[104] Samos XI, pp. 39f., no. 16, pl. 9; no. 62 (Ornithe), pl. 50.

[105] Steuben 1989, pp. 137ff., n. 15; Martini 1990, p. 146.

[106] The Cheramyes kore A (no. 6) in the Louvre, kore B (no. 6A) in Samos, the kore with a hare (no. 7) in Berlin, and the -]μύης kouros (no. 49AB). Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 7ff., 21ff., illus. 11–17.

[107] Buschor 1934ff., I–III, pp. 25f.; V, pp. 83f., illus. 341–44. For the two korai, see also G. Schmidt, *AM* 86 (1971), p. 39 with n. 28, who believes that Cheramyes had commissioned all three sculptors for his bequests (the two korai and a kouros of which only two leg fragments survive). For the kouros, see also Samos XI, no. 49AB, pl. 35.

[108] For details, see Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 11f., 21, 23, illus. 11–13.

[109] Ibid., pp. 10f.

[110] Ibid., p. 21. Its original height was c. 1.75 m; thus it is about 40–45 cm smaller than the statues A and B.

[111] For an extensive discussion of the interpretation of the hare as attribute, see Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 21ff. and n. 39. Also Martini 1990, p. 81. If the two Cheramyes korai were part of a group, as Kyrieleis has suggested, to which the kore with a hare and the -]μύης kouros are supposed to have belonged, they would comprise a family offering older than the Geneleos group.

[112] Rhoikos: Herodotus IV, 88, 1, and Theodoros: Herodotus III, 60, 4.

Find Spots

Table 1.6 focuses on the locations where the Samian korai, listed in chronological order, were found. On the basis of this listing, an attempt can be made to determine whether the find spot was in fact a statue's original location. The precise discovery site is known for only a few of the korai (illus. 1).[118] Of the majority it is simply reported that they came from the Heraion, with no further information.[119]

Some of the korai had been reused as building material, such as the recently discovered kore no. 6A (plates 4–7), which had been used in the construction of a late-antique wall along the Sacred Way and only came to light in 1984.[120] Kore no. 3AB (plate 2)[121] had also been enclosed in a secondary context; it was found in the threshold of the Byzantine church inside the temple precinct. The same is true of kore no. 16A (plate 16),[122] which was discovered in 1977 in a wall from Roman times.

None of the Samian korai can be identified with certainty as funerary korai.[123] Buschor's attempt to interpret the two korai from Myli (nos. 25 and 26: plate 23) as funerary korai does not hold up under analysis,[124] for like the offering bearer from Myli, no. 45,[125] they were more likely votive gifts.

Table 1.6 shows that the korai were mainly discovered in the area of the Heraion. Only three (nos. 25, 26 [plate 23], and 28)[126] were found outside it. The other two korai listed as from "outside the Heraion," no. 8 and no. 21A/B (plates 10, 20), were found on neighboring properties to the east, yet it is highly probable that they had been removed from the Heraion. Since the existence of a gate to the east of the Heraion has recently been confirmed,[127] it would be possible to relate the statues directly to the shrine. For the time being, however, despite their apparent connection to the sanctuary, I list them as "outside."

Kore no. 1 (plates 1–2), which was found north of the temple; no. 22 (plates 21–22), found west of the temple; kore 2ABC (plate 2), which had been built into a storehouse near the shore; and the two korai reused as building material, nos. 3A (plate 2) and 16A (plate 16), were probably set up not far from the Hekatompedos. One of their bases has been found to the north of the altar.[128] The excavation of additional bases for statues in the vicinity of the altar suggests that this precinct was ringed with votive offerings.[129]

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[113] For his function as architect, see E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), p. 49; G. Schmidt, Samos VII, p. 114 with n. 142; idem, *AM* 86 (1971), pp. 40f. See, most recently, Kienast 1998, pp. 115ff.

[114] For an extensive discussion of the sources, see Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 53ff. with nn. 126ff. For Theodoros, see also Fuchs/Floren, pp. 358ff.; K. Radeke, *Die Entwicklung der frühen Hohlbronzen* (1996/97), p. 61; Kienast 1998, pp. 116, 128 with n. 66.

[115] Plato, Ion, 533A; Overbeck SQ no. 225. See also G. Schmidt, *AM* 86 (1971), p. 41 with n. 35. For the use of the word "Ἀνδριάς," see Philipp 1968, pp. 106f.

[116] Schmidt, loc. cit., pp. 40f.

[117] Samos XI, p. 88, no. 47A/B, pl. 30–33.

[118] In indicating the discovery sites of the korai on the map (illus. 1) I have used Freyer-Schauenburg's catalogue numbers from Samos XI.

[119] Samos XI, pp. 13ff. Almost all the excavation documents were lost in the two World Wars, so that one can only rely on the scanty information in the preliminary reports; the same is true of ceramic finds. See U. Sinn, *AM* 100 (1985), pp. 129f.; Samos III, pp. 71f. Of kore no. 28 we know only that it surfaced before the Second World War in the ancient city of Tigani, though one can be relatively certain that it was not originally set up there.

[120] For extensive discussion of the circumstances of the find, see Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 7ff., illus. 1–4, pl. 1–7. See also the map sketch in Kienast 1985, p. 367, illus. 1. See also H. Kyrieleis in Athens 1986, pp. 41ff., pl. 18, 2; 20–22. For the site of the discovery of the Cheramyes kore no. 6 in the Louvre, known now for a long time, see P. Girard, *BCH* 4 (1880), p. 483. According to Girard, the kore lay at a distance of 10 m from the northeast corner of the Hera temple, whereas E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), p. 48, appendix 13 in J 8; idem 1934ff., I–III, p. 25, gives the distance as only 3 m north of the temple. See H. Bumke in Stemmer 1995, pp. 144ff. See also Kyrieleis 1995, p. 7 n. 1 (with earlier bibliography on the Louvre's Cheramyes kore).

[121] Samos XI, pp. 16f., no. 3A/B, pl. 2.

[122] For the discovery site, see H. Kyrieleis, *AA* 1978, pp. 393f., illus. 10; U. Kron in Athens 1986, pp. 47ff., pl. 23–25, 1, 2.

[123] Samos X, p. I9.

[124] Buschor 1934ff., II, p. 37; V, p. 95. Boardman, *AntPl* I (1962), pp. 44, argues against Buschor's view.

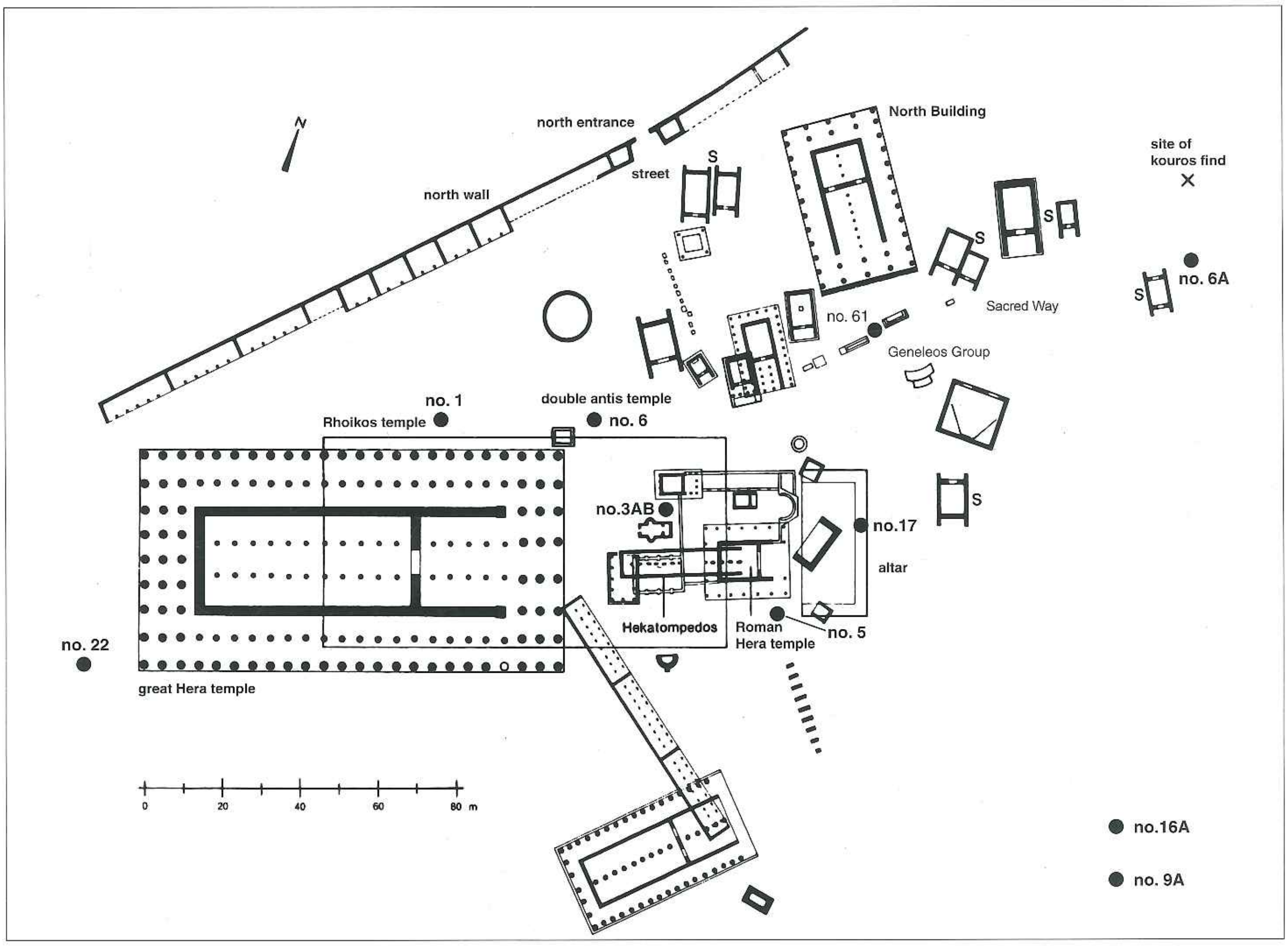
[125] Samos XI, pp. 84ff., no. 45, pl. 28, 29.

[126] Nos. 25 and 26 come from the vicinity of the Myli Bridge, north of the Heraion. No. 28 surfaced in Tigani. See Samos X, pp. 56ff.; E. Fabricius, *AM* 1884, pl. 7. Kore no. 4, which according to B. Freyer-Schauenburg (Samos XI, p. 18 n. 22) came to light in the Spiliani Monastery, erected in an ancient quarry above the ancient city of Tigani, can no longer be considered in this context, for according to the most recent findings it did not come from Samos (see above). For the topography of the Spiliani Monastery, see Samos XV, general plan.

[127] Kienast, *Wege*, pp. 5ff., illus. 2–3.

[128] Walter 1990, p. 90, illus. 92, 99. See also E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 17, 40ff., esp. p. 48, illus. 7 M10; E. Buschor/H. Schleif, *AM* 58 (1933), p. 170 W9, appendix 46, 48, 49.

[129] See Buschor/Schleif, loc. cit., pp. 168ff., nos. W1–W7, W9. See also the research findings in Kienast 1992, pp. 193ff., esp. p. 196ff., illus. 27, with the new plan for this area.


N
north entrance
North Building
north wall
street
S
site of kouros find
S
S
no. 6A
S
Sacred Way
no. 61
Geneleos Group
no. 1
Rhoikos temple
double antis temple
no. 6
no.3AB
S
no.17
altar
Hekatompedos
Roman Hera temple
no. 5
no. 22
great Hera temple
0
20
40
60
80 m
no.16A
no. 9A

Illus. 1. Map of the Heraion on Samos with locations where korai have been found.

Numerous other votive gifts, such as the monumental bronze cauldron of Kolaios[130] and the colossal kouroi[131] and korai, presumably stood in the vicinity of the Hekatompedos as well[132] before the erection of the long stoa southwest of the temple (c. 640/30).

In what follows, an attempt is made to relate the find spots of the korai to the structural changes in the sanctuary in order to throw light on their original positions. To that end it seems appropriate to first provide a brief overview of buildings in the Heraion.

The site originally consisted of only a small, modest altar and an open *naiskos*.[133] Then, in the first half of the 8th century, the so-called Hekatompedos,[134] "a two-aisle structure 33 m long and 6.5 m wide,"[135] was erected to the west of the altar. The old thesis that Hekatompedos I was destroyed in some natural catastrophe and was replaced in around 670 by Hekatompedos II, a building with similar dimensions,[136] needs to be corrected. According to the most recent investigations by Kienast, it appears that these were not two separate buildings but rather two distinct phases in the building of a single structure.[137]

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[130] Herodotus IV, 152; E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 33, 45f. See also Steuben 1980, pp. 21f. with n. 26; Walter 1990, pp. 88f., illus. 92; Samos XI, p. 138 with n. 178.

[131] One of the colossi, the so-called Southern Colossus (Samos XI, no. 29A.C), must have stood close to the great altar, on the base that was found under the northeast corner of the first large peripteral temple. See Samos X, pp. 5, 15.

[132] Buschor 1934ff., I–III, p. 8: "If their fragments were not moved far, at least two of these giants stood in the area between the Hekatompedos and the South Stoa." See also Steuben 1980, p. 21; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 185 with n. 505; Kienast 1998, pp. 111f.

[133] Even though we know from ceramic finds that there were cult activities in the Heraion as early as the late second millennium, there are no sure indications of the layout and topography of the temenos until the beginning of the 8th century. For the Heraion's prehistoric and geometric phases, see E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 10ff.; Walter 1965, pp. 32ff.; Kyrieleis 1981, pp. 39ff.; W. Martini, *JdI* 101 (1986), 26f.; Walter 1990, pp. 17ff, 50ff.; Kienast 1992, p. 173.

[134] Gruben 1986, pp. 326ff. See E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 13ff., illus. 4; E. Buschor/O. Ziegenaus, *AM* 74 (1959), p. 2; Walter 1965, p. 35; Walter 1990, pp. 73f., illus. 76; Young 1980, pp. 72ff.

[135] Kienast 1998, pp. 111f.

[136] Gruben 1986, p. 327; E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), p. 34; Walter 1965, p. 35, illus. 33; Walter 1990, pp. 82f., illus. 92, 93; Kalpaxis 1986, p. 55; Held 2000, pp. 58f.

The altar, some 20 m east of the temple front, was also repeatedly renovated and enlarged, and by the end of the 7th century had the monumental form of a courtyard altar with high walls as windbreaks.[138]

The Hekatompedos had stood for a hundred years when the sanctuary was subjected to massive structural remodeling at the beginning of the 6th century.[139] Rhoikos[140] and Theodoros[141] designed the temple of Hera, a structure wholly unprecedented in Greek temple architecture up to that time both as a building type and in its vast dimensions. According to Kienast's most recent investigations,[142] Rhoikos appears to have been the architect of the second dipteros, or the so-called Polykratic temple, while Theodoros was responsible for the first dipteros. The building is generally dated to the period 570/60;[143] according to Kienast, construction was begun around 575.[144] The Hekatompedos and portions of the demolished South Stoa were covered by the new building.[145] The sanctuary was provided on the north with a sturdy outer wall and entrance gate, against which, taking the place of the South Stoa,[146] the so-called North Stoa was erected.[147] Dating from this same period were the so-called North Building and South Building, two additional large temples.[148] As part of all this building activity, the major street axes within the sanctuary were fixed as well. In the 7th century there was one street, the so-called Processional Way, leading north from the shore to the square between the altar and the Hekatompedos, then continuing as the "north–south street" to the entrance to the temenos at the North Gate.[149] The most important access, however, was the Sacred Way that ran eastward, connecting the shrine with the city of Samos. It intersected the north–south street just north of the altar square, and over the course of the first half of the 6th century it became the Heraion's main thoroughfare.[150] Once the streets were built, the erection of splendid votive gifts followed.[151] The preferred location for lavish votive statues appears to have been the Sacred Way, as we can see from the siting of the Geneleos Group, the Isches kouros, the second East Colossus,[152] and the Cheramyes korai. The base[153] of the so-called South Colossus,[154] recently discovered at the northeast corner of the Rhoikos temple, also shows that the area where the two streets came together north of the altar square was clearly preferred for especially prestigious votive sculptures.

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[137] A. Mallwitz, *AA* 1981, pp. 624ff. See Kienast 1992, p. 174, with extensive bibliography: "The reconstruction of the peristasis of Hekatompedos I is more than questionable . . . a peristasis in Hekatompedos II must also be doubted." R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *JdI* 109 (1993), pp. 44f., questions the designation "Hekatompedos," since on the one hand the entire length of the temenos in its eastern end cannot be determined with certainty owing to its destruction, and on the other the length of 100 Samian feet established by Buschor does not conform with the reality. Idem, *JdI* 109 (1994), p. 50.

[138] H. Schleif, *AM* 58 (1933), pp. 174ff., 211ff. See the recent investigation of the Rhoikos altar in Kienast 1992, pp. 180ff. with n. 42: "In general, the altar can be considered as younger than the first dipteros."

[139] The so-called Rhoikian redesign was begun as early as the beginning of the 6th century. Study of ceramic finds from the eastern temenos north of the Sacred Way has shown that the first grading beneath the North Building in the northeastern area was completed in the first quarter of the 6th century: Samos III, p. 78. See also E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 49ff.; Walter 1965, pp. 57ff.; Kienast 1998, pp. 111f., esp. p. 118.

[140] Herodotus III, 60, 4. For the architects' names, see Buschor, loc. cit., p. 49; G. Schmidt, "Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos," *Samos* VII (1968), p. 114 with n. 14; idem, *AM* 86 (1971), pp. 40f. See also Walter 1990, pp. 120f. The attribution of the first dipteros to the architect Rhoikos was questioned by A. E. Furtwängler, *AM* 99 (1984), pp. 97ff. See also R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *JdI* 109 (1994), p. 57 with n. 58; Kienast 1998, p. 127.

[141] Tölle-Kastenbein, loc. cit., pp. 54f. with n. 131.

[142] Kienast 1998, pp. 127ff. "Theodoros' achievement would thus have been the new projection, the conception of an unprecedented temple—the achievement of Rhoikos, on the other hand, would have been in having mastered a building site with two-fold problems. The one would be the brilliant creator of a new type of temple, the other a successful master builder" (ibid., p. 129).

[143] For a comprehensive description of the temple, see E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 72ff., appendix 13, 15; O. Reuther, *Der Heratempel auf Samos* (1957); Kyrieleis 1981, pp. 77ff., illus. 49–52; Gruben 1986, pp. 331ff., illus. 278.

[144] Kienast 1992, pp. 174ff.; idem, *Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul 23.–25. mai 1991* (1993), p. 70, with a detailed discussion of the duration of the construction of this temple; idem, Samos X, p. 15.

[145] E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 72ff.; Kyrieleis 1981, pp. 73ff., illus. 49–52; Gruben 1986, pp. 331, illus. 278; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *JdI* 109 (1994), pp. 50ff.

[146] According to H. Walter, *AM* 72 (1957), p. 47, the South Stoa was erected around 640/30; see also Samos V, p. 88.

[147] For the function of both stoas, see G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 296ff., 301ff., illus. 42, 44.

[148] Kyrieleis 1981, pp. 43ff.; Walter 1990, pp. 116ff. Most recently: Kienast 1992, pp. 189ff. with n. 84. One can assume that the South Building was completed at some time "between the two dipteroi."

[149] For the layout of the streets in the first half of the 6th century, see E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 40ff., 70ff.; idem, *AM* 68 (1953), pp. 51f. See also Walter 1990, pp. 63, 73, 83, illus. 59, 76, 92; Samos IV, p. 33 with n. 56; Kyrieleis 1981, pp. 118ff., illus. 90; Kienast 1985, p. 367; Kyrieleis 1985, pp. 404ff. For the north–south street: H. Kyrieleis, *AA* 1978, p. 392; idem, *AA* 1980, pp. 336ff., esp. p. 345, illus. 13; Samos III, pp. 18f., illus. 2; Walter 1990, illus. 139, 169; Samos IV, map 7.

[150] Kyrieleis 1981, pp. 118ff.; Kienast, *Wege*, pp. 3ff.: "The layout of the Sacred Way is generally associated with the enlargement of the temenos and dates from the years around 600."

[151] One indication of the importance of the north–south Processional Way is the platform, more than 20 m long, on which in the last third of the 7th century an entire ship was set up as a votive offering: G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), p. 300 with n. 861. For the dedications of cauldrons and other votive gifts: Kyrieleis 1981, pp. 25ff., esp. p. 43. See also E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 43ff., 70. According to H. Kyrieleis, *AA* 1978, p. 387, illus. 1, 3, the discovery of the torso of a kouros in 1964 in the area of the North Gate, presumably not far from where it had once stood, attests to the increasing number of dedications along the processional routes. For the location of the kouros find: Samos IV, pp. 45f., 76, pl. 36; for the bases for votive gifts: Samos IV, pp. 27ff. See also Kienast 1992, pp. 193ff., illus. 27; A. Herda in Stemmer 1995, pp. 133ff. with n. 20 and the plan of the sanctuary p. 133; Kienast, *Wege*, pp. 3ff. and n. 26, illus. 1.

From analysis of excavations of the North Building,[155] the North Stoa, and the North Gate[156] it appears that Rhoikos's redesign[157] required an overall grading of the site. Moreover, the finds reveal that "it is important to distinguish between grading work, foundation work, building, and final consecration, and allow for interruptions of various lengths of time"—in other words, that the work was accomplished in several phases.[158]

In the course of this redesign, numerous older votive gifts must have been removed from their original spots and repositioned. One example is the so-called Three-figure Group,[159] which is known to have been reerected to the west of the Geneleos Group, where a base block with the feet of a kouros was discovered in situ. After the figural group of which he formed a part was divided up, the kouros appears to have ended up here. Also, the road that had run to the south of the northwest street since ancient times, and whose east side was lined with extremely ancient votive gifts, was covered over in this period by the western half of the great temple.[160]

Buschor's assumption[161] that some votive offerings were possibly placed in "the 200-foot-long stoa that begins at the later northwest corner of the great temple" is in need of correction. G. Kuhn has argued that both the North Stoa and South Stoa were used to house participants during cult celebrations and processions.[162]

The sites of a number of other earlier votive gifts[163] to the west of the Rhoikos temple were built over when the second Hera temple, the so-called Polykrates temple, was again moved, this time some 40 m to the west, around the decade 540/30.[164] This move was not undertaken because the earlier structure had been destroyed by fire, as has been assumed heretofore, but, according to the latest investigations by Kienast,[165] owing to structural flaws in its foundations. When Temple C was built at the intersection of the north–south street and the Sacred Way in the first half of the 6th century, a number of bases for votive gifts were also built over.[166]

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[152] Buschor 1934ff., I, pp. 10f., illus. 21, 25–28; IV, p. 66; idem, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 43f.; idem, *AM* 68 (1953), pp. 51f.; Kyrieleis 1981, pp. 118, illus. 89, 90.

[153] Samos X, p. 5; H. Kienast in Samos X, p. 15 with n. 99; Kienast 1992, pp. 197f., illus. 27.

[154] Nos. 30, 32B, and 34 have been newly assigned to the "South Colossus," no. 29A–C. H. Kyrieleis in Samos X, p. 4; H. Kienast in Samos X, p. 15: "Since the kouros was already standing when the building of the Rhoikos temple was begun around 575, it must be of an earlier date. Its base lay next to the temple's northeast corner, and was obviously constructed before it because there was a notch in the temple steps to allow for it."

[155] Samos III, pp. 1ff., 10ff., illus. 1, 2; H. Kyrieleis, *AA* 1978, pp. 257ff., illus. 1.

[156] H. P. Isler in *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (1976), pp. 261ff. The North Gate was built in three phases. In his opinion, building was begun before the decade 570/60 B.C. The time elapsed in the construction of the complex was roughly 25 years. For extensive discussion of the North Gate, see H. P. Isler in Samos IV, pp. 3ff. According to him, ibid., pp. 8ff., esp. pp. 31ff., the remains of monumental stoas are found on either side of the gate. His observations regarding the form of the north entrance are nevertheless in need of a certain amount of revision. According to the most recent investigations reported in Kienast 1992, p. 196, illus. 24, and Kienast, *Wege*, p. 5 and n. 23, there was no elaborate architecture there but only an "opening in the temenos enclosure," one that to be sure was framed by two "massive bases . . . on which two identical votive statues probably stood opposite each other."

[157] Samos III, pp. 5ff., esp. p. 72 with n. 262. Furtwängler also justifies the "replanning" with an "intolerable rise in the water table." Kienast 1992, pp. 174ff.

[158] According to A. Furtwängler, it is no longer correct to use the term "Rhoikian" as a dating criterion and epoch designation, since the numerous changes to the overall plan show that a single architect could not have been behind the entire redesign of the shrine: Samos III, p. 72 with n. 261; idem, *AM* 99 (1984), pp. 97ff. See most recently Kienast 1998, pp. 127ff.

[159] Buschor 1934ff., I, p. 10, illus. 11, 12; IV, pp. 64f.; V, p. 86. "The transfer of the group of three figures shows that in the course of the redesign of the temple and altar square certain sculptures that had already been set up had to change places." See also Samos XI, pp. 2, 135ff., esp. p. 138, no. 65, pl. 55; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 80, 185. See also Kyrieleis 1981, p. 122. Most recently Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 23ff., illus. 18–21.

[160] See the plan of the Heraion in E. Buschor, *Gnomon* IV (1928), p. 53, and M. Schede, *Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Berliner Staatlichen Museen unternommenen Ausgrabungen auf Samos* (1929), pp. 4ff., illus. 1. See also Kienast 1985, pp. 365f. with n. 4.

[161] E. Buschor, *JdI* 42 (1927), p. 398. See also E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 24, 55, 72. Concurring: A. H. Borbein, *JdI* 88 (1973), p. 102 and n. 296.

[162] G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 300ff., esp. pp. 306f. with nn. 902–3, illus. 42, 44. See also Gruben 1986, p. 329; Samos IV, pp. 11f., 34 with n. 58.

[163] Kienast 1992, pp. 193ff; Kienast 1985, pp. 365f.

[164] Kienast 1992, pp. 182ff., illus. 11–15. A sounding in the structure's pronaos provided proof for the dating of the temple to the years 540/30. For the history of the building's construction, see also R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *JdI* 109 (1994), p. 59.

[165] Kienast 1992, pp. 174ff., esp. p. 180. See also Kienast 1998, pp. 119ff.

[166] E. Buschor, *AM* 72 (1957), pp. 77ff., identified Temple C as a Hermes temple. See also O. Ziegenaus, *AM* 72 (1957), pp. 87ff., esp. pp. 109ff. See also Kalpaxis 1986, p. 61 with n. 469. According to Kienast 1992, pp. 191f., this structure is to be thought of as a treasure house. Kienast, *Wege*, p. 4, n. 15, points out also that the "so-called cult image base of Temple C [should be] considered the base for a votive gift on the east side of the north–south street."

As mentioned above, it is scarcely possible to determine where the korai originally stood owing to the extensive redesign of the temenos precinct in several building phases, for the spots where they were discovered no longer match their primary locations. At the same time, the separation of bases and gifts[167] makes it difficult to identify the type of offering, so that on Samos, in contrast to the Akropolis in Athens, with but very few exceptions it is impossible to gain a clear overview. The discovery of a uniform row of bases for votive gifts along the north–south street in 1979[168] may give some indication of the boundary of the shrine to the west, but there is nothing to suggest that korai ever stood on these bases.[169]

As table 1.6 shows, it appears certain that in the pre-Polykratic period the sanctuary was adorned with a number of korai. Of the total of 28 korai discovered within the sanctuary, the locations of the Geneleos Group and the dedications given by Cheramyes can be identified with certainty. The Geneleos Group[170] is known to have stood on the north side of the Sacred Way, and the same can be said of the Cheramyes korai, as is suggested by the find spot of the most recently discovered kore on the north edge of the street.[171] Whether or not they were lined up on a single long base[172] as a group of votive sculptures with the other gifts from Cheramyes, the kore with a hare, the -]μύης kouros, or at least the feet of the kouros,[173] as suggested by Kyrieleis, is as yet uncertain. Both korai A and B, as Kyrieleis has observed, are more severely weathered on the right front than on the other sides. The same is true of the southwest side of the sculptures of the Geneleos Group. One can thus assert, with Kyrieleis, that the Cheramyes korai all faced the same way, and that they were oriented in the same direction as the sculptures of the Geneleos Group.[174] The Sacred Way, especially its north side, was accordingly not only the preferred spot for the erection of especially lavish votive gifts,[175] it was also a place where visitors to the shrine could compare the row of votive offerings as though judging a competition. The concentration of the most impressive monuments in this area was surely initiated by aristocratic dedicators eager to demonstrate their social standing and make manifest their political pretensions and renown. This is particularly true of Cheramyes, who commissioned at least four large votive statues, whether or not they were part of a single group. This particular dedicator must certainly have held a leading position within the aristocracy.[176] One can assume the same for Isches, the donor of the large kouros.

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[167] Kyrieleis 1995, p. 19: "It is certain that archaic statues in the Heraion were moved or repositioned with reworked bases," as H. Kienast, *AM* 107 (1992), pp. 29ff., also demonstrated for the Geneleos base.

[168] See Kienast 1985, p. 365 with nn. 3, 4; H. Kyrieleis, *AA*1978, pp. 385ff., illus. 1–9. The bases that lined the west side of the north–south street north of Temple A formed the continuation of the row already discovered by E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), p. 70. It is difficult to determine what kind of votive gifts stood on these bases. Still, one can assume—as already mentioned—that the larger than life-size kouros whose feet and plinth were found to the east of the round structure (H. Kyrieleis, *AA* 1978, pp. 387f., illus. 1 [KL-6.7], 3) stood on one of them.

[169] The row of stone bases along the western boundary of the sanctuary was interpreted by E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930), pp. 51ff., illus. 23, 24, appendix 13, 14,2, as foundations for a fence. According to recent findings along the north–south street by H. Kienast, however, these western bases supported votive gifts set up along the road: Kienast 1985, pp. 365f. with n. 4. See also Kienast 1992, pp. 193ff. with n. 103; A. Herda in Stemmer 1995, pp. 133ff. and n. 20.

[170] The base for the group was found in situ south of the so-called North Building on the north side of the Sacred Way: Buschor 1934ff., I–III, p. 26, illus. 90–101. The Geneleos Group "stood on the north side of the Sacred Way leading to the city, to the north and outside the propylon of the pre-Rhoikian sanctuary." See also Buschor 1934ff., V, p. 86. E. Buschor, *AM* 68 (1953), p. 53, feels that the installation of the group took place "at the time the building of the Rhoikos temple was completed." See also E. Buschor, *AM* 74 (1959), pl. 1. H. Kienast, *AM* 107 (1992), pp. 29ff., pl. 10–15, appendix 2, has determined that the base formerly had two additional layers of squared stones, and that for unknown reasons, "probably in Roman times," the statues were lowered to the present level. See also A. Herda in Stemmer 1995, pp. 133ff.; Ch. Löhr in Stemmer 1995, pp. 142ff.; H. Bumke in Stemmer 1995, p. 146, n. 8.

[171] It cannot be said for certain, however, where the Cheramyes korai once stood. If one follows Kyrieleis's description, the group could have stood to the west of the Geneleos Group: Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 25ff.

[172] Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 15ff., esp. p. 26, illus. 11–23. The block from the base discovered south of the spot where kore B was found belongs to the one on which the figures A and B once stood. As Kyrieleis noted, this block is not, however, part of the original base but rather a later one, from a second installation of the korai. The type and shape of the original base are as yet unknown. According to Kyrieleis, it is nevertheless certain that korai A and B belonged together, and it is conceivable that other figures were part of the monument as well. See Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 11, 15ff., esp. p. 20, illus. 5–10, with all the arguments for and against the arrangement of all the Cheramyes votive gifts into a group offering. In my opinion, one could also assume that korai A and B, as well as the kore with a hare in Berlin, were single dedications and not a group offering, for each of them bears its own dedicatory inscription. Moreover, the distance between A and B on the second bases appears to be too short if one compares it to the height and circumference of the statues. See also B. Hintzen-Bohlen, *JdI* 105 (1990), p. 149 and n. 164, and the hypothetical reconstruction of a group offering made up of the gifts of Cheramyes by C. Parisi Presicce, *MemLinc,* ser. 8, vol. 32,2 (1989), pp. 147ff., illus. 7. According to Kyrieleis 1995, p. 26, n. 53, however, the drawing presented by Parisi Presicce is based "on findings that have not been confirmed," and is therefore somewhat "misleading," and moreover partially incorrect.

[173] Samos XI, 135ff., no. 65, pl. 55. Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 23ff. with nn. 41–45, illus. 14–23, attributes the feet of the so-called three-figure group to the same sculptor who carved the Cheramyes korai, comparing the feet of the kouros especially with those of figure A. And indeed there are obvious similarities in the wide form of their big toes. Kyrieleis suspects that this particular feature can be considered a personal signature of this artist. Moreover, he believes, as earlier G. Schmidt, *AM* 86 (1971), pp. 39f., that the feet and the kouros dedicated by -]μύης are part of the same figure. The fragment of the upper thigh with the inscription would accordingly be of an earlier date, c. 570, than previous scholarship has assumed (after the middle of the century, Samos XI, p. 135). Kyrieleis substantiates his view with anatomical details typical of the earliest colossal kouroi.

[174] Kyrieleis 1995, p. 26. In his opinion, the only column of the great temple still in situ also shows the same traces of weathering on the southwest side.

[175] Kienast 1985, pp. 365ff., esp. pp. 368f. with n. 11. Kienast describes Base 2 as the base of a statue (ibid., pp. 371ff., illus. 7), Base 3 as the base of kouros no. 47A/B (ibid., pp. 377ff., illus. 9, 10, 24), and Base 4 as the base of the colossal Isches kouros discovered in the Heraion in September 1980 (ibid., pp. 398f., illus. 11). For the base of the Isches kouros: Samos X, pp. 7ff., illus. 1–4, pl. 8.

In this context it would perhaps be appropriate to look at the location and orientation of the large kouroi in the sanctuary so as to be able to compare their positions with those of the korai. Isches, who commissioned the large kouros, must have played, like Cheramyes, a special role in Samian society. His kouros stood at a prominent spot on the right side of the Sacred Way, a few meters in from the East Gate. Since the East Gate and thus the entrance to the sanctuary have recently been discovered, the location can be established with certainty. According to Kienast, the eastern boundary of the temenos lay at the spot where there is a stone foundation hitherto always identified as "Base 5,"[177] but which as a result of his most recent investigations must be thought of as "part of the gate's northern pylon."[178] Thus it turns out that the first votive statue to catch the visitor's eye after passing through the East Gate was the colossal Isches kouros. For up until Base 4, on which the kouros stood, there was an open space 29.5 m long; no evidence of any archaic bases has been found along this stretch. This was surely no coincidence but rather the result of deliberate planning: the arriving visitor's view of the kouros was meant to be unobstructed. Moreover, a terrace[179] that visitors could mount allowed them to view the colossal monument from all sides. This reconstruction of the original position of the Isches kouros nicely conforms with H. von Steuben's observations about its "secret movement." The statue was turned slightly to the side, so that it faced the viewer approaching from the east: "The kouros was thus turned toward the entrance from which the visitor approached, and with its turning, increasing from bottom to top or decreasing from top to bottom, accompanied the visitor a portion of the way, so to speak, until the latter stood before him in all his immensity."[180] Continuing along the Sacred Way, the votive gifts increased in number, as we can see from the surviving bases.[181] Next to the Isches kouros stands Base 3, which according to Kienast carried kouros no. 47A/B.[182] It is unknown what sort of votive offering stood on the following Base 2, which is curved and stepped. This base stands some 3 m from that of the second kouros and roughly 7.5 m back from the edge of the street. A square base discovered some 4 m in front of this semicircular base supported a fluted torus. Since its foundation is quite modest, this base doubtless supported a small monument, perhaps a cauldron.[183]

Additional votive gifts are found between the Geneleos Group and the altar square. The series ends at the intersection of the Sacred Way and the north–south street and the South Colossus, no. 29A,C, the base[184] of which came to light at the northeast corner of the Rhoikos temple.

The relative dimensions of this kouros and its base are identical to those of the Isches kouros. One might well assume that these two gigantic kouroi were intended as a pair, marking the beginning and end of the Sacred Way for the pilgrim approaching from afar.[185]

In the Polykratic period, as mentioned above, the number of kore dedications drastically decreased. Only seven additional korai are known, three of which were discovered outside the Heraion. This conclusion is consistent with finds in the Heraion to date, for the number of other votive gifts, kouroi for example, also diminished considerably.[186]

Inscriptions

L. H. Jeffery[187] remarks that in Ionic art, artists were typically more likely to chisel inscriptions on the statues themselves than on their bases. In this they differ from the artists of Attica, who almost without exception placed their inscription on the base.[188] In fact, all the surviving Samos inscriptions associated with korai are chiseled on bodies.

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[176] E. Buschor in *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift B. Schweitzer* (1954), p. 100. See also Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 30ff., esp. p. 32.

[177] Kienast 1985, p. 388, illus. 17, 18, 24.

[178] Kienast, *Wege*, pp. 6f. According to Kienast, the gate was framed by two pylons. It is as yet unclear, however, how these were constructed and whether or not the propylon could be closed.

[179] Kienast 1985, pp. 354ff., esp. pp. 388f., illus. 24f.

[180] H. von Steuben in *Festschrift J. Borchhardt* (1996), II, pp. 55ff., esp. p. 57; idem, "Griechische Statuen unter freiem Himmel," *Städel Jahrbuch* 17 (1999), pp. 7ff. For a general discussion of the "secret movement," see K. Rhomaios, Οἱ Κέϱαμοι τῆς Καλυδῶνος (1951), pp. 119ff.; I. Kleemann, *Frühe Bewegung* 1 (1984), XII; Samos X, pp. 28ff. For the relationship between the siting of a group and the viewer, see also Ch. Ioakimidou, *Die Statuenreihen griechischer Poleis und Bünde aus spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit* (1997), pp. 377f.

[181] Kienast 1985, pp. 368ff., illus. 24.

[182] Ibid., pp. 375ff., illus. 1, 11. According to Kienast, the relative sizes of Base 3 and kouros no. 47A/B allow us to reconstruct its height as 3.25 m. For the kouros 47A/B, see Samos XI, pp. 88ff., pl. 30ff.

[183] Kienast 1985, pp. 368ff. For Base 2, ibid., pp. 371ff., illus. 5–7. Since it is 10 m long, Base 2 could have supported a number of figures.

[184] See Kienast 1992, pp. 193ff., illus. 27.

[185] H. Kienast in Samos X, p. 15; Kienast 1992, pp. 197f.; A. Herda in Stemmer 1995, plan of the sanctuary p. 133; H. Bumke in Stemmer 1995, pp. 139ff.

[186] Steuben 1980, p. 22.

[187] Jeffery 1961, p. 328.

[188] Samos XI, p. 72 with n. 37. "In Sunion the remains of the only known Attic kouros with a dedicatory inscription on its body were found." See also Jeffery 1961, p. 328 with n. 7.

It is striking that on Samos the surviving kore inscriptions, with one exception that names the artist, provide only the name of that dedicator[189] or that of the deity to whom the votive gift was dedicated. Also, on Samos all the dedicators appearing in the known inscriptions are men, like the famous Cheramyes, for example, who dedicated the two identical korai A in the Louvre and B in Samos Χηραμύης μ'ἀνέθηκε τ' Ἥρηι ἄγαλμα, as well as the kore with a hare in Berlin Χηραμίης μ'ἀνέθηκε Θῆι περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.[190] On the fragmented kore no. 2ABC, only the word ἔθηκεν survives, leaving us without the dedicator's name. In any case, it is clear that already at an early date (the mid-7th century) Samian sculptures customarily were furnished with inscriptions.

Other dedicators' names, those of Leukios[191] and Isches,[192] for example, are known from dedications of kouroi, as is that of Aiakes[193] from the dedication of a seated figure found outside the sanctuary. This latter dedication is of importance inasmuch as Aikes can be identified as a known historical figure.[194]

The names of two dedicants can be directly associated with korai: Cheramyes and -arches. Neither of these men can be identified as historical personages, however, even though their imposing votive gifts let us know that they were well-to-do and certain to have played important roles in Samian society.[195] Their votive gifts differ in one important respect: whereas -arches had himself and his family portrayed as a votive offering to Hera, each figure identified by name, Cheramyes mainly donated statues of korai that are not individually identified.[196]

Since the Cheramyes statues extend over a longer period of time and represent a number of prominent gifts (three korai and a kouros[197]), it is more than likely that Cheramyes had some close connection to the sanctuary.[198] This could also be supported by an observation by Freyer-Schauenburg, who would like to link the name Cheramyes with the goddess Hera's epithet, Χῆρα.[199]

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[189] See E. Buschor in *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift B. Schweitzer* (1954), pp. 95ff.

[190] Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 26f., 29, illus. 11–13, 24–26. On korai A and B the inscription runs vertically upward on the front double hem of the veil; on the kore with a hare, however, it runs downward at the same spot. See also G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 131f.

[191] The inscription ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΤΩ|ΑΠΟΛΩΝΙ is chiseled into the upper left thigh of kouros no. 35 (from Glyphada, c. 560; Samos XI, pp. 7, 69ff.). It relates that Leukios, the dedicator, presented a kouros to Apollo. As yet no sanctuary to Apollo has been discovered. "Leukios has been linked to the Sican hero Leukapsis, who is attested on Samos from other sources." For this and the name "Leukios," see also G. Dunst, *BCH* 88 (1964), pp. 482ff., esp. p. 485. For the location of an Apollo sanctuary in the vicinity of the Artemis sanctuary north of the Heraion, see K. Tsakos, *AAA* 13 (1980), pp. 305ff., esp. p. 317. Tsakos would like to link the Leukios kouros dedicated to Apollo with this presumed sanctuary, especially since the kouros came to light in this area.

[192] Ἰσχῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ρήσιος. This inscription is found on the fragment of a left thigh that was excavated by E. Homann-Wedeking in 1974. It belongs to the colossal kouros discovered in the Heraion by Kyrieleis in 1980, and names Isches, the son of Resios, as the dedicator. The name Ἰσχῆς and the patronymic Ρήσιος have not as yet been documented on Samos. See Steuben 1980, n. 27; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 188 with nn. 517, 518; H. Kyrieleis in Athens 1986, pp. 36, 40f., pl. 16,1. For an extensive discussion of the inscription, see G. Neumann in Samos X, pp. 45f., 65ff., pl. 7, 30.

[193] Samos XI, pp. 139ff., no. 67 with n. 206, pl. 56, 57; G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), 116ff., esp. p. 121, pl. 50,3. The inscription is on the left side of the chair, and reads:
ΑΕΑΚΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΟΒΡΥΧΩΝΟΣ : ΟΣ ΤΗΙ
ΗΡΗΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΛΗΝ : Ε
ΠΡΗΣΕΝ : ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ
ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΝ

[194] The seated statue was discovered within the town of Kastro Tigani, and had possibly stood on or near the akropolis, where it is presumed that the tyrant family resided. See J. Kiegeland in Hoepfner/Zimmer, pp. 46ff. The subject, who is probably the father of the tyrant Polykrates, could have had some political or priestly function. Samos XI, pp. 143f.; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 30ff.; U. Kron in Athens 1988, pp. 136f. with n. 9. See also the section on Samos's history, below.

[195] See E. Buschor in *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift B. Schweitzer* (1954), p. 100. According to G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 133f., one could replace the reading of the name -άρχης with -ιλάρχης, which would designate some official function.

[196] It is conceivable that Cheramyes' multiple gifts of korai represented his daughters, much like those of -arches. Kyrieleis has suggested that korai A and B could be twins, the kore with a hare in Berlin their younger sister. This could be supported by the statement in Kienast 1985, pp. 367f., that "imposing votive gifts [were] preferably set up along this road, the area in the immediate vicinity of the entrance gate apparently reserved for especially prominent ones." Kienast, *Wege*, p. 4: "The Sacred Way [was conceived] as a promenade for pilgrims from afar, and above all for the noble and wealthy of the city."

[197] Samos XI, pp. 21ff., nos. 6–7, and H. Kyrieleis in Athens 1986, pp. 41ff.; Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 7ff. no. 6A (kore), and Samos XI, p. 95, no. 49AB (kouros), pl. 35. The incomplete inscription on the fragment of the kouros's thigh reads ΧΕΡΑ] ΜΥΗΣ ΜΑΝΕΘ[ΚΕ; the second line, ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΛ]ΕΣ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ, is on his calf. The kouros was clearly a votive gift from Cheramyes. Freyer-Schauenburg (Samos XI, p. 7) remarks: "The un-Greek name ending -μυης is no surprise on Samos, one of the most important links between Greece and the Near East." See also Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 23ff., illus. 14–17. J. P. Barron, *JHS* 83 (1963), pp. 210ff, disagrees; he considers the kouros to be a gift from the Milesian Hexamyes, the father of the natural philosopher Thales.

[198] In this way the donor could preserve his name and his special merits for posterity. Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 31f.

[199] Samos XI, p. 7 with n. 27. Kyrieleis 1995, p. 30 with nn. 75–77, points out that the name Cheramyes is of Carian origin; in his opinion, certain features of the korai's clothing show this as well, with their reminiscences of peculiarities of Hellenized Carian families of Near Eastern origin. Whether or not the wealthy Cheramyes belonged to the Carian community on Samos is nevertheless uncertain. For the Carian populace of Samos's Near Eastern Peraia, see Shipley 1987, pp. 27ff., 31f., 266ff., illus. 4, 22.

From the archaic inscriptions on Samos, which G. Dunst has discussed in detail,[200] it is possible to learn something in general about the variety and value of votive gifts, but they provide very little information about korai. It is nonetheless striking that all the known korai were dedicated to the goddess Hera,[201] and must surely have been linked to cult activity within the framework of celebrations honoring the great goddess.[202]

Even though a number of inscriptions list the value of the gift, it is impossible to draw any conclusions from them about the korai's function.[203]

The inscriptions on two of Cheramyes' votive gifts, the kore with a hare and the kouros fragment no. 49A/B, have the laudatory epithet πεϱιϰαλλές ἄγαλμα. As the research of Ch. Karusos has shown, this expression is encountered only on votive gifts, and only in the early to middle archaic period, up until roughly 530.[204] In this period ἄγαλμα could apply to "every thing of beauty pleasing to the god, every votive object"[205]—as, for example, the so-called Hera of Samos, whose inscription reads: "Cheramyes dedicated me, the agalma, to Hera." Karusos identifies πεϱιϰαλλές as a "general expression for the totality of a beauty that exists independently and prior to its elements," a beauty "apart from the specific, subjective judgment."[206] The use of the personal pronoun μέ,[207] for example in the case of Cheramyes, μ' ἀνέθηϰε, and linked to this the personification in the phrases "dedicated me" or "erected me," is less informative than one might at first suppose.[208]

In the inscription on the Geneleos Group, the subject speaks of himself in the first person: [ἄ]ϱχης εἰμὶ [ο]ϰαν [ἔ]θηϰε τῆι Ἡϱῆι, Φιλέα, Ὀϱνὶθη, Φιλίππη, ἧμᾶς ἐποίησε Γενέλεως ("I am -arches . . .").[209] "In that the statue says of itself 'I am such and such,' the distinction between the portrait and the person portrayed is erased, the figure presents itself as an individual and a portrait of the given person."[210] The Geneleos Group inscription shows us that these statues were placed in the sanctuary as substitutes for actual people.[211] It must be noted in this context that the korai of the Geneleos Group are depicted with abundant braids[212] falling down their backs and across their shoulders and breasts. This imposing hairstyle is especially striking for Samos, for all other surviving korai with heads wear veils, with the exception of the earliest colossal kore no. 3AB from the years 640/30.[213] With the personal form of the inscription and the maidens' varied hairstyles, as well as slight differences in their sizes, the first steps toward individualized self-display are apparent. The same can be said of the korai's stance, with one foot slightly forward, and their clothing, which is arranged in slightly different ways, for example in the way the chiton is grasped. All these features suggestive of a new self-consciousness (-άϱχης εἰμί) tally with the recent and informative interpretation of the group by Steuben,[214] which will be discussed in greater detail in the section on the korai's function.

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[200] G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 99ff.

[201] A bronze tablet tells us of joint dedications to Hera and Poseidon; a certain Amphidemos brought captured ships in part to Hera, in part to Poseidon. See Dunst, loc. cit., pp. 106f. illus. 1, pl. 47 (bronze tablet), 109ff., with extensive bibliography on the location of the Poseidon sanctuary. According to Pausanias VIII, 4,1, Poseideon played a prominent role in the genealogy of the Samian king Ankaios.

[202] For the practices of the cult, including the Hera festivals with their processions and sacrificial feasts, see U. Kron in Athens 1988, pp. 133ff.

[203] For example, a gift can be consecrated to the god as a ἀπαϱχή, or first-fruits offering, though "first-fruits offering" is only an incomplete translation of the word ἀπαϱχή. Herodotus IV, 87–88, esp. IV, 88, informs us that the Samian Mandroklos had set up in the Heraion a painting with the depiction of Darius's army crossing the bridge he built across the Bosporus as an ἀπαϱχή of his generous payment. Dunst, loc. cit., pp. 123f.; Nilsson 1955, pp. 134f.; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 60ff. A votive gift can also be designated as a δεϰάτη, or tenth part of the dedicator's profit: Herodotus IV, 152. On a marble pillar from the early 6th century there is the inscription of two Perinthians who "dedicated their tithe to Hera in the form of a golden Gorgon, a silver Siren, a silver bowl, a brass lamp stand, and the inscription stone to a value of 212 Samian staters": Walter 1965, p. 70; Walter 1990, p. 150, illus. 168. See also G. Klaffenbach, *MdI* 6 (1953), pp. 15ff, pl. 3.

[204] Karusos 1941, pp. 593ff., esp. p. 541; idem, in *Inschriften der Griechen*, ed. G. Pfohl (1972), pp. 93f., esp. pp. 96f, 101: "The expression πεϱιϰαλλές ἄγαλμα, along with all others of the same origin, Karusos calls a μυθιϰή ϰϱίση (mythic pronouncement)." See also Philipp 1968, pp. 20ff. Cf. Kyrieleis 1995, p. 28 with n. 60.

[205] Karusos, loc. cit. (*Inschriften*), p. 95.

[206] Karusos 1941, pp. 543ff.; idem in *Inschriften der Griechen,* ed. G. Pfohl (1972), p. 101. For the ἄγαλμα as showpiece and token of prestige, see N. Himmelmann, *Über bildende Kunst in der homerischen Gesellschaft.* Abh. Mainz (1969) no. 7, pp. 16. 28f.; idem, *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (1994), p. 80: "In archaic works, pride in achievement and success is combined with the desire to present a votive gift that is a beautiful and flawless πεϱιϰαλλές ἄγαλμα."

[207] Philipp 1968, pp. 22f. with n. 69.

[208] The dedication of the Nikandre represents an exception. See the Inscriptions section of the Delos chapter, pp. 76f., below.

[209] Owing to the poor state of the inscription various readings are possible. See Samos XI, p. 122 with nn. 83b–87. See also G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 132ff.

[210] Walter 1965, p. 70. See also Philipp 1968, pp. 20f. Walter accepts Buschor's reading, and adduces from the εἰμί ("I am") the beginning of individuality. Martini 1990, p. 81, however, takes the position "that with the 'εἰμί' the dedicator does not identify himself with the sculpture directly." And according to Kyrieleis, Samos X, p. 97 with n. 454, the archaic figures' "speaking" in the first person is to be interpreted as a sign of their individualism.

[211] "The dedicator and his wife Phileia, as the most prominent members of the group, speak for all: 'we were dedicated by -άϱχης,' or 'Geneleos made us'": Kyrieleis 1995, p. 27 with n. 56f. See also H. Kyrieleis, Samos X, p. 97; B. Hintzen-Bohlen, *JdI* 105 (1990), p. 149 with n. 148.

[212] Samos XI, pl. 49ff.; Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 250ff., esp. pp. 256f.

[213] This kore stands wholly within the Daedalic tradition.

[214] Steuben 1989, pp. 137ff., esp. pp. 138f.

Interpretation

The Samian korai themselves offer no clear indication of whom they might represent. All we know is that they were presented as votive gifts, *agalmata,* notably to Hera. For a very few we know the name of the dedicator or the artist, but their original location can only be guessed at. The votive offerings in the girls' hands also tell us nothing specific that would be of help in the interpretation of these statues.[215] The veil drawn over the head of the so-called Hera of Cheramyes has always been cited as an indication that this was a statue of the goddess herself,[216] but that notion has now been refuted.[217] With the discovery of the second Cheramyes kore, the interpretation of the so-called Hera as the goddess became even less probable.[218] Kore no. 7 (plates 8–9), the kore with a hare, also presented by Cheramyes, cannot be identified with Aphrodite, as Buschor insisted.[219] Thus one has to assume, along with Freyer-Schauenburg and others, that the korai were not intended to represent goddesses,[220] even those that are larger than life-size.[221]

Freyer-Schauenburg has suggested that they are to be thought of as portraits of a παῖς καλή, a typical, lovely young maiden.[222] Kyrieleis shares this reading in his assumption that the Cheramyes korai represent the dedicator's children, standing next to each other as siblings. In this case the kore with a hare in Berlin would represent the youngest daughter, that is to say the younger sister of kore A in the Louvre and kore B in Samos.[223] But are they in fact only "symbols," as L. Schneider insists?[224] Or should we not instead think of these maidens as idealized images of specific young women from Samos society?

The Geneleos Group offers definite hints that help us answer this question. Since this monument[225] is preserved largly intact, both its figures and its inscriptions, it is well suited to provide information about how the korai, at least in this instance, are to be understood.[226] As already mentioned, it can be stated with certainty that the dedicator, -arches, who was able to display his status in the sanctuary with such an elaborate votive gift,[227] must have been a person of considerable importance,[228] one who likely held some leading office in the cult of Hera.[229] Not only is he identified by name, but all the other figures are as well, giving the impression that they must be family members, namely his wife and children, members of Samian society like him.[230] In his recent interpretation of the group, H. von Steuben starts with the question of how we are to establish the relationship of the figures to one another and to the goddess Hera, to whom the monument was dedicated and on whose property it stood.[231]

With good reason, he first refutes the suggestion of E. Walter-Karydi that the group depicts a symposium.[232] Instead, he holds that the father is depicted as taking part in a feast, the mother, however, as a priestess of Hera. The daughters are shown as performers in a round dance in honor of the goddess, and the presumed son, finally, as a flute player at a cult festival.[233] As parallels to the korai in the group he points to the round dancers on a hydria (plate 30) found in the Heraion and dating from the early 6th century.[234]

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[215] Samos XI, pp. 10f.; Martini 1990, pp. 80ff.

[216] Samos XI, p. 25 with nn. 54ff. Freyer-Schauenburg points out that veiled eastern Ionic korai are quite common, and that in all probability this represents a detail of local costume. Except for the korai of the Geneleos Group, almost all Samian korai wear a veil. They are joined in this by the small head (surviving height 8.4 cm; c. 540) of a much smaller than life-size kore in a private collection in Switzerland that Freyer-Schauenburg suggests could come from Samos: B. Freyer-Schauenburg in *Opus Nobile, Festschrift für U. Jantzen* (1969), pp. 42ff., pl. 9. For various interpretations of the veil, see U. Kron in Athens 1986, p. 56, n. 30; Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 30f.

[217] Samos XI, pp. 10, 25 with nn. 51f. There is a summary of the various opinions in F. Brommer, *JdI* 101 (1986), p. 51 and n. 96.

[218] Kyrieleis 1995, p. 30.

[219] Buschor 1934ff., V, pp. 83f. But compare Samos XI, pp. 29ff. See *LIMC* II 1 (1984) s.v. "Aphrodite," p. 15, no. 57. More extensively, Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 21ff. with n. 39.

[220] Samos XI, pp. 8ff.; Martini 1990, pp. 81f.

[221] Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 31f.: "This size, not yet truly colossal but obviously exceeding human scale, clearly demonstrates their aristocratic dedicators' social and political pretensions." Idem, Samos X, pp. 87ff.: "Even the colossal kouroi were not likenesses of a male god, for after all they were all consecrated to the goddess Hera."

[222] Samos XI, p. 9; see also Martini 1990, p. 81.

[223] Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 21ff., esp. pp. 30f.; idem, Samos X, pp. 93ff. Kyrieleis points out that with this multifigured votive gift of his children Cheramyes wished to document both his aristocratic and political standing and the fact that he had a number of offspring, a matter of some prestige at the time. See also Schneider 1975, pp. 13f. N. Himmelmann, *Über bildende Kunst in der homerischen Gesellschaft. Abh Mainz* (1969), p. 62, n. 43, does not see Cheramyes' votive gift as depicting his children.

[224] Schneider 1975, pp. 31ff., esp. p. 33. No "likenesses of real maidens," but their function as "wishful thinking and ideal models" meant to stimulate the viewer "to behave in such a manner as is visibly embodied by the statues."

[225] Samos XI, pp. 106ff., esp. pp. 123ff.: "In all of archaic Greek art there is no other multifigured group in which the base and figures are as well preserved [as] in the Geneleos Group, which is certain to have consisted of six related statues." For general discussion of the Geneleos Group, see also B. Freyer-Schauenburg in *Exempla, Leitbilder zur antiken Kunst, Antikensammlung 2. Kunsthalle Kiel* (1996), pp. 48ff.

[226] Scholars have frequently disputed the composition of the group, especially the sex of its figures. See N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, "Zur Geneleos-Gruppe beim samischen Heraion," *MarbWPr* 1963, pp. 13ff.; G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 132ff.; U. Muss, *AM* 97 (1981), pp. 139ff.; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz in Athens 1986, pp. 17ff.; E. Walter-Karydi, *AM* 100 (1985), pp. 91ff.; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 345ff.; Steuben 1989, pp. 137ff., pl. 57, 58.

[227] This is confirmed, as mentioned above, by the recent findings of H. Kienast, *AM* 107 (1992), pp. 29ff., esp. p. 41, pl. 10ff., appendix 1–2, who has shown that the original base for the Geneleos Group was originally two stone layers taller than it was when it was discovered.

[228] Samos XI, pp. 10, 143ff. on no. 67. Also the seated figure of Aiakes is a historical person and not a depiction of the goddess Hera, as was still suggested by Buschor 1934ff., II, pp. 40f., V, p. 91. Karakatsanis 1986, p. 186. See also Kyrieleis 1995, p. 27.

[229] Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 31f. with n. 90.

[230] Steuben 1989, p. 139 with n. 15; according to Steuben, the maiden figures of the Geneleos Group are distinguished from the older votive gifts of Cheramyes, which clearly depict worshipers. The inscriptions also support our assumption: "I am Ornithe." Cf. Samos XI, p. 115, no. 62, pl. 50, 53 (Ornithe); p. 114, no. 61, pl. 49 (Philippe); Walter 1990, p. 145.

[231] Steuben 1989, pp. 137ff., esp. p. 139.

[232] According to E. Walter-Karydi, *AM* 100 (1985), pp. 98ff., they are "portraits of the dedicator's family, the family of a free citizen,

The figures of the maidens in the vase painting are very similar to those of the statues. Their poses,[235] their clothing, and their hairstyles are identical (plates 24–28),[236] the latter also varied in the dancers on the hydria so as to distinguish them one from another. Even the various colors of the garments of the round dancers on the hydria could well match the costumes of the Samian korai (chiton, diagonal himation, long veil). For although no traces of color have survived on the garments of the Geneleos korai, one can point to similar examples such as the so-called Berlin Goddess or the Phrasikleia kore. The polychrome painting of a number of korai from the Akropolis, in many cases preserved, suggests that the Geneleos figures were also distinguished by the colors of their clothing, emphasizing a wide range of variation.[237]

From literature we know that round dances were traditionally performed at weddings. It is thus more than likely that during Samos's Tonaia,[238] the celebration of the goddess's ritual marriage, round dances[239] would have been an important part of the cult rites. For that reason it would seem logical to interpret the korai of the Geneleos Group as participants in such a round dance in the Heraion.[240] These dancers in the common round dance[241] are referred to as παρθένοι, or marriageable maidens. Their participation in the dance, combined with the chance to show themselves in public, constituted a kind of initiation, their official acceptance into the world of adults. It is possible that many of the numerous vases[242] illustrating this occasion in early Greek art might be thought of as mementos of this specific event so crucial in a young woman's life.

This custom can also be associated with a cult festival marking the end of the old ritual year or the beginning of the new one: Hera is abducted as a child (παῖς), and after a certain time abroad returns to the community as a marriageable adult, so that the ritual wedding can be celebrated anew.[243]

Families were permitted to show themselves in public during this festival,[244] by taking part in processions, for example, or letting their daughters take part in the round dances. For young women this was a special opportunity to be seen.[245] The procession to the Heraion during a Hera festival was a major event, one in which young women were specially dressed in splendid purple garments and elaborate hairdos,[246] just as described by the Samian poet Asios.[247]

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doubtless from the polis of Samos." According to Steuben 1989, p. 138, the family members are to be thought of as active participants in various cult practices.

[233] "Thus all members of the family, each in his or her own way, were associated with the cult of Hera and worthy of being combined into a votive gift to Hera": Steuben 1989, p. 139.

[234] Steuben 1989, pp. 138ff., pl. 57,2. For the hydria, see A. E. Furtwängler, *AM* 95 (1980), pp. 188ff., esp. pp. 191ff., 218 III/42, appendix I, illus. 10; idem, *AntK* 21 (1978), p. 113, pl. 54, 55; Shipley 1987, p. 59, illus. 9.

[235] According to Steuben 1989, pp. 139f., the repeated motif in the Geneleos korai of the foot placed forward and the grasping of the gown definitely suggest the movements of the dance. For the grasping of the skirt in korai statues, see also Schneider 1975, pp. 29f.; for the "dancing motif" of the Cape Phoneas youth standing on tiptoe, see H. Kyrieleis, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 113ff., esp. pp. 118f.

[236] Steuben 1989, p. 138: ". . . the sisters of the Geneleos Group are differentiated and individualized . . . in the way their hair is dressed, apparently held together at the neck in the nameless maiden on the left, hanging broadly across the back of Philippe, and in Ornithe also hanging down in long strands across her breast."

[237] Extensively covered in the Polychromy section in the Attica chapter, below, pp. 122ff. The Isches kouros was also originally painted. See Samos X, pp. 23ff. There is a color illustration of the hydria in P. Amandry, Chios 1986, pp. 205ff., pl. 3. Cf. E. Walter-Karydi, *AM* 100 (1985), pp. 102f., and U. Kron in Athens 1986, pp. 54f. with nn. 26f.

[238] Tonaia and Heraia are probably identical. See A. E. Furtwängler, *AM* 95 (1980), p. 197 with nn. 244, 246; Pötscher 1987, pp. 125ff. See also J. B. Romano in Athens 1988, p. 129; B. Fridh-Haneson in Athens 1988, pp. 205ff. For the definition and significance of Heraia and Tonaia, see U. Kron in Athens 1988, p. 136, n. 3.

[239] Further confirmation of the significance of the round dance within the cult of Hera was provided by the discovery of an ornamental plaquette from the 8th century on which 12 girded men are depicted performing such a dance. See G. Köpke, *AM* 82 (1967), pp. 137ff. H. Kyrieleis, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), p. 117 with n. 19, also speaks of the dance as an "art form": in the dance, he believes, is expressed "the full measure of grace, strength, beauty, and rich costumes that are again and again celebrated in contemporary poetry as the fundamental advantages of youth and a noble way of life, and that represent the pride of families and the polis."

[240] Steuben 1989, p. 139 with n. 9: "One might even consider whether the daughters' victory in a round dance might have been the occasion for the bequest of a gift." See also Furtwängler, *AM* 95 (1980), p. 197: "The creation of the round-dance hydria as a prize in a dance contest." H. Kyrieleis, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), p. 118, also emphasizes that "with the dancing motif the korai can be characterized in one fundamental aspect of their social roles."

[241] Wickert-Micknat 1982, pp. R 28f., 31 with n. 122. See also E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka* (1879), p. 79.

[242] See Tölle 1964, pp. 11ff.

[243] Pötscher 1987, pp. 130f. with n. 290. For the cult feast in the Heraion in general, see U. Kron in Athens 1988, pp. 135ff.

[244] H. Kyrieleis in Samos X, p. 101; idem, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 117f. with n. 19.

[245] V. Siurla Theodoridou, *Die Familie in der griechischen Kunst und Literatur des 8. bis 6. Jhs. v. Chr.* (1989), p. 233. Theodoridou thinks that the placement of a large marble statue in the sanctuary indicates a special relationship between the dedicator and the goddess, for example some priestly function on the part of the dedicator. See also Burkert 1977, pp. 154f.

[246] Their hair was moreover adorned with lygos wreaths: U. Kron in Athens 1988, pp. 138ff. with nn. 18ff. According to Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 30f., even the veiling of the head was "no arbitrary motif, but may well have had a special significance in identifying the status or situation of the subject more closely."

[247] Οἱ δ' αὖτως φοίτεσκον ὅπως πλοκάμους κτενίσαιντο/ εἰς Ἥρας τέμενος, πεπυκασμένοι εἵμασι καλοῖς/ χιονέοισι χιτῶσι πέδον χθονός εὐρέος εἶχον, Athenaios XII, 525 E; Pötscher 1987, pp. 131f.; "Duris speaks of the luxury of the Samians and quotes verses by Asios." Walter 1990, p. 177. Homer also describes the "trailing garments" of the Ionians: *Iliad* XIII, 685. Hymn to Apollo 147. See H. Kyrieleis, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 116f. For the costly clothing of the Samian ruling class in the procession to the Heraion, see Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 105ff., and for the luxury of its clothing in general, A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland* (1989), pp. 109ff.

In the *Iliad*[248] we are told how Hera appears before Zeus as παρθένος, adorned in magnificent clothing, and once again consummates their marriage. Cult ritual called for a similar performance, for each year during the Samos Tonaia the image of the goddess was clothed in new garments.[249]

One can assume that in the Heraion on Samos, as on the Akropolis in Athens, there was a specific building in which specially chosen young girls and women produced the goddess's garments.[250] An indication that there was such a building was the discovery of loom weights during excavation in the North Building, north of the Geneleos base.[251] This structure is one of several buildings in the Heraion that have no altar but nonetheless belong, as *oikema,* to the "domestic goddess."[252] Moreover, an inscription from the year 346/45[253] was discovered in the Heraion, a treasury inventory that lists, among other things, a number of textiles (for example, chitons, himatia, head ornaments, and veils) as part of the goddess's possessions, κόσμος τῆς θεοῦ. Considering both of these finds, it seems most probable that women did in fact practice the art of weaving in the North Building.[254] For fabrics also qualified as agalmata, decorative pieces that were displayed as part of the temple treasury.[255]

From these considerations one can conclude that the Samian korai were images of actual young women[256] who both took part in Hera festivals as dancers[257] and, as a select few, had the prestigious job of weaving the goddess's garments. The dedicators of these monuments, which definitely have the character of honorary statues as well, were family members.[258] In this context, the korai in the Heraion shed particular light on the actual cult of Hera, unlike other votive gifts like tripods, for example, that might just as well be dedicated to some other deity. For the motivation behind these bequests was not the capture of booty or good fortune in commerce, but rather was linked to the dedicator's role within the Hera cult, as in the case of the Geneleos Group, with its especially realistic portrayal of the dedicator and his family as participants in festival rites.[259]

Chronological Distribution of the Samian Korai in Light of the Island's History

Owing to the absence of primary sources,[260] any retelling of the history of Samos in the archaic period is necessarily fragmentary.[261] It is very probable that over the course of the 7th century the kingship on Samos, possibly of the μόναρχος[262] Demoteles,[263] was supplanted by an oligarchy of the *geomoroi.*[264] Similar developments are documented in other Greek poleis.[265] Samos's history in the following two centuries was one of repeated internal conflict,[266] with rule by aristocrats alternating with tyrannies, though scholars disagree about the dates and number of tyrants before Polykrates. One example is Amphikrates, whom Herodotus[267] refers to as βασιλεύς (king). In the older literature[268] and more recently again in G. Shipley,[269] Amphikrates is identified as the last king of Samos, who reigned c. 700. G. Schmidt,[270] however, places the same Amphikrates as a tyrant between the older Syloson and Polykrates, or in roughly 545/40. Since Amphikrates is only mentioned in Herodotus, without any indication of his time, nothing can be said for certain about when he may have lived.[271]

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[248] Homer, *Iliad* XIV, 175–78, 294–96; Wickert-Micknat 1982, p. R 124. For Hera Parthenos, see also Burkert 1977, p. 211.

[249] D. Ohly, *AM* 68 (1953), p. 37: "The goddess is the wearer of at least six, possibly many more ritually consecrated chitons. In addition she wears a mantle, her head is draped." For the garments of the Hera of Samos: I. B. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images* (1980), pp. 250ff.; idem, in Athens 1988, p. 132.

[250] Although the sources make no mention of such a custom, these garments must have been woven for the Tonaia.

[251] Samos III, pp. 63ff., esp. p. 66 with nn. 222–23, 232.

[252] Ibid., p. 66, n. 231; see also p. 138, n. 330.

[253] D. Ohly, *AM* 68 (1953), p. 47, appendix 7, pp. 46–50 (text). The listing begins with line 13, κόσμος τῆς θεοῦ. There are a very large number of garments: 54 chitons and 49 himatia, of which only 4 belong to Hermes, all the rest to the goddess. See also Pekridou-Gorecki (note 247 above), pp. 101ff. See also R. Tölle, *RA* 1977, p. 28; I. B. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images* (1980), pp. 255, 261.

[254] Samos III, p. 66; see also p. 136, nn. 293–99.

[255] Kienast, Samos III, p. 66, assumes that the North Building was "an oikema, or a templelike showplace for the goddess that could by all means also serve as a thesauros." In the late 6th century the Heraion was so well known for its security that even Kleisthenes of Athens entrusted his daughter's dowry to the sanctuary for safekeeping. Cicero, *de leg.* II, 46.

[256] The kouros can also be the likeness of a "quite specific person or figure known to the dedicator or the viewer"; the colossal kouroi, like that of Isches, for example, could have signified descent from a race of heroes. For an extensive discussion of this, see H. Kyrieleis in Samos X, pp. 91ff., esp. p. 98.

[257] Similarly, H. Kyrieleis, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), p. 118.

[258] K. Fittschen, *Griechische Porträts* (1988), pp. 16f., describes the korai as "honorary statues." For the concept of the portrait in this period and "realistic elements" in the Cheramyes kore as well as those of the Geneleos Group, see U. Sinn, *AM* 98 (1983), pp. 38f., 34ff. with n. 66; see also N. Himmelmann, *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (1994), pp. 62ff.

[259] In the sequence of the figures on the base, the daughters of -arches appear in front of the son. Perhaps this was meant to indicate the maidens' special place within the Hera cult and (or) the family.

[260] Our main source is Herodotus III; see Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 9ff. Ibid., n. 7, who lists the passages in which Herodotus touches on Samos outside of Book III. Berve 1967, II, pp. 581ff., names other sources.

[261] G. Schmidt, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 181ff., summarizes the literature up to 1972. Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 9ff.; Young 1980; Shipley 1987, pp. 25ff.

[262] For the terminology μόναρχος, see P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre, Etudes et travaux XI* (1984), pp. 234ff. See also J. P. Barron, *The History of Samos to 439 B.C.* (1961), p. 211; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, p. 37.

[263] It is impossible to fit the *monarchos* Demoteles into the island's history with any certainty. From Plutarch, who fails to name his sources to be sure, we know that after Demoteles' murder the geomoroi assumed power on Samos: Plutarch, *quaest. graec.* IV, 303E-304C. Along with Demoteles, there are others, like Amphikrates as βασιλεύς or a αἰσυμνήτης Phobias, lurking in the mists of Samos's history. See note 284, below.

[264] The term "geomoroi" designates the landowning nobility on Samos who from time to time took control of its government; see *RE* VIII (1910), 1219ff., s.v. "Geomoroi" (Broener); Shipley 1987, pp. 39ff., 52ff. According to Shipley, the geomoroi must have held power around 600, if not earlier. See also J. P. Barron, *The History of Samos to 439 B.C.* (1961), p. 130, who describes the 7th century on Samos as the era of the geomoroi; Gehrke 1986, pp. 119f.

[265] A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (1956), pp. 7ff.; Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 81ff.

[266] Berve 1967, I, p. 107; Shipley 1987, pp. 69ff.

Rich finds in the Heraion on Samos of ceramics,[272] terracottas, bronzes, and ivories from the mainland, the Greek islands, and the Near East[273] attest to the island's trade with these various places[274] and its development as a sea and trading power[275] as early as the late 8th century.[276] One can only assume that the "commercial magnates" came from the leading noble families,[277] who increased their wealth and gained power and social influence through sea trade. The resulting changes in internal politics[278] surely contributed to the supplanting of the kingship.

The dedication of three colossal korai in the 7th century would well accord with the influence of the geomoroi, the island's most distinguished citizens (see table 1.1). The geomoroi were landowners who lived from agricultural production, not seafaring. They came from the fertile interior, not the coast, and for that reason may have been more intimately devoted to Hera, as goddess of fertility, than the mariners. The latter brought another kind of wealth into the sanctuary with their tithes, for example Kolaios in the 7th century. A person like Kolaios probably wished to display his "aristocratic status" in a different way from the dedicators of the early female figures; he would not have had such a personal connection to the cult of Hera. His votive gifts were intended to demonstrate his wealth in forms that it took in real life.[279] One can assume that with their gifts of larger than life-size female statues, the earlier dedicators wished to prove their particular devotion to the goddess and at the same time demonstrate their power, their wealth, and also the active role of their women in the cult of Hera.

As indicated above, the production of korai on Samos subsequently saw an interruption of some 50 years, beginning around 630. Whether or not this interval can be linked to a decline in the power of the geomoroi cannot be said with certainty, since we know of numerous other votive gifts from the Heraion, for example the bronze cauldron of Kolaios[280] and a number of ship dedications.[281] Around 600, or shortly afterward, we encounter the first colossal kouroi. Thus it seems more likely that the aristocrats simply opted for new ways of representing themselves in the sanctuary. Kyrieleis has pointed out the difference between votive gifts like cauldrons and tripods and the dedication of marble statues. It is his opinion that the change in the type of gifts reflects a new spiritual dimension developed over the course of the 7th and 6th centuries, a wholly different "relationship to the living world." Underlying the gift of a cauldron or tripod was a willingness to surrender an object of value. A statue was seen as something else, something that called to mind "more complex values." In this connection the nature of the sanctuary took on particular importance, especially the polis sanctuary, for in the Greek world it had also been considered an "arena for the display of social and political status."[282]

A period of instability appears to have then followed on Samos, one that could be traced to various causes. On the one hand the old aristocratic families were doubtless beset by a group grown rich through trade,[283] and on the other the general populace was largely impoverished. Such contrasts made it possible for tyrants,[284] "monarchs" impossible to identify more closely, to seize power again and again. There is accordingly virtually nothing definite about the form of government on Samos to be deduced from the sources, and it is impossible to describe the economic situation on which the major building projects in the second quarter of the 6th century depended. The huge structural undertaking in the Heraion as a consequence of its redesign and the erection of the Rhoikos temple "presupposes stable conditions,"[285] and suggests a unified effort on the part of the polis and the cult community.[286]

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[267] Herodotus III, 59, says virtually nothing about the period before the middle of the 6th century. He reports that ἐπ' Ἀμφιϰϱατέος βασιλεύοντος the Samians attacked Aigina and suffered heavy losses. When this conflict took place is not stated. We know only that the Aiginetans later used this attack as a pretext for their assault on the Samian colony of Cydonia, on Crete, with Cretan troops. According to Herodotus II, 54ff., this event is supposed to have occurred at least five years after the siege of Samos by the Lakedaemonians around 525/24. For the dating, see Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 17, 36; Samos XV, p. 99.

[268] G. Schmidt, *AM* 87 (1972), p. 184 with nn. 24, 25.

[269] Shipley 1987, pp. 37ff.

[270] Schmidt, loc. cit., pp. 184f.; Young 1980, p. 61.

[271] Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 36f. with n. 93.

[272] Shipley 1987, pp. 42ff., esp. p. 55 with nn. 30, 32.

[273] U. Jantzen, *Ägyptische und orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos,* Samos VII (1972). See also Boardman 1981b, pp. 59ff.

[274] Shipley 1987, p. 42 with n. 89.

[275] Ibid., pp. 41ff.

[276] Important cultural and economic testimony was provided by the discovery of the oldest eastern Greek alphabet scratched into a cup from the first half of the 7th century: A. E. Furtwängler, *AM* 95 (1980), p. 187.

[277] Shipley 1987, p. 45; Gehrke 1986, pp. 118ff.

[278] Shipley 1987, pp. 64f. For a general discussion of the conflict between the nobility and the polis in the archaic period, see Gehrke 1986, pp. 34ff., esp. pp. 38ff., 41.

[279] H. Kyrieleis in Samos X, pp. 102f.: "Votive offerings of this category—tripods and votive cauldrons—reflect publicly the social rank of the dedicator as definite status symbols of a society or class whose value system was stamped by ancestry and possessions." For a general discussion of dedications by wealthy dedicators, see Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 48, 64ff.

[280] For Kolaios: Herodotus IV, 152; G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 99f.; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 190 with n. 524; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, p. 60; Shipley 1987, p. 65; Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, p. 77.

[281] Dunst, loc. cit., p. 112 with n. 23; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 60ff. Both mention additional votive offerings from the Heraion.

[282] For an extensive discussion of the function of the sanctuary in the age of the early polis, see Samos X, pp. 103ff. According to Ch. Ioakimidou, *Die Statuenreihen griechischer Poleis und Bünde aus spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit* (1997), p. 343, "art (dedicators, content, and figural repertoire) stood in the service of the city-states' political self-display."

[283] See, for example, Shipley 1987, pp. 60ff. For rival parties of nobles, see also Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 81ff. and n. 121; Gehrke 1986, pp. 119f.

Many scholars have attempted to associate the building of the Rhoikos temple with a specific tyrant, usually Syloson.[287] Yet the fact that the construction of such a large edifice presupposes a "superior authority"[288] does not necessarily mean that this was a tyrant, for "aristocratic governments executed extensive building projects in the archaic period"[289] as well. The many magnificent votive offerings in the Heraion could well reflect the rule of aristocrats,[290] or possibly a tyranny to which they were reconciled.[291] Such a scenario is also supported by the number of korai dedicated between 575 and 560. In this span of only 15 years, five new korai were erected in the Heraion, or at least that number have survived. One could also point to the kouroi produced in the same period, whose size, though reduced from that of the 10-ell-tall colossi from the first decade of the 6th century, is still twice life-size.[292]

In the years immediately following, the island's politics were determined by Aiakes, father of the tyrant Polykrates. We know of him as the dedicator of the seated statue that bears his name in its inscription[293] and from a mention of him by Herodotus.[294] The date of the statue, c. 540, is assured.[295] Its inscription names as his father a certain Brychon,[296] son of Timoleos, who had presented to the Heraion a bronze *lebes* from the second quarter of the 6th century. Although the ϰατά τήν ἐπίστασιν in the inscription probably names Aiakes' public function, it is as yet unclear what sort of office he held—religious, political, or both.[297] N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz[298] sees the existence of the seated statue as a claim on the dedicator's part to some ruling position, and proof of a pre-Polykratic tyranny. To support his thesis he also refers us to an archaic sarcophagus from Vathy that recalls the burial customs of oriental rulers.[299] According to R. Tölle-Kastenbein,[300] however, there is no suggestion in the written sources that Aiakes was a tyrant. It can only be assumed that he held some position of importance on Samos, like the dedicators Cheramyes and -arches.[301]

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[284] Names of possible tyrants appear in literature, but the time of their reigns, even their very existence, cannot be established owing to the unclear nature of the sources.

Demoteles: Plutarch, *quaest. graec.* 57, *Moralia* 303E; J. P. Barron, *ClQu* 14 (1964), p. 211, proposes the last third of the 7th century as the period of his influence. See also Shipley 1987, p. 49.

Amphikrates: Herodotus III, 59. See G. Schmidt, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 184f.

Syloson the Elder: Polyainos, *Strat.* I, 23; VI, 45. It is unclear when Syloson ruled. All that is certain is that he was a στϱατηγός. E. Homann-Wedeking, *AEphem* 1953–54, pp. 185ff., sees Syloson as the general in a war between Samos and Megara over the Samian settlement of Perinthus, who after his victorious return exploited his position to become tyrant. He therefore places him after 601, or c. 580. See also Karakatsanis 1986, p. 193 with n. 537. However, Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 35f. with n. 89, sees no reason to connect Syloson with the above-mentioned war. The following dates have been suggested: Berve 1967, p. 107: c. 560; Schmidt, loc. cit., p. 181 with n. 6, adopts Homann-Wedeking's dating of c. 580; Barron, op. cit., pp. 210ff.: before 570; Shipley 1987, pp. 70ff.: 590.

Aisymnetes Phoibias: Th. Metochita, *miscell.* 10. Berve 1967 places Aisymnetes Phoibias between Syloson the Elder und Polykrates, or in the period after 560 and before 538. See also Schmidt, loc. cit., p. 166. According to Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, p. 37, we know nothing for certain about Aisymnetes Phoibias. For a general discussion of him, see *RE* I1 (1984), 1088ff., s.v. "Aisymnetes" (Toepfer).

Aiakes (c. 560) and Polykrates (538–22) will be discussed in detail below.

[285] Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, p. 37.

[286] For a general discussion of similar developments, see A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (1980), pp. 116ff. For the significance of local cult festivals as well, see Gehrke 1986, pp. 86f.

[287] Berve 1967, I, p. 107; Steuben 1980, p. 25 with n. 39; Shipley 1987, pp. 72f. with n. 22.

[288] See Steuben 1980, p. 25.

[289] Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, p. 19.

[290] According to Young 1980, p. 77, it seems logical that the financing of the Rhoikos temple lay in the hands of a single person. The rapid construction of the temple would also suggest as much.

[291] Steuben 1980, p. 25.

[292] Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 193f.

[293] Samos XI, pp. 139ff., no. 67, pl. 56f. with the complete surviving inscription. See also G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 116f., no. VII, pl. 50, 3; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 188f. with nn. 521, 522; Berve 1967, II, p. 582.

[294] Herodotus II, 182; III, 39; III, 139. Jeffery 1961, pp. 330f., argues against identifying Aiakes as the father of Polykrates. See also Berve 1967, II, p. 582; Young 1980, pp. 60f.; Shipley 1987, pp. 77ff.; Martini 1990, p. 197.

[295] Samos XI, p. 145.

[296] E. Homann-Wedeking, *AA* 1964, pp. 227f., illus. 1; idem, *AA* 1969, pp. 545ff. For an extensive discussion, see Schmidt (note 284 above), pp. 165ff.; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 34f.; Shipley 1987, p. 88 with n. 58. According to Shipley, the bronze lebes was one of the first offerings in the Rhoikos temple. In his opinion one could therefore imagine that the temple was erected by a precursor of Polykrates in the tyranny.

[297] Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 30f.; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 188f. with n. 522. U. Kron in Athens 1988, p. 136, suspects that Aiakes exercised some priestly function in the Heraion.

[298] N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *IstMitt* 15 (1965), p. 35.

[299] For the sarcophagus, see G. Rodenwald, *RM* 58 (1943), pp. 2ff., esp. pp. 4ff.

[300] Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 15, 33. Another argument against a tyranny by Aiakes is the fact that Polykrates conquered the city of Samos by force with the help of his brothers and Lygdamis of Naxos. See Berve 1967, I, pp. 107f. Young 1980, p. 61, accepts a tyranny for Polykrates only, and does not agree with the hypothesis that there were pre-Polykratic tyrants.

[301] G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), p. 134; Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 30f.

Table 1.1 also tends to argue against any pre-Polykratic tyranny of extended duration and with a negative effect on the aristocracy. The majority of the korai date from the years 560/40—a total of 16, if one includes the three of the Geneleos Group.[302] This abundance of statues presupposes a political situation[303] in which private dedicators were still permitted to erect votive offerings in the shrine. If the period had been one of tyranny, one would assume that the aristocracy's customary forms of self-display would have been suppressed as they were under Polykrates. Or if there was a single ruler, he did not interfere with the habits of the aristocrats, as Polykrates did.

The table further reveals that in the years after 540 fewer korai were dedicated in the Heraion, although at precisely this time, under the rule of the tyrant Polykrates, Samos experienced a distinct flowering. Polykrates had conquered the city by force with the aid of his brothers, and in the beginning he shared with them in its government.[304] After 532, however, he had one of them killed and expelled the other, who went to the court of the king of Persia. Herodotus[305] praises Polykrates' personality, his wealth and power over the seas, and the splendor of his palaces, one of which even put the courts of the Persian satraps in the shade.[306]

A number of major building projects are associated with Polykrates:[307] the harbor mole with the development of the port and the construction of shelters for ships, the erection of the huge new temple in the Heraion, and the creation of the famous aqueduct of Eupalinus, to name only the most significant ones. With these structures, the expansion of the fleet, and intensified foreign trade, Polykrates provided new employment opportunities for a large portion of the populace, thereby gaining their favor. The common people must especially have welcomed his stripping away the power of the geomoroi and other wealthy families, from whom he even demanded financial support.[308] This occasioned the voluntary emigration of numerous members of the nobility and the former ruling class.[309] To solidify his position, Polykrates—much like the Attic tyrant Peisistratos—made use of various cult traditions, maintaining especially close ties with the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos.[310] Needless to say he was also required, as the island's ruler, to demonstrate an interest in the cult activities in its Hera shrine. The most recent finds show that in the planning of new structures, such as the second dipteros,[311] which is known to have been moved 40 m farther west, the location of the great altar was unchanged. According to Kienast's investigations,[312] the continuity of cult practices around the central altar was considered more important—even during the reign of Polykrates—than religious functions at the foot of the cult image. That image was provided with a new base in the center of the cella of the first dipteros, which meant that when the second dipteros was erected the previous strict axial orientation of base and altar was abandoned. Even if this temple remained unfinished,[313] the tyrant at least completed the North Gate and South Building I.[314]

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[302] Also a large number of kouroi were dedicated in the Heraion, a total of ten statues, two of them colossi. See Karakatsanis 1986, p. 194.

[303] Shipley 1987, p. 72, assumes that Aiakes was tyrant at least for a time, but that there was then an "aristocratic interlude" before Polykrates, which is why Polykrates had to use force to assert his control. According to Shipley, temporary rule by the geomoroi seems probable for two reasons: the palaestra structure from pre-Polykratic times, which he sees as an aristocratic project, and the return of Pythagoras from exile. He does not consider the number of kore offerings, which also argues for a nontyrannical government.

[304] Herodotus III, 39; Berve 1967, I, pp. 107f.; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 35f.

[305] Herodotus III, 147; Berve 1967, I, p. 112; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 13ff.; Young 1980, p. 55.

[306] Shipley 1987, pp. 81ff., 94f.; Gehrke 1986, pp. 41, 119f. For Polykrates' sea power, see also J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 259f.

[307] Herodotus III, 39 (city wall); III, 60 (harbor and Heraion). See, for example, Berve 1967, I, pp. 109ff. Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 14ff., 104, doubts whether all of the phases of building in the projects mentioned, from planning to completion, fall into the reign of Polykrates. Young 1980, pp. 63ff. See also Shipley 1987, pp. 69ff.

[308] Berve 1967, I, p. 109, mentions, for example, the support of the mothers of men fallen in the war.

[309] Most appear to have emigrated to southern Italy, among them the famous Pythagoras. Berve 1967, I, pp. 108f. See also H. Swoboda in *Festschrift O. Benndorf* (1898), pp. 254f.

[310] Thucydides I, 13, 6. Polykrates presented Delos with the island of Rheneia and appears to have endowed an agon in the festivals celebrated there. Berve 1967, I, p. 109; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, p. 29. See also G. Gruben, *AA* 1972, p. 364 with n. 99; Gehrke 1986, p. 169.

[311] According to the recent investigations reported by Kienast 1995, pp. 182ff., who considers the dating of the temple to the decade 540/30 as assured on the basis of stratigraphic findings, at least the construction of the foundation of the second dipteros can be associated with the reign of Polykrates. Idem, *Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul 23.–25. mai 1991* (1993), pp. 74f.; Kienast 1998, p. 131. The thesis advanced in Kalpaxis 1986, pp. 44ff., esp. pp. 66ff., who compares two different concepts of the sequence of building in the Heraion in the Polykratic period, and his late dating of the second dipteros to the last decade of the 6th century, are accordingly in need of correction. The first thesis follows the widespread opinion that Polykrates ordered the building of the new, larger Hera temple after a catastrophic fire destroyed the Rhoikos temple and other structures. His other interpretation presumes that the Rhoikian temple was still standing during the reign of Polykrates and was only later destroyed by a not altogether accidental fire. Around 510, reconstruction of the sanctuary had begun and the older cult practices reinstated. Kalpaxis's view that in this the old base for the cult image was especially emphasized by the building of the monopteros is also in need of correction. See Kienast, loc. cit. See also G. Gruben in *Festschrift H. Drerup* (1988), p. 172 with n. 36.

[312] Kienast 1998, pp. 118ff. For extensive discussion of the cult images of the Samian Heraion, see W. Held, *IstMitt* 45 (1995), pp. 13ff.; see also Held 2000, p. 44.

[313] Kalpaxis 1986, p. 67. Kienast 1992, p. 187, points to the technical difficulties that led to the failure of the project.

[314] Kalpaxis 1986, p. 64. Much the same is true of the North Building. See Samos III, pp. 15ff., esp. p. 66. The first two phases of building fall in the reign of Polykrates, while the peripteral hall is post-Polykratic.

One can therefore conclude that other formerly powerful men were no longer able to demonstrate their status in the sanctuary with large, expensive votive gifts.[315] Tables 1.1 and 1.7 show a definite decline, at least in the number of korai dedicated. Of the seven statues of maidens from the period after 540, three (nos. 25, 26, and 28) were found outside the Heraion. A similar trend can be seen with respect to kouroi (see table 1.8). With but few exceptions, all later kouroi[316] were discovered outside the shrine, and some of them can definitely be assumed to have been funerary statues.[317]

U. Sinn has argued against any interruption in the island's art production around 540 in his essay on a small ivory head from the Heraion dating "from the later thirties of the 6th century."[318] He describes the piece as a "document of its times," like all other offerings in sanctuaries. By comparing the ivory head with large works of sculpture, Sinn attempts to show that continuity was maintained in sculpture from the time of Cheramyes and Geneleos down into the Polykratic era. Because he had a number of statue types to choose from in his "imaginary restoration of the ivory head," he concludes "that the Polykratic epoch was by no means so lacking in votive gifts in marble."[319] Indisputable evidence nevertheless contradicts Sinn's conclusion, so that it must remain only hypothetical.

In my opinion, this small ivory head, of very high quality and in an expensive material,[320] was surely the bequest of an aristocratic dedicator[321] who with this offering managed to demonstrate his prosperity without challenging the tyrant's power with an imposing gift that "towered over the sanctuary's temple [this is the period of the Hekatompedos]."[322] Colossal offerings[323] visible from afar elicited the admiration of all visitors to the shrine, whereas this statuette, roughly 20 cm tall,[324] was doubtless kept inside the temple and could not remotely attract the attention of pilgrims in the same way.

One must assume that even during the reign of Polykrates there were definitely votive gifts that did not come from the ruling house,[325] but their number and size were greatly reduced in comparison to those of the previous period. In fact it is not so much a matter of votive offerings as such but their public effect, not so much the demise of the geomoroi as their withdrawal into the private sphere.[326] There were many precedents for ivory statuettes in the Heraion and a long artistic tradition behind them. After the decline of monumental sculpture, skilled artists could have switched to carving figures in ivory. And surely the geomoroi were not wholly excluded from the cult of Hera.

Sinn maintains that over the course of time votive offerings in the Heraion were "reduced in a way . . . that cannot be checked,"[327] and that the surviving finds are no longer representative, making it impossible to draw any historical conclusions from them.[328] To counter his argument, one might ask why only anathemata from a very limited period of time disappeared while others survived. The present investigation, supported by its various tables, definitely confirms a reduced number of votive gifts on Samos during the tyranny of Polykrates.

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[315] Steuben 1980, p. 23. It appears much more likely, as mentioned in Kienast 1992, pp. 187, 210, that the necessity of procuring new marble for the second dipteros led to major financial problems. It is in fact highly probable that Polykrates mobilized the alliances of nobles to help finance the project.

[316] Karakatsanis 1986, p. 194 with nn. 540, 541.

[317] Steuben 1980, p. 23 with n. 37. A parallel picture is presented by finds in Attica from the period of Peisistratos's rule. There aristocrats likewise found another way of displaying their prominence, by installing funerary kouroi outside Athens rather than votive gifts in the center of the city. For a general discussion of the archaic necropolises west of Tigani (the ancient city of Samos), see D. Evangilidou, *AEphem* 1924, pp. 63ff.

[318] U. Sinn, *AM* 97 (1982), pp. 35ff., esp. pp. 50ff., pl. 11–16.

[319] Ibid., p. 52.

[320] For the use of ivory, see Shipley 1987, pp. 42f., 57, 64.

[321] Similarly Sinn (note 318 above), p. 55.

[322] Karakatsanis 1986, p. 193.

[323] Steuben 1980, pp. 21ff.

[324] The surviving height of the head is 4.3 cm. The overall height of the statuette of 30–35 cm as reconstructed by Sinn, loc. cit., pp. 50f. with n. 3, strikes me as too tall. Given a presumed height of only 20 cm, his comparisons with large-format marble statues are unconvincing.

[325] The dedication of one statue of a youth by Polykrates himself is known. See Steuben 1980, p. 23 with nn. 34, 35. See also Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, p. 61 with n. 153. For the Polykrates dedication, see also C. Radeke, *Die Entwickling der frühen Hohlbronzen* (1996–97), pp. 69, 74ff.

[326] H. Swoboda in *Festschrift O. Benndorf* (1898), pp. 254f., speaks of the withdrawal of the geomoroi's right of epigamy, an essential element of their rights as citizens.

[327] U. Sinn, *AM* 97 (1982), p. 52.

[328] Ibid.

Didyma and Miletus

Dating

Table 2.1 presents the korai from Didyma in chronological order. The sequence is based mainly on the dating criteria presented by K. Tuchelt.[1] Nearly all the Didyma korai survive only in fragments (plates 31–34). Only the small head K40 (plate 32), which is covered with a veil,[2] and the recently discovered kore K40A[3] (plate 33) from the second half of the 6th century give us some idea of what the korai from Didyma originally looked like. The new kore is in two fragments, the upper and the lower part of the body, which fit together precisely. The head, both arms, and the lower legs and feet are missing. From its present height of 0.96 m one can assume it was originally life-size. The kore wears a belted chiton and a diagonal himation that hangs loosely and falls to a point on either side. The rendering of the center folds suggests that the chiton is grasped by the left hand, while the right leg was presumably placed further back. With her right hand the maiden holds a no longer identifiable attribute against her breast, perhaps a bird or a flower, much like the korai M4 and M11 from Miletus, both of which carry birds. According to the excavators' description the kore wore a veil, probably covering her head, of the type commonly seen in korai from Ionia. In style the new kore compares nicely with kore no. 20 from Samos,[4] which dates from around 540.

In Didyma the earliest archaic sculptures were not korai but statues of lions.[5] The eight surviving statues of maidens are uniformly distributed between the first quarter of the 6th century and about 530. Two that were dedicated around the middle of the century attest that korai continued to be produced even during the construction of the Didymaion.[6]

Far more dedications of seated statues and kouroi (23 of each) than korai were found in the Didymaion. It therefore appears that Didyma's dedicators preferred types of statues other than korai as votive gifts.[7] Whether this preponderance of male figures can be linked to the god Apollo cannot be determined with certainty; moreover, it is worth noting that reliefs of dancing women ornamented the shafts of the Apollo temple's columns. Similar figures, though much more elaborately executed, are found as column reliefs at the Artemision in Ephesus.[8]

Table 3.1, listing the korai from Miletus, presents a different picture. Here a much larger number of korai (16 in all) have come to light (plates 36–49). The earliest date from the second quarter of the 6th century, which is to say that they first appear somewhat later than in Didyma, and the remainder follow at regular intervals to the end of the century. Since the Milesian korai, unlike those of Samos and Didyma, have not yet been published in their entirety and as there is no separate, uniform numbering for them, I have identified them in chronological sequence as M1 through M15.[9]

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[1] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 67ff., K36–K42, pl. 35–39, pp. 131ff., 157f. (chronological overview). See also E. Akurgal in *Festschrift N. Himmelmann* (1989), pp. 35ff.

[2] Typologically, the small head compares nicely with the veiled korai heads from Samos: Tuchelt 1970, p. 70, K40, pl. 38,1–4. Cf. Buschor 1934ff., V, pp. 92f., illus. 365–68; Blümel 1964, p. 46, no. 40, illus. 116–19; Samos XI, p. 41, no. 18, pl. 10.

[3] Inv. nos. S332, S333. K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1995, p. 786, illus. 4. See also H. Bumke et al., *AA* 2000, pp. 57ff., esp. pp. 65f., illus. 9.

[4] Samos XI, pp. 43ff., no. 20, pl. 11.

[5] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 93ff., K66, K67, pl. 63,1, 2; 65,1; 66,1; 67,1. See Steuben 1980, p. 25; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 16.

[6] Karakatsanis 1986, p. 211, n. 610.

[7] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 51ff. (kouroi), 71ff. (Branchidae), 215ff. (interpretation).

[8] For the sculptural ornament of the temple of Apollo in Didyma, see Tuchelt 1970, pp. 99ff., esp. pp. 221ff., K75, K76, K81, pl. 72–74; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 386f. with n. 52, pl. 33,3; for the Ephesus Artemision: ibid., pp. 389ff., esp. pp. 392ff., pl. 34,7–10.

[9] Table of the Milesian korai:
M1: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1599. Lit.: Blümel 1964, pp. 47f., no. 42, illlus. 120–22; Richter 1968, p. 48, no. 63, illus. 207–8.
M1A: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1740. Lit.: Blümel 1964, p. 65, no. 71, illus. 222–23; idem, *AA* 1964, pp. 87ff., illus. 1–2; Richter 1968, pp. 48f., no. 64, illus. 209–11; Samos XI, pp. 18ff., no. 4, pl. 1.
M2: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1898. Lit.: Blümel 1964, p. 48, no. 43, illus. 124–25; Richter 1968, p. 51, no. 72, illus. 230–31.
M3: Balat museum. Lit.: Graeve 1986a, pp. 87f., pl. 8,2–4.
M4: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1791. Lit.: Blümel 1964, p. 50, no. 47, illus. 129–32; Richter 1968, p. 47, no. 57, illus. 190–93.
M5: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1634. Lit.: Blümel 1964, p. 56, no. 57, illus. 156–58; Richter 1968, p. 59, no. 94, illus. 291–92.

For their dating I have followed for the most part the suggestions of G. Richter, C. Blümel, and V. von Graeve.[10] Those whose dating is contested I treat in greater detail in the following, attempting to fix their place in the chronology more precisely.

Table 3.1 shows that in the second quarter of the 6th century five korai were dedicated, M1 through M4 (plates 36–38, 40–41). I have placed the so-called Anaximandros kore, M1 (plate 36), at the beginning of the series, despite the new dating suggestion by Graeve.[11] The earlier date proposed by Blümel[12] and Richter[13] seems more appropriate; especially striking is the great similarity with kore M1A[14] in the way the feet peek out from the archlike opening of the chiton (plate 36). Also quite comparable are the simple forms of the garment, and moreover the type of letters used in the inscription on the plinth is quite similar.[15] All this suggests that the Anaximandros kore and kore M1A were produced at the same time, in the second quarter of the 6th century. In the literature it has been assumed that kore M1A was created on Samos, but new findings confirm that this kore, with its dedicatory inscription to the Nymphs, is indeed from Miletus.[16]

Kore M2 (plate 37), which Blümel[17] rightly attributed to the "Samian-Milesian artistic landscape," despite the fact that the site of its discovery is unknown, can also be dated to the second quarter of the 6th century. Graeve[18] assigns kore M3 (plate 38), from the village of Balat, to the same period. The two korai are similar in the treatment of the drapery on the upper body, especially the folds of the apoptygma. These are joined by the somewhat older kore with a bird, M4 (Berlin 1791; plates 40–41), which is generally seen to come after the Hera of Cheramyes.[19]

The head M8 (plate 44) has recently been dated by Graeve[20] to after the middle of the 6th century, c. 540, and would thus be younger than the newer veiled head, M7, from the Değirmentepe (plate 43).[21] Graeve compares the head M8 with the figures on the round base from Kyzikos (plate 94),[22] c. 540, which despite their very poor condition provide more convincing comparisons than, for example, the offering kouros from Didyma.[23] The heads are similar in the way the face widens toward the top and comes to a slight point at the chin. In each case the mouth is slightly askew, and the eyes are almond shaped, with protruding eyeballs. The way the veil is worn is also similar in the two heads.[24] On the other hand, the Didyma offering bearer, dated c. 530, used by U. Sinn[25] by way of comparison for his later

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M6: Balat museum. Lit.: Graeve 1983, pp. 19ff., illus. 21–22.

M7: Balat museum. Lit.: Graeve 1986a, pp. 82ff., pl. 6, 1–2; 7, 1.

M8: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1631. Lit.: Blümel 1964, p. 56, no. 58, illus. 159–61; Richter 1968, p. 59, no. 95, illus. 293–95; Held 2000, p.104, cat. no. S1, pl. 12b, c.

M9: Balat museum, inv. no. 476. Lit.: V. von Graeve in Athens 1986, pp. 21f., pl. 10, 4.

M10: Art market. Lit.: E. Bielefeld in *Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking* (1975), pp. 53ff., pl. 7; Özgan 1978, pp. 135f., pl. 255, 59a; U. Kron in Athens 1986, p. 125, illus. 3.

M11: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1577. Lit.: Blümel 1964, p. 52, no. 49, illus. 135–38; Richter 1968, p. 92, no. 161, illus. 512–15.

M12: Balat museum. Lit.: G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet* (1968), p. 127, illus. 94; Graeve 1983, pp. 14f., illus. 12–14.

M13: Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MA 4546. Lit.: M. Hamiaux, *Les sculptures grecques I. Des origines à la fin du IVe siècle avant J.-C., Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines* (1992), p. 57, no. 49.

M14: Balat museum. Lit.: Graeve 1985, p. 121, no. 6, pl. 26, 1–2.

M15: Balat museum, inv. no. 3078. Lit.: Graeve 1986, pp. 46f., pl. 12, 1–2.

[10] Richter 1968, pp. 48ff.; Blümel 1964, pp. 47ff.; Graeve 1983, pp. 7ff.; Graeve 1986a, pp. 81ff.

[11] Graeve 1986a, pp. 87f., sees in the "bunching of drapery on the right side" an indication that this is a kore grasping her skirt with her right hand. Scholars generally agree that this motif was invented by Geneleos. But Graeve concedes that a new motif does not necessarily "always appear first on major works or in monumental sculpture." With this, in my opinion, the motif of the gathered skirt ceases to be a valid argument for dating. Graeve also compares the bell-shaped hem of the chiton from the Anaximandros kore to a Samian bronze kore in Berlin from the 540s (Buschor 1934ff., V, illus. pp. 353ff.). The rendering of the chiton appears to be much more sophisticated in the bronze kore, however; also the curve in the hem of the garment is formed more realistically, as are the shod feet. For these reasons I would not attribute the Anaximandros kore to the advanced stage of the bronze statuette, but rather date it to the period of the first Milesian korai. See also N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 99, n. 33; A. Kriegenherdt in Stemmer 1995, pp. 108f.

[12] Blümel 1964, p. 48, no. 42, illus. 120–22.

[13] Richter 1968, no. 63, illus. 207, 208, 210.

[14] Samos XI, pp. 18ff., no. 4, pl. 1.

[15] Samos XI, p. 19 with nn. 28–29. The inscription includes a dedication to the Nymphs.

[16] The Samian kore no. 4, as N. Ehrhardt, *EpigrAnat* 21 (1993), pp. 3f., has shown, unquestionably came from Miletus. M. Schede copied the dedicatory inscription on the fragment there in 1912, and on the same page noted the find with the comment "in the mandra of Mollah Mahmud (behind the mosque)." In addition to the Berlin inventory number, Sk 1740, the fragment bears the Milesian inventory number 1367. The erroneous designation "Samos" as the place of origin could well have to do with the fact that at that time finds from Miletus and Didyma were all shipped to Berlin by way of Samos. For this information I am indebted to A. Scholl, in a letter dated Sept. 25, 2000, and N. Ehrhardt, in conversation. Interestingly enough, Blümel 1964, p. 65, no. 71, illus. 222–23, had already determined that there was nothing among the archaic sculptures from Samos to compare with the fragment, though it has close parallels in Miletus.

[17] Blümel 1964, p. 48.

[18] Graeve 1986a, p. 87.

[19] Blümel 1964, pp. 50f., no. 47, illus. 129–32; Richter 1968, p. 47, no. 57, illus. 190–93; Graeve 1983, pp. 12, 17f., illus. 24; Martini 1990, p. 145.

[20] Graeve 1986a, pp. 85f., n. 16, pl. 6, 4; 7, 3; Rolley 1994, pp. 267f., illus. 272; Held 2000, p. 104, pl. 12b, c, with extensive bibliography.

[21] Graeve 1986a, p. 82, pl. 6, 1–2; 7, 1. According to Graeve, the head M7 fills the chronological gap between the older Milesian korai and the head M8 from the temple of Athena.

[22] E. Akurgal, *AntK* 8 (1965), pp. 99ff., pl. 28,2; Graeve 1986a, p. 85, n. 16.

[23] Tuchelt 1970, p. 59, K16, pl. 18.

[24] Akurgal 1961, pp. 257, 262, illus. 220; idem, *AntK* 8 (1965), p. 101.

[25] U. Sinn, *AM* 97 (1982), pp. 40ff., n. 26 (overview of suggested datings for the head M8). U. Sinn bases his reflections on the opinion of N. Himmelmann, who found the head M8 to have "insufficient differentiation between the hair and the veil." See N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *IstMitt* 15 (1965), pp. 37ff.

dating of the head M8, presents fewer identical features in the structure of the head. In my view, it is by no means true that the head of the offering bearer with "the hairstyle worked out more graphically than three dimensionally [offers] a parallel"[26] to the head M8, which is completely covered with a close-fitting veil that does not permit the structure of the hair to show through at all. Of its hair treatment, only a small row of curls extends across the forehead, and these are rendered in only low relief (plate 44). The contours of the offering bearer's face are more rounded, not so strikingly pointed and angular as in the head M8, and the shapes of the eyes differ markedly. Sinn's arguments for a dating of the head M8 to around 530 are therefore unconvincing; on the contrary, a number of features suggest that it dates from the 540s.

For the younger bird-holding kore, M11 (plates 46–47), scholars have suggested a variety of dates ranging from the 540s to the last quarter of the 6th century.[27] Of these numerous datings I am inclined to adopt the view of Graeve, especially since by his reckoning he was able to include recent additions to the numbers of monuments. Graeve compares the bird-holding kore, M11, with the seated statue from Cape Plaka,[28] which most likely dates from after the rebuilding of the city of Miletus in the year 474. The two are similar in the motif of the chiton being grasped in the right hand and the way in which the diagonal himation is worn. Because of their close connection to late archaic monuments, an early date for the younger bird-holding kore and the late-archaic seated statues, as suggested by Himmelmann, among others, no longer seems probable.[29]

A glance at the chronological sequence of the korai from Didyma and Miletus reveals that the first Milesian korai are later than those from Didyma. Whether the absence of korai dedications could have anything to do with the tyranny of Thrasybulos in Miletus is difficult to determine, particularly since the length of his rule (end of the 7th to beginning of the 6th century) is uncertain. One could nevertheless hypothesize that at an earlier time dedicators were able to erect their votive gifts in the sanctuary at Didyma, which lay far enough from the seat of the tyrant,[30] as the colossal lion statues from c. 600 and the korai from the beginning of the 6th century indicate.

In Miletus, korai are evenly distributed across the entire century from the time the first ones appear, around 575. Later political developments apparently had no negative influence on the dedication of statues.

Size

Nearly all Didyma's nine korai are preserved only as fragments, so only approximate measurements can be provided in the table listing their original sizes. For extremely fragmentary korai I have accepted the testimony of the excavators regarding the original format. The same is true of the Milesian korai, though there the state of some statues provides a better idea of their original size—see, for example, M3, M4, M10, and M11, which are all completely preserved with the exception of the head (plates 38, 40–41, 45, 46–47).

By combining tables 2.2 and 3.2 we come up with the following distribution of korai sizes:

	Didyma	Miletus
larger than life-size	3	1
life-size	3	4
smaller than life-size	2	8[31]
larger statuette	1	1
smaller statuette	–	2

Larger than life-size korai make their first appearance in Didyma in the first quarter of the 6th century, in Miletus somewhat later, with only a single example from the second quarter of the century. From the beginning, the sizes of the korai in Miletus are varied: along with the one larger than life-size statue there are two life-size figures and two smaller statuettes. The subsequent korai range from life-size to larger statuettes. With the building of the colossal temple of Apollo in the middle of the century,[32] two life-size korai were dedicated in Didyma, together with larger statuettes, whereas in Miletus five life-size statues were set up. After 550/40 in Didyma we find one life-size and two smaller than life-size korai; in Miletus, two life-size, three smaller than life-size, and a larger statuette.

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[26] Sinn (note 25 above), p. 41, pl. 13,1–3.

[27] Buschor 1934ff., II, p. 36, illus. 125; ibid., V, p. 89: in the 540s; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *IstMitt* 15 (1965), pp. 26ff., pl. 9: c. 540; Fuchs/Floren 1987, p. 382: 540/30; L. Alscher, *Griechische Plastik II* (1961), p. 160, illus. 47a; Samos XI, p. 45: c. 530; Graeve 1983, pp. 17f., 21, illus. 26: last third of the 6th century; Akurgal 1961, pp. 234, 237, 239, illus. 204: c. 520; Blümel 1964, p. 52, no. 49, illus. 135ff., and Richter 1968, p. 161, illus. 512ff.: last quarter of the 6th century; Rolley 1994, pp. 262f., illus. 266: c. 540; A. Kriegenherdt in Stemmer 1995, pp. 107f.: c. 530/20.

[28] Graeve 1983, pp. 7ff., esp. pp. 16f., 21f. For the seated statue from Cape Plaka, idem, *IstMitt* 25 (1975), pp. 61ff., pl. 15, 1, 2. The seated figure from Cape Plaka differs from the older seated figures in the way the chiton is worn; it no longer falls down equally on both sides, but is grasped in the right hand. In older examples the hands lie motionless on the knees.

[29] It seems more likely that the seated figure from Cape Plaka is one of the sculptures created in the years following the destruction of Miletus in 494, or around the time of the rebuilding of the city in 474. Thus the seated figure from Cape Plaka "produces for the chronology of the city of Miletus a new and now seemingly assured latitude in the last third of the 6th century": Graeve 1983, p. 17.

[30] For issues relating to the territorial affiliation of the Didyma Apollo shrine with the polis of Miletus, see K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1988, pp. 432f., 437. In his opinion, "Branchidai-Didyma was in pre-Hellenistic times [more likely] an extra-urban shrine whose relationship with Miletus was determined by a native race of priests rather than a shrine belonging to the polis"; similarly, idem, Didyma III, pp. 238f. with nn. 251f. According to N. Ehrhardt, *Chiron* 28 (1998), pp. 11ff., esp. pp. 15f., the Didyma shrine belonged to Miletus.

[31] For one of the korai, M9, no dimensions are given in the literature. Since it can be grouped with two other smaller than life-size korai, I have decided on the basis of the illustration of it to list it as "smaller than life-size" as well. See Graeve in Athens 1986, p. 29, pl. 10, 4.

[32] Steuben 1980, p. 25. The Didymaion only began to flourish after the peace concluded between Thrasybulos and Alyattes, or later than the Heraion on Samos.

Dedicators in Miletus and Didyma apparently placed no particular value on the size of their votive gifts. All formats appear more or less simultaneously, except for the larger than life-size korai that appear only at the beginning of the series.

Attributes (Miletus)

Unlike the korai from Didyma, from which no attributes have survived, three of the korai from Miletus hold attributes (table 3.3).

The bearers of votive offerings are distributed through the period from 575 to 525. Two of them—M4 (plates 40–41) and M11 (plates 46–47)—hold birds in their left hand, M4 perhaps a partridge.[33] The third kore, M10 (plate 45), holds some kind of staff in her right hand in front of her body, the curved end of it lying between her breasts.

Birds appear quite often as votive gifts.[34] By analogy with finds in Attica and on Samos, we can assume that the birds carried by these korai are to be thought of as fertility symbols.[35] The older Berlin bird kore, M4, can be definitely linked to the cult of Artemis Kithone on the basis of the rediscovered excavation diaries of A. von Salis (1904 and 1906/7) and the results of excavations in the last few years.[36] Thanks to the discovery of a late-archaic marble perirrhanterion and a bronze phiale with a dedicatory inscription to Artemis Kithone[37] in the temple area on the east terrace of the Kalabaktepe, it has been possible to identify the sanctuary as belonging to Artemis Kithone.[38] According to A. Herda, who has collected extensive literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources on the cult of the Milesian founder-hero Neileos and Artemis Kithone, the Kithone[39] was the goddess's most important aspect in Miletus, while her other epithets played only a minor role.[40] As a very ancient deity, Artemis was worshiped under the most wide-ranging aspects: as mistress of animals, as a goddess of the hunt, as "goddess of the outside."[41] She was universally beloved as a goddess of marriage and, last but not least, protectress of children and of women in childbed.[42] With her companions the Nymphs she lived in nature, and as a fertility goddess is associated, like them, with water and springs.[43] According to Herda, the worship of Artemis in Miletus as a fertility and vegetation deity becomes "apparent from the legend of the cult image, which is said to have been created out of an especially bountiful tree."[44] It is therefore perfectly understandable that the feast of Artemis Kithone, in which marriageable young men participated along with girls and women, functioned virtually as a "marriage market." The second bird-holding kore, M11, reused in the masonry in the so-called Goths' Wall,[45] was also in all probability dedicated to Artemis Kithone.[46]

There are various attempts in the literature to identify the attribute carried by the so-called kore with a staff, M10. E. Bielefeld, for example, believes the statue depicts a priestess "or other functionary within the cult," and considers the object a temple key.[47] R. Özgan declares the small kore a Lydian work, and links it to a series of figures with lituus-like staffs from the eastern and Etruscan realms. He interprets the attribute as a symbol of majesty that frequently appears in oriental art, particularly that of the Hittites.[48] Given the present state of our knowledge and the absence of assured comparative examples, it is my feeling that this attribute cannot yet be identified with certainty. The arguments in favor of interpreting it as a key or a symbol of majesty are unconvincing; also the "sashlike girdle ends"[49] no more identify the kore as a priestess[50] than the veil worn by Attic and Samian korai necessarily shows them to be goddesses.

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[33] Samos XI, p. 44; E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1976), p. 57, no. 34.

[34] O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* II (1913), pp. 156ff.

[35] See pp. 16f., 124.

[36] M. Kerschner in Graeve 1995, pp. 219f. Discovered together with the bird kore, M4, was the votive relief with two korai, also in Berlin. Blümel 1964, p. 49, no. 44, illus. 126. See also V. von Graeve, *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 14 (1997/98), pp. 73ff., esp. pp. 79f., illus. 10–11; idem, *AA* 1997, pp. 112f. For extensive discussion of the cult of Artemis Kithone, see A. Herda, *ÖJh* 67 (1998), pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 25ff.

[37] M. Kerschner in Graeve 1995, p. 220. For the bronze phiale, see M. Kerschner et al., *AA* 1997, p. 121; V. von Graeve, *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 14 (1997/98), p. 80. The dedicatory inscription reads:
['Αϱτέμιδος] ἐμί Κιθώ[νης] ("I belong to Artemis Kithone").

[38] Graeve 1995, pp. 195ff., esp. pp. 218ff.; M. Kerschner et al., *AA* 1997, pp. 120ff., illus. 9.

[39] Milesian Κιθώνη/Kithone and not Ionic Χιτώνη/Chitone: A. Herda, *ÖJh* 67, 3 (1998), pp. 28, 31 with n. 204.

[40] Herda, loc. cit., p. 40 with n. 313. For a detailed discussion of other Artemis *epiklese*, see Ehrhardt 1983, pp. 148ff.

[41] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I (1959), pp. 173ff.; J. N. Bremmer, *Götter, Mythen und Heiligtümer im antiken Griechenland* (1996), p. 217.

[42] See *RE* II1 (1896), 1347ff., s.v. "Artemis" (Wernickel); Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (note 41, above), pp. 177ff.; II, pp. 145ff.; Nilsson 1955, pp. 493ff. For Artemis Lochia, see also N. D. Papachatzis, *ADelt* 33 (1978), pp. 10ff. As Lochia she assists women in childbirth; special temples, as on Delos, for example, celebrated her in this function.

[43] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, loc. cit., pp. 183ff.

[44] Herda, loc. cit., p. 30 with nn. 227, 228.

[45] See pp. 45f., below.

[46] "The eastern goddess of animals will surely delight in the lovely bird." On a lekythos the goddess holds a bird in her hand. See O. Waldhauer, *ÖJh* 16 (1913), p. 103, pl. 2; see also Ehrhardt 1983, p. 155.

[47] E. Bielefeld in *Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking* (1975), pp. 53ff., pl. 7. See also U. Kron in Athens 1986, pp. 61f., n. 60.

[48] Özgan 1978, pp. 133ff., illus. 59 a.

To summarize, one can say that the few surviving attributes of Milesian korai at most tell us something about the recipient of the votive gifts, the goddess Artemis.

Ornament

Only a few korai from Didyma and Miletus are fully preserved; generally the head, neck, and hands are missing. For that reason it is impossible to form a complete picture of their costumes, the arrangement and ornamentation of their hair, or the type of necklace, earrings, or bracelets they wore.

Five of the six surviving heads are covered with a veil (plates 32, 43, 44, 49).[51] In each case it is worn tightly around the head, extends across the temples, and covers the ears and nape of the neck.[52] In most cases the ears and earrings[53] are clearly recognizable beneath the thin veil, as are the locks of hair lying under it.[54] The veil is either drawn forward onto the forehead so that it covers the hairline (for example, K40: plate 32), or the hair is left free and frames the head like a wreath. On kore M13 (plate 49), traces of red pigment survive on the veil, just as on kore M3 (plate 38) it is possible to make out traces of pigment on the chiton;[55] thanks to engraved lines that can still be made out, one can see that these were part of a meander. On two of the heads (M7, M13: plates 43, 49) padded headbands appear on top of the veil.[56] The one on M13 has the look of a diadem. This band possibly served to secure the veil as well as being ornamental. On the head M7 (plate 43)[57] one can still make out traces of the modeling of the hair beneath the veil. Probably this kore, with strands of hair tucked behind her ears, wore a hairstyle similar to that of kore M5 (plate 39).[58] The veil was clearly part of the preferred attire for Ionic female statues.[59] A kore head from around the year 550 found in the rubble of the temple of Athena at Smyrna, for example (plate 50), also wears a veil secured by a headband decorated with meander designs.[60] Two other korai from Miletus (M3 and M4), both missing their heads, also had artfully decorated veils. The edges of the veil worn by kore M4 even had triple folds (plate 40b).

The hairstyle of the only uncovered head from Miletus, M5, is unusual (plate 39): two rows of hair run across the forehead like strings of beads, then tuck under a broad band of separate strands, parted in the middle, that extend to the temples. The latter appear to be braided, and adorn the head like a diadem. The rest of the hair is arranged in the usual strands of beadlike locks. Compared to the other korai heads, this one appears older and more mature, so that "one gets the impression that among the desired effects were not only the semblance of age but also a suggestion of dignity and wealth."[61]

The earlobes of kore M5 (plate 39b) are adorned with large, round relief disks that were probably painted.[62] Kore M13 (plate 49) wears similar earrings beneath her veil. This type of earring is found in large numbers on the Attic korai; they doubtless represent a widespread fashion of the period.

Of the five korai from Miletus with existing arms, only two wear bracelets (M11, plates 46–47; M12, plate 48) rendered as raised forms. The bracelets of kore M11 are divided by two longitudinal grooves, the center strip emphasized by swelling and with a depression in the center that probably once held decorative stones. Both korai hold in the hands that grasp their skirts "something shaped like a skin bottle, presumably a purse" (plates 46a, 47c, 48c).[63]

It appears that we are to understand the peculiarities of costume and the attributes of the korai from Miletus as testimony to regional convention regarding the dress of participants in the great procession from Miletus to Didyma.

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[49] Bielefeld (note 47 above), p. 55. The surviving lower-body fragment of a larger statuette from Sardes from the second quarter of the 6th century, now in the Manisa museum, has similar "sashlike belt ends." See Richter 1968, p. 48, no. 62, illus. 206.

[50] For the difficulties in interpretation, see also A. Mantis, Προβλήματα τῆς εἰκονογραφίας τῶν Ἱερείων καί τῶν Ἱερέων στήν Ἀρχαία Ἑλληνική τέχνη (1990), pp. 33f., pl. 6 a.

[51] Korai from Didyma: K36bis, K40. Korai from Miletus: M7, M8, M10, M13. Although their heads are missing, the korai K40A, M3, and M4 can also be seen to have worn a veil.

[52] K. Tuchelt in Athens 1986, pp. 32f., pl. II, 3, 4; idem, *Branchidai-Didyma, AW* special issue vol. 3 (1991), p. 37, illus. 50. The new find of a considerably smaller than life-size relief head presents us with a special version of the veil. Here it leaves the ears and neck free, and moreover has a double border engraved with a meander pattern. This decoration is as yet unique.

[53] M7, M8, and M13. For the head M8, see most recently Held 2000, p. 104 and n. 452.

[54] K40, M7, and M13. The relief korai K75 and K76 (Tuchelt 1970, pp. 99ff., 222) have unusual hairstyles with rolled locks of hair projecting out from under the veil. In addition, traces of color on the neck suggest a painted necklace. See Blümel 1964, p. 59, illus. 162, 168.

[55] Graeve 1986a, p. 87, n. 25, pl. 8, 2–4.

[56] For a general discussion, see A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst* (1968), pp. 114ff., esp. pp. 131f., n. 80. "It [the headband] is part of the dress of worthy older men, of the festival costume of young people, and of ceremonial dress on special occasions."

[57] Graeve 1986a, p. 83, pl. 6,1–2; 7, 1. He speaks of a "refinement of modeling" in the head M7, in which the artist has tried to render the veil as closely as possible to the "reality of the fabric."

[58] Graeve 1986a, p. 82, pl. 6,3; 7,2.

[59] The relief korai from the Didymaion also wear veils that are very artfully decorated with double bulging headbands: Tuchelt 1970, K75, K76, K81. The heads of some of the seated figures are also covered with veils; see Blümel 1964, pp. 53f., nos. 50f., illus. 139–40, and p. 55, nos. 55f., illus. 152f.

[60] For the kore head, see E. Akurgal, *IstMitt* 42 (1992), pp. 67ff., illus. 7–9; for the temples of ancient Smyrna, see E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (1978), pp. 119ff.; Akurgal 1987, pp. 41ff., 457, illus. 205; Held 1990, p. 61.

[61] Graeve 1986a, pp. 90f.

[62] Ibid., p. 90.

[63] Graeve 1983, p. 14, illus. 12–14; A. Kriegenherdt in Stemmer 1995, p. 108 with n. 4.

Marble and Artists

From the arrangement of the korai from Didyma and Miletus in tables 2.3 and 3.5 one can see that the predominant marble used was either a grayish-white with blue veining, white, or a whitish-yellow.[64] The same shadings are seen in marble from Milesian quarries.[65] Since nearly all the statues from Miletus and Didyma were carved from such varieties, one can assume that for the most part native marbles were used.

Until the recent research of A. Peschlow-Bindokat and K. Germann,[66] the sites of the ancient stone quarries were not clearly known.[67]

The Milesian marble quarries on the south shore of Lake Bafa, discovered only recently, were particularly informative, since unfinished building material was discovered in them that is certain to have been destined for the building of the Didymaion.[68] According to Peschlow-Bindokat, the marble used in Miletus is the same as that of the quarries on Lake Bafa, "from which one can conclude that marble for the city was quarried here from the archaic period up until Hellenistic times."[69] Further, investigations of the marble quarries of Herakleia and Bucak have shown that large quantities of stone were quarried there[70] "by no means in proportion to the size of the city of Herakleia and the marble required and actually used there."[71] Peschlow-Bindokat concludes from this that marble from Herakleia was exported in great quantities.[72] His view is confirmed by Vitruvius.[73] One can therefore assume that in antiquity Herakleian marble was famed far and wide, and "numbered among the most precious of white marbles."[74]

Despite its poor state of preservation, the veiled head M7 (plate 43), found in 1967 on the Değirmentepe, exhibits a quality of white marble "that compared to other Milesian sculptures appears quite exquisite and has virtually no veining."[75] One could perhaps assume that this small head was part of an especially expensive votive gift for which white marble from Herakleia was stipulated. Table 3.5 shows that six of the sixteen korai were after all certain to have been carved from white marble. For most of the other korai there is no indication of the marble color; there is nothing to prevent us from thinking they were carved from this white marble as well.

Recent scholarship has proposed that there were two independent workshops active in Miletus,[76] and that there was definitely close contact between Milesian and Samian sculptors.[77]

The Milesians adopted the type of the nude kouros from Samos, and themselves developed the type of the clothed kouros with a "mantle," which in turn became quite popular on Samos.[78] By the same token, Milesian sculptors were the first to create—around the middle of the 6th century—korai grasping their chiton on the side and also wearing the diagonal himation that was a standard feature on Samos.[79]

The connections between Samian and Milesian sculptors are discussed here using two representative examples, the older and younger bird-holding korai. The maiden with a bird M4 (plates 40–41) demonstrates in her pose and costume a clear indebtedness to the roughly contemporary group of the Cheramyes korai (plates 4–7). Yet the legs of kore M4 differ from the columnlike lower bodies of these Samian prototypes. They are flattened in front and back in a more realistic manner. The Milesian artist reworked the vertical tube-shaped folds of the himation as well, creating zigzag hems leading to the points of the himation. This can be seen as a novelty in eastern Ionic art, one that "paved the way for the double-layered folds in the costumes of late archaic korai."[80]

The younger bird-holding kore, M11 (plates 46–47), combines the richly draped diagonal himation from Samos with the local motif of the chiton loosely grasped at the side. In contrast to the older Ornithe of the Geneleos Group (plates 26–27), on the Milesian bird kore the grasping of the chiton continues the natural fall of the chiton's folds, which allows the forms of the body to stand out more prominently. This motif is especially successful in the way the folds fall down the back and emphasize the striding pose.[81] Moreover, the newly discovered kore from Didyma,

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[64] For marble types, see Tuchelt 1970, pp. 67ff.

[65] A. Peschlow-Bindokat/K. Germann, *JdI* 96 (1981), pp. 155ff., esp. p. 212 with n. 78, illus. 21a–d. "Here we find fine-grained, white or gray-white marble that is in part highly dolomitic, along with medium-grained white or gray-white or completely gray, and finally a marble that is extremely coarse grained."

[66] See note 65 above.

[67] The earlier literature is summarized in Tuchelt 1970, p. 50, and in Fuchs/Floren, p. 373; Peschlow-Bindokat/Germann, loc. cit., pp. 159f. with n. 9. See also Milet III, 5, pp. 14ff., pl. 3; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 207 with n. 591.

[68] Peschlow-Bindokat/Germann, loc. cit., pp. 161f., 212, 234f., illus. 63.

[69] Ibid., p. 212.

[70] See also Milet III 5, pp. 17ff.

[71] Peschlow-Bindokat/Germann, loc. cit., p. 208.

[72] Ibid., p. 208 with n. 72. According to historical tradition, the quarries of the "Latmian Herakleia" were still in operation in the early 4th century A.D., meaning they were continuously worked from the archaic period up until late antiquity. For an extensive discussion, see Peschlow-Bindokat/Germann, loc. cit., pp. 209f; see also Milet III 5, pp. 17ff.

[73] Vitruvius X, 2,15.

[74] Peschlow-Bindokat/Germann, loc. cit., p. 210 with n. 76.

[75] Graeve 1986a, pl. 6, 1–2; 7,1.

[76] Graeve 1983, pp. 7ff, 12ff.

[77] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 178f.; Pedley 1976, pp. 57ff.; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 373ff. See also E. Akurgal in *Festschrift N. Himmelmann* (1989), pp. 35ff., esp. pp. 40f.

[78] Tuchelt 1970, p. 179; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 374, 376, 378f. with nn. 18–22, pl. 32,2. See also H. Kyrieleis, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), p. 111; V. von Graeve, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 103ff., esp. pp. 107f.

[79] See H. Laubscher, *IstMitt* 13/14 (1963/64), pp. 83f., n. 43; Herdejürgen 1968, p. 40; Fuchs/Floren, p. 379, pl. 33,6.

[80] Fuchs/Floren, p. 381, pl. 32,4; 30,2; Graeve 1983, p. 12, illus. 1, 23, 24.

[81] Fuchs/Floren, pp. 381f., pl. 32,5; Graeve 1983, pp. 21f., illus. 25. 26. See the detailed comparison of the Samian kore no. 20 (Samos XI, pp. 44ff.) with the Milesian kore M11.

K40A (plate 33), shows similarities to the Samian kore no. 20 (plate 19). The points of the mantle hanging down on either side are modeled in the same way, and folds in the chiton radiating outward from the belt are similarly formed, even though they fall in different directions. In both cases there is a line of small wavelike folds alongside the center panel as it falls from the waist. These broaden further down and are drawn to the side above the knee, then "play about the smooth surface of the thighs like applied lines."[82]

These examples show us that there were notable artists working in Miletus and Didyma who maintained an active exchange of ideas with neighboring art centers—above all Samos—and independently developed new representational forms. Even so, no artist's signature survives that can be linked to the korai.

Two artists' signatures, however, are known for the sculptures from Didyma: Terpsikles and Eudemos.[83] The name Terpsikles survives on a limestone base, but it is not known what type of votive offering it supported.[84] The signature of the artist Eudemos is chiseled on the left armrest of the seated figure K46,[85] but it is impossible to ascribe any of the surviving korai or other unsigned works to his oeuvre.

In mid-century the master of the seated figure of Chares, K47, influenced the type of the robed male figure as enduringly as did the master of the Cheramyes korai on Samos. The korai K37 (plate 31), K38, and K39 date from the period in which the Chares master was active, yet it is impossible to find in them features that would allow us to attribute them to any specific sculptor.[86]

For the Milesian works not a single artist's name is known. According to Graeve it is possible to distinguish at least two workshops that "developed new forms and passed them along."[87] His first grouping includes the older bird kore M4 (plates 40–41), the seated figures of Yeniköy,[88] and a relief fragment.[89] Common to all of them is the draping of the cloak with a zigzag hem, as described above. The forms of their folds were repeated in Miletus for some time.[90]

According to Graeve, the younger bird kore, M11 (plates 46–47), represents the second workshop, together with the unfinished kore grasping the chiton with her left hand from the area of the necropolis on the Kazartepe, M12 (plate 48).[91]

For the moment, however, it is still impossible to provide names for the sculptors of the korai from Miletus and Didyma.

Find Spots (Didyma)

Table 2.4 provides an overview in chronological order of the sites where the Didyma korai were discovered.

Almost all the Didyma korai come from the temple area, mainly the temple's east and south sides (illus. 2).[92] Half of them (four) were found on the southeast side of the temple alone. This suggests that they could well have stood, along with the colossal kouroi, around the adyton built in the late Geometric period.[93]

Only a few archaic finds were discovered in situ in Didyma.[94] Clear examples of the removal of votive gifts from the site of their original position are the seated figures of the so-called Branchidae, which were found along the Sacred Way. Various scholars[95] have shown that these were moved to the Sacred Way at a later date. The lion K66 was also found here,[96] whereas its counterpart, K67, was probably still intact in Hellenistic-Roman times, standing on the votive gift terrace inside the sanctuary.[97]

Tuchelt argues that the six bases discovered around the so-called Round Altar are not bases for the seated statues. Consequently, some other type of votive gifts must have stood in the vicinity of this altar. H. Knackfuss has interpreted the bases as supports for statues or altars, given their circular shape.[99] Following the earlier scholarship, one might ascribe these bases to the korai or kouroi, for as the focus of offering ceremonies the altar area would have been the best spot for dedicators to place votive offerings they wished to have admired. Korai dedications would have been especially fitting here, in the immediate vicinity of the

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[82] Samos XI, no. 20, pp. 44ff.

[83] Tuchelt 1970, p. 121 with n. 22; Jeffery 1961, pp. 332f., 342, nos. 23, 27, pl. 64.

[84] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 121, 187, 210f. Tuchelt places four or five works of sculpture (K36, K36bis, K43, K66, K67) in the period of Terpsikles' activity (600–580). In these works he claims to recognize an important artist, "perhaps a contemporary of Terpsikles or Terpsikles himself?"

[85] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 77ff., 120; Didyma II, no. 5.

[86] Ibid., pp. 187ff., esp. p. 188.

[87] Graeve 1983, pp. 7ff., esp. p. 13.

[88] Ibid., pp. 8ff., illus. 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 15.

[89] Ibid., p. 12, illus. 2.

[90] Ibid., p. 12 with n. 13.

[91] For details, ibid., pp. 13f., illus. 11–14.

[92] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 45f.

[93] Ibid., p. 213; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 199 with n. 558; Steuben 1980, p. 25, says of the placement of the kouroi: "Towering above the wall of the unroofed sacred enclosure (sekos) and the flat-roofed hall, they must have served as the sanctuary's landmarks."

[94] Tuchelt 1970, p. 213 with n. 105: "In Didyma, in contrast to the Heraion on Samos, only a few bases are found in situ."

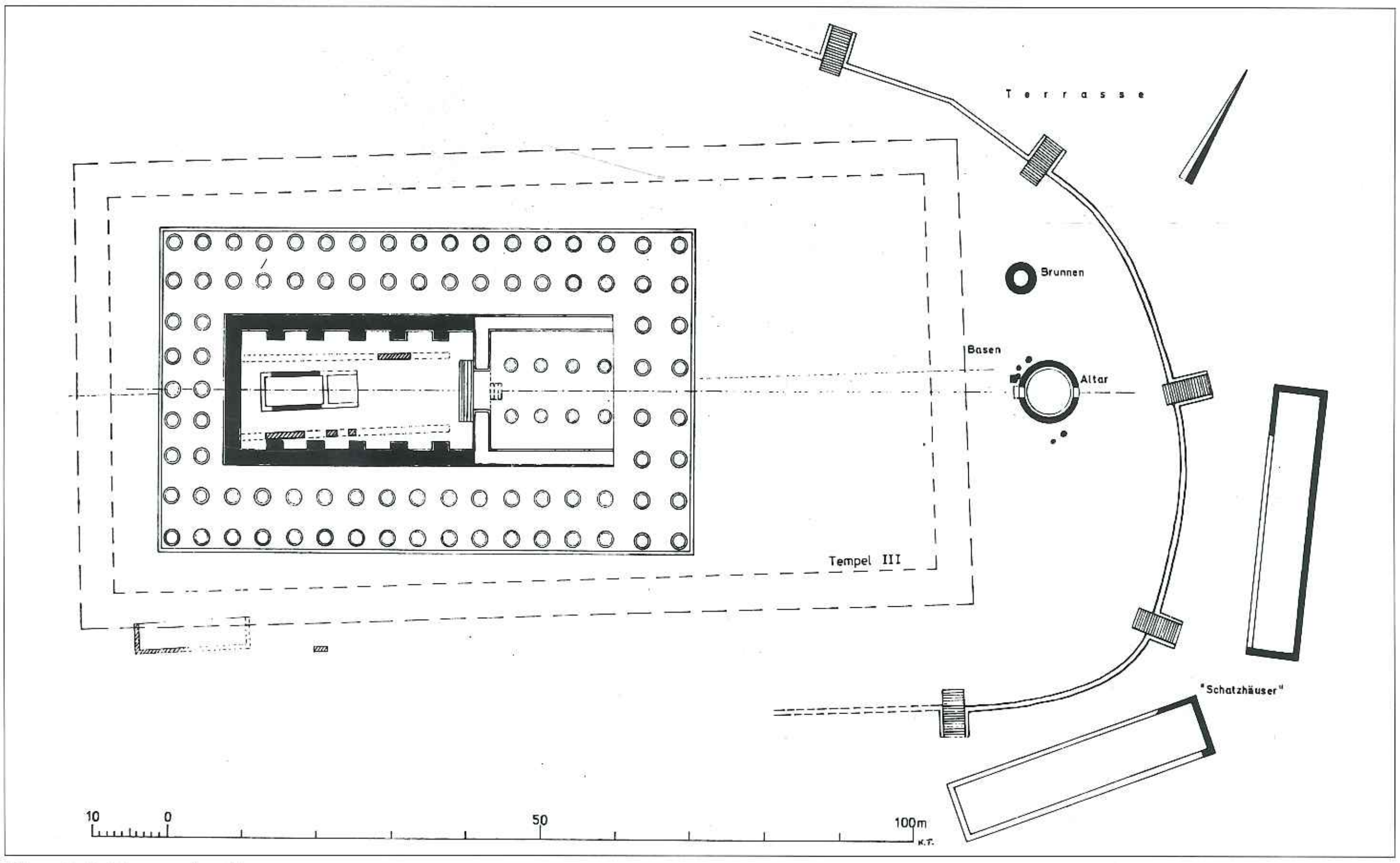
[95] Ibid., pp. 213f.; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 199ff. with n. 201; Fuchs/Floren, p. 374. See also P. Schneider, *AA* 1987, pp. 119ff.; A. Herda in Stemmer 1995, pp. 123ff.

[96] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 93f., K66, pp. 213f. Tuchelt assumes "that with the resumption of processions before the middle of the 5th century at the earliest and at the time of the preparation of the site for the Hellenistic temple in the late 4th century at the latest, the sculptures were removed from the sanctuary along with the remains of the destruction by the Persians." Özgan 1978, p. 132 with n. 448: "K66 and K67 both came from the same workshop, and were set up as a group."

[97] Ibid., pp. 94f., 214, K67.

[98] Ibid., p. 213 with n. 105.

[99] H. Knackfuss in Didyma I, p. 138, pl. 84 Z6, 34.



Illus. 2. Didyma, Apollo sanctuary.

relief korai (plate 35)[100] on the columns of the Didymaion's pronaos. With their long garments and with offerings in their hands the korai would have enhanced the festive atmosphere.[101]

More recent research[102] prefers to see the so-called Round Altar as a tholos, however, so that it becomes necessary to qualify the above assumption. B. Fehr concludes from their foundations that three of the round bases belonged to a single complex, though they represent only a fraction of the original structure. He argues that wooden posts set into the depressions of these bases stood in a circle around the structure (the so-called Round Altar) supporting wood beams.[103] Yet even if there actually was a tholos here, a place where "banquets were held at which ambassadors or other honored guests were entertained,"[104] there still could have been votive gifts set up nearby. As yet, however, assured archaeological finds to support such an assumption are lacking.

Literary sources bear witness to the high, pre-Greek age of the Didymaion.[105] Herodotus stresses the cult place's growing importance in the 7th century and its reputation even outside Ionia. The considerable importance of the Apollo temple in this period is confirmed by the fact that the Egyptian king Necho II (609–593) dedicated his battle dress there.[106]

The sanctuary soon became too small, and the required expansion is confirmed by excavation finds in many areas of the Didymaion.[107] Cult ceremony, centered on the cult monuments, the sacred laurel, and the oracle spring, called for an open-air sekos. In the late geometric period the sacred precinct was thus first enclosed by a temenos. In the open cella of the later temple stood the naiskos, which was erected around 520 in the old temenos.[108]

On the temple axis to the east lies the above-mentioned Round Altar. The sanctuary is surrounded on this side by a wall 3.50 m high, which served as the retaining wall for a terrace on which votive gifts were placed. The remains of two stoas[109] have long been known. The large Ionic cyma that adorned the top of this wall belongs in style to the period around 540, and according to Tuchelt provides a reference point for the beginning of the building of the great dipteral temple.[110]

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[100] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 51, 99ff., K75, K76, pl. 72, 73. The painting (traces of red pigment) enhanced their festive appearance; Fuchs/Floren, p. 386, n. 52.

[101] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 221f.

[102] B. Fehr, "Zur Geschichte des Apollonheiligtums von Didyma," *MarbWPr* 1971/72, pp. 29ff.

[103] Ibid., pp. 32ff.

[104] Ibid., p. 34. See also G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 243f., n. 491, who considers Fehr's thesis unconvincing. See also G. Gruben, *AA* 1982, p. 678, n. 130.

[105] Herodotus I, 157; Pausanias VII, 2, 6; Tuchelt 1970, pp. 190ff., esp. p. 191. For a general overview of the Apollo sanctuary at Didyma: idem, *Branchidai-Didyma, AW* special issue vol. 3 (1991), pp. 12ff.

[106] Herodotus II, 159; Tuchelt 1970, p. 197 with n. 24.

[107] C. Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (1929), p. 126; Didyma I, p. 225; G. Gruben, *JdI* 78 (1963), pp. 78ff., esp. pp. 106ff.; Tuchelt 1970, pp. 190ff., esp. pp. 203ff.; Tuchelt 1973, pp. 13ff., 135ff., illus. 3; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *JdI* 109 (1994), pp. 41ff., esp. pp. 47ff., illus. 4–5; pp. 55ff., illus. 8; A. Herda in F. Bubenheimer et al. (eds.), *Kult und Funktion griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassicher Zeit, Kolloquium Heidelberg 1995* (1996), pp. 147f.

[108] H. Drerup, *AA* 1964, pp. 350ff.; B. Fehr, "Zur Geschichte des Apollonheiligtums von Didyma," *MarbWPr* 1971/72, pp. 29ff., 54; Gruben 1986, pp. 359ff., illus. 300; Akurgal 1987, illus. 66.

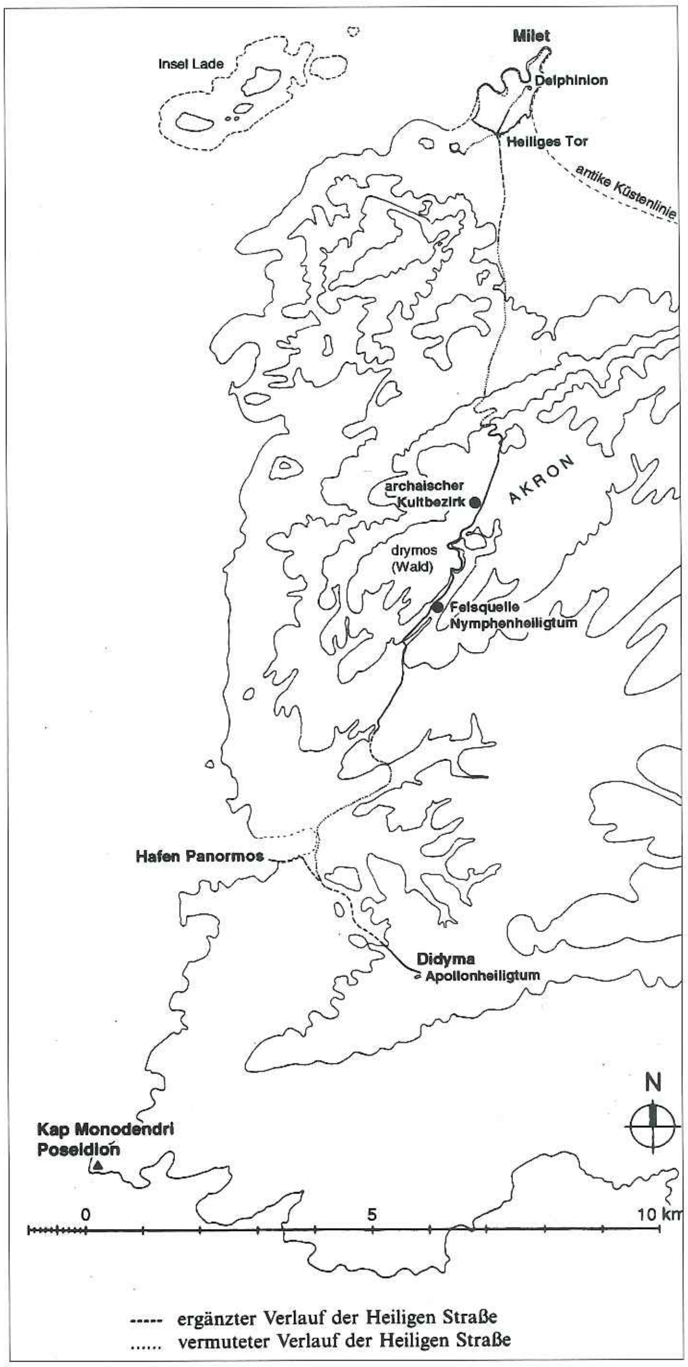
At the end of the 7th century, a stoa some 15.50 m long and 3.60 m wide was erected on a sloping site southwest of the sekos,[111] which at that time formed the southernmost known boundary of the sacred precinct.[112] It opened toward the north, in the direction of the sekos, and is certain to have served as a place for votive gifts, a kind of gallery that could even accommodate the seated figures.[113] Some 10 m east of this stoa was the poros foundation for a votive gift, but it cannot be determined what kind of offering stood there.[114]

As on Samos, the expansion of the Didyma sanctuary required extensive grading work. To the south the slope was built up, and in the process the southwest stoa and the poros foundation were destroyed.[115] It is therefore more than probable that votive gifts were removed from their original locations.[116]

To summarize, it can be said that the places where the korai were found were not where they had originally stood. Some of the korai could have stood around the so-called Round Altar, others to the south of the temple, but there is no archaeological evidence to prove this assumption.

The discovery of kore K39 to the west of the votive gift terrace suggests that korai and other votive gifts, such as the above-mentioned lion group, had stood in front of the archaic temple.

The only original location that can be reconstructed with relative certainty is that of the recently discovered kore K40A.[117] It was found along the Sacred Way[118] roughly halfway between Didyma and Miletus (illus. 3, 4), in the masonry of a field wall to the south of a spring.[119] Th. Wiegand had already identified the spot as the site of a sanctuary to the Nymphs, known from various written sources.



Illus. 3. The route of the Sacred Way from Miletus to Didyma with locations of the rock spring, the sanctuary to the Nymphs, and the archaic cult precinct.

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[109] G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 241ff., illus. 19.

[110] Tuchelt 1970, p. 203 with nn. 59, 62. The cyma capping the above-mentioned terrace walls provides an important clue to the dating of grading work on the square in front of the temple. The beginning of the building of the archaic Didymaion is generally dated to the years immediately after the middle of the 6th century. See also W. Hahlund, *JdI* 79 (1964), pp. 168f.; Akurgal 1987, p. 56, illus. 66.

[111] Tuchelt 1970, p. 196; A. Kalpaxis, *Früharchaische Baukunst in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (1976), p. 86; Gruben 1986, p. 360, illus. 300.

[112] R. Naumann/K. Tuchelt, *IstMitt* 13/14 (1963/64), pp. 28f., esp. p. 34.

[113] Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 199f. with n. 561.

[114] Tuchelt 1970, p. 196 with n. 22.

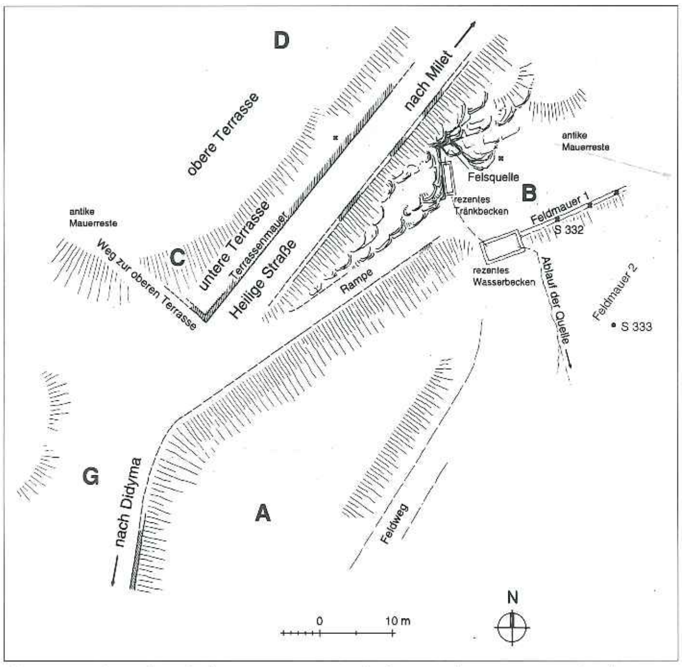
[115] Ibid., p. 198: "The hall was demolished because it stood in the way of the new temple and the construction of the stadium, that is c. 550 B.C." See also G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), p. 241 with n. 482.

[116] Even the building of the archaic temple led to the relocation of certain votive gifts, which were then removed at the latest "on the preparation of the site for the Hellenistic temple in the late 4th century . . . along with the remains of the destruction by the Persians." Tuchelt 1970, p. 214.

[117] K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1995, pp. 786f., illus. 4; H. Bumke et al., *AA* 2000, pp. 65f., illus. 9.

[118] For the topography of the Sacred Way and the precinct around the spring, see P. Schneider, *AA* 1987, pp. 101ff., esp. p. 110; idem, *AA* 1989, pp. 147ff.

[119] Bumke et al. (note 117 above), p. 68, illus. 4, 6. The kore's upper body had been incorporated into Wall 1, roughly 15 m south of the spring, while the lower part of the statue came to light in the rubble of Field Wall 2.



Illus. 4. Sketch of the area around the rock spring with the site where the kore K40A was found: inv. nos. S332, S333.

He also discovered two archaic statues of seated women in this area, one of which bore a dedicatory inscription to the Nymphs on the back of the chair.[120] These finds suggested that the site was the rest stop of the Nymphs sanctuary along the processional route from Miletus to Didyma mentioned in the Hellenistic "Molpoi statute."[121] In the vicinity of the spring, traces of various structures came to light, documenting the existence of cult buildings[122] and cult ceremonies.

Worth recalling in this context are kore M1A, with its inscription dedicating it to the Nymphs,[123] and a relief consecrated to the Nymphs by a man named Sames,[124] on which two korai wearing chitons, diagonal himatia, and veils are depicted standing in a naiskos. The cult of the Nymphs in Didyma and Miletus in the archaic period is thus confirmed by three inscriptions,[125] and we can be certain that kore K40A, at least, stood as a votive offering in the sanctuary of the Nymphs on the Sacred Way.

Find Spots (Miletus)

Table 3.6 summarizes the spots where the Milesian korai were found. Here, too, the information regarding the circumstances of their discovery is incomplete. Many come from Miletus itself, some from the old Wiegand depot, others from the area of the Kazartepe necropolis or from the archaic settlement on the Kalabaktepe, and some from the art market.

The oldest Milesian kore, M1 (plate 36), which bears the inscription of Anaximandros, was found in the court of the Hellenistic city's bouleuterion. It either served as building material for the bouleuterion (illus. 5) or found its way to the spot where it was discovered only after that building's destruction.[126] Whether or not this kore was a gift from the famous philosopher Anaximandros cannot be established with certainty. It is nevertheless conceivable that the Milesians later saw the kore as a votive offering from their philosopher and for that reason set it up in the bouleuterion as a memorial.[127]

The second-oldest kore, M1A (plate 36), with its dedication to the Nymphs, cannot be linked to any of the local cult sites with certainty, as it was discovered in a "mandra behind the mosque" in the city of Miletus.[128]

What we do know is that the older bird kore, M4, was consecrated to the goddess Artemis Kithone, whose temple was in the area of the east terrace of the Kalabaktepe,[129] one of the cluster of hills southwest of Miletus (illus. 6, 4).

The so-called younger bird kore, M11 (plates 46–47), was discovered in the late-antique Goths' Wall,[130] in the area that extends from the west corner of the southern per-

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[120] Milet II 2, pp. 3, 8; Tuchelt 1970, p. 217 with n. 124; Schneider (note 118 above), p. 115 with n. 48; K. B. Gödecken, *ZPE* 66 (1986), pp. 246ff. See also N. Ehrhardt, *EpigrAnat* 21 (1993), pp. 5ff. The inscription reads: → –νης: ← Οὐαγόρεω Νύμ[φηισιν.

[121] See Bumke et al., loc. cit. pp. 57ff., with extensive bibliography on the cult statutes of the Molpoi, esp. p. 59 with nn. 5–8. See also Gödecken, loc. cit., pp. 217ff., esp. pp. 246f. with nn. 110, 111, 117. For the Molpoi, see also A. Herda in F. Bubenheimer et al. (eds.), *Kult und Funktion griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit, Kolloquium Heidelberg 1995* (1996), pp. 135ff.

[122] Bumke et al., loc. cit., pp. 57ff., esp. p. 96.

[123] Ehrhardt, loc. cit., p. 4. The inscription reads: [ὁ δεῖνα μ'ἀ]νέθηκεν Νύμφη[ισ]ιν/ὁ Μάνδριος.

[124] Graeve in Athens 1986, pp. 24ff., pl. 6, 2. The votive relief comes from the vicinity of the Kalabaktepe. The inscription reads: Σαμῆς με ἀν[έθ] η̣κεν τῆισι Νύμφηισιν.

[125] Ehrhardt, loc. cit., pp. 3ff.

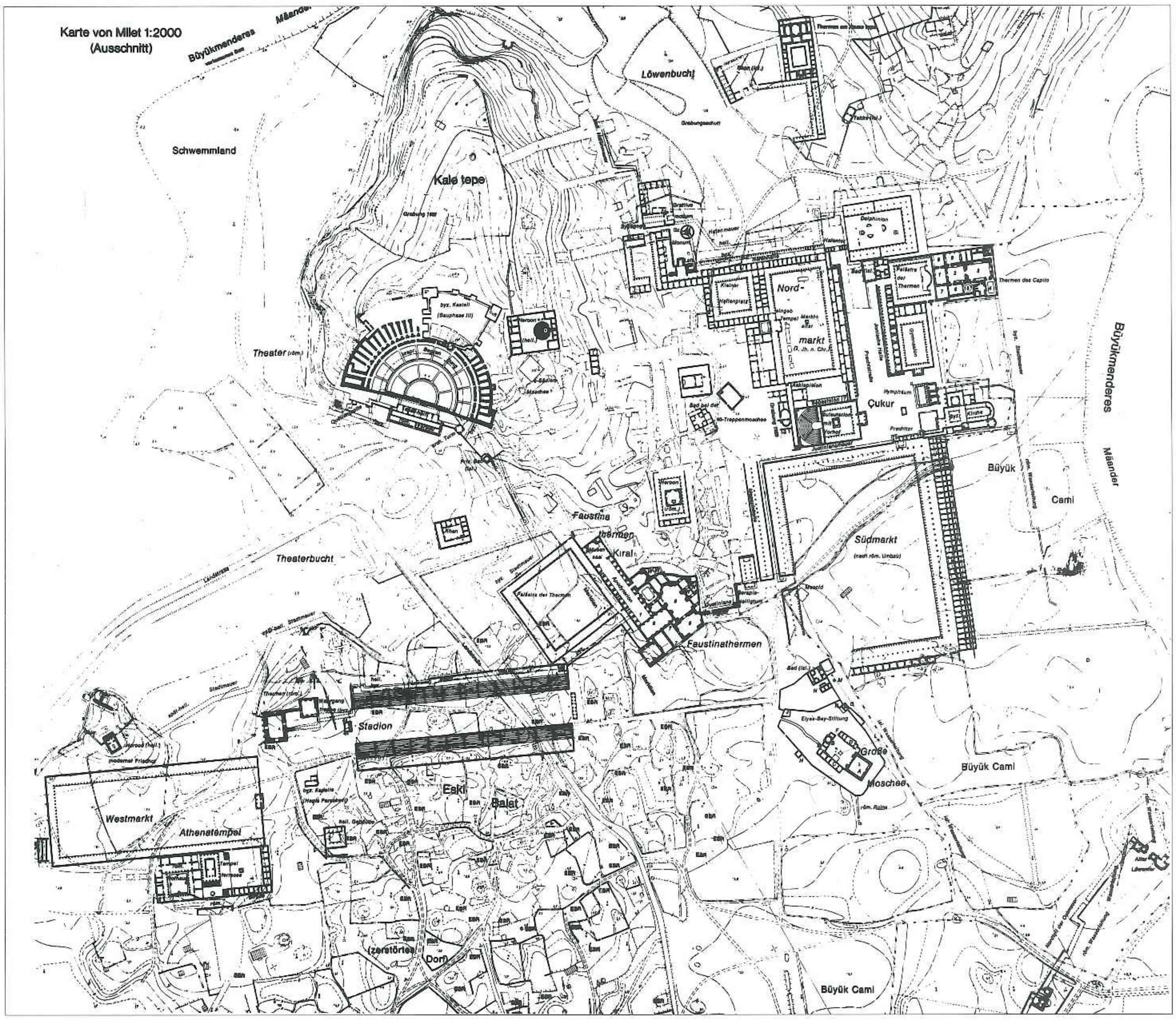
[126] W. Darsow, *JdI* 69 (1954), p. 102, illus. 1, 2. See also Milet II 4, south sheet; Milet I 2, p. 112, illus. 103.

[127] F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* I (1950), p. 198, pl. 124, argues against any connection between the kore and the philosopher Anaximandros owing to the statue's old-fashioned style. H. Knackfuss, Milet I 2, p. 112, suggests that Anaximandros could be the father whose sons are named as donors in the Terpsikles inscription from Didyma, Didyma II, p. 3, no. 2. See also Karusos 1961, p. 91, n. 77; Jeffery 1961, p. 334, no. 26, pl. 64 [Ἀ]ναξιμάνδρο.

[128] Below the theater terrace in Miletus, for example, there was an ancient sanctuary in a grotto with a spring. See G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet* (1968), p. 73; Ehrhardt, loc. cit., pp. 7f. For access to the theater in Miletus, see W. Müller-Wiener, *IstMitt* 41 (1991), pp. 157ff., esp. p. 162. For the six or seven archaic sanctuaries in Miletus identified from archaic architectural elements, see W. Koenigs, *IstMitt* 29 (1979), pp. 187ff.; idem, *IstMitt* 30 (1980), pp. 56ff.; idem, in *Milet 1899–1980, Kolloquium Frankfurt 1980, IstMitt* suppl. 31 (1986), pp. 113ff.; idem, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 141ff.

[129] M. Kerschner, *AA* 1995, pp. 214ff., esp. pp. 219f.; M. Kerschner/R. Senff/I. Blum, *AA* 1997, pp. 120ff., illus. 9–11. See also the Attributes (Miletus) section, above, p. 38.

[130] The site of the discovery of kore M11 is generally given as the Hellenistic city wall (see Blümel 1964, no. 49; Richter 1968, no. 161). For its find spot, see also A. Kriegenherdt in Stemmer 1995, p. 108. As Th. Wiegand, *AA* 1901, p. 198, commented, however, the torso was discovered in the late-antique wall standing in front of the Hellenistic city wall, "between the column drums of the foundation." (For these column drums as foundations of the "Goths' Wall," see also A. von Gerkan, Milet II, 3, p. 83, illus. 51–52.)


Karte von Milet 1:2000
(Ausschnitt)
Büyükmenderes
Mäander
Schwemmland
Kale tepe
Löwenbucht
Theater
Nord-
markt
Çukur
Büyükmenderes
Mäander
Büyük
Cami
Faustina
thermen
Kiral
Südmarkt
Theaterbucht
Faustinathermen
Stadion
Große
Moschee
Büyük Cami
Eski
Balat
Westmarkt
Athenatempel
(zerstörtes)
Dorf
Büyük Cami

Illus. 5. Map of Miletus.

pendicular wall to the Turkish cemetery south of the Athena temple.[131] Coins of Gallienus found in the interior mortar serve to date the wall; it was built by the Milesians only after A.D. 265, outside the Hellenistic city wall, to protect them from raids by the Goths. These acute threats caused the residents to plunder the city and even the necropolis for the building material required for the wall.[132] Several archaic seated female statues were found not far from the bird kore,[133] one of which carries the inscription "APTE," and thus points to the goddess Artemis.[134] On the basis of the most recent excavations, M. Kerschner presumes that in the course of conflicts with the Persians and the resulting shrinkage of the city the Artemis sanctuary was moved from the Kalabaktepe to

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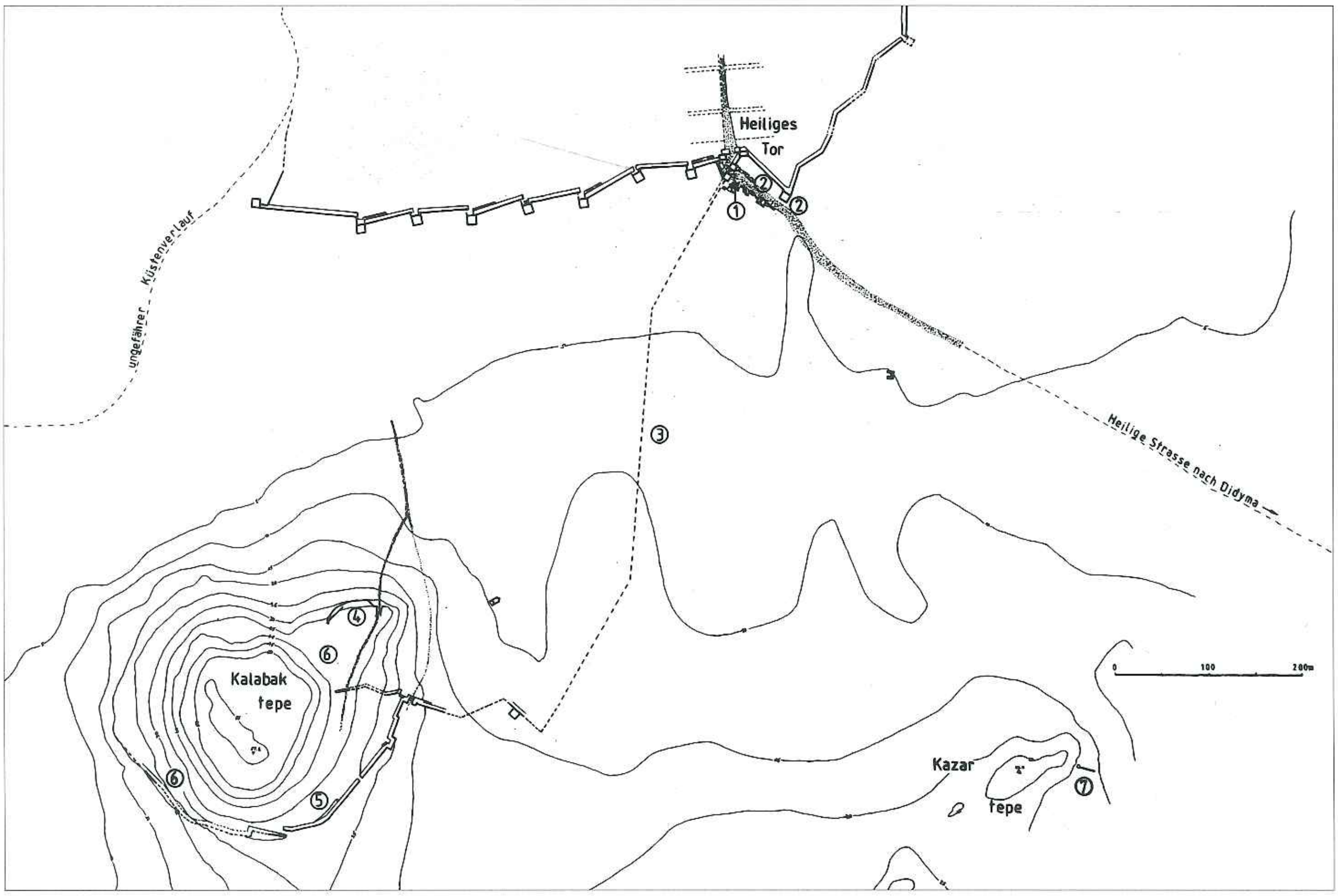
W. Müller-Wiener in *Milet 1899–1980, Kolloquium Frankfurt 1980, IstMitt* suppl. 31 (1986), p. 98 with n. 13.

[131] W. Bendt, Milet II 4 (map); Gerkan, loc. cit., illus. 47a. For the fortifications of the ancient city of Miletus: J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 249ff., esp. pp. 274ff.

[132] Th. Wiegand, *AA* 1901, p. 198; Milet II 3, p. 83, illus. 51, 52.

[133] Th. Wiegand, *AA* 1901, p. 198. For the seated statue, see Blümel 1964, p. 53, no. 50, illus. 139f.

[134] The inscription was added at a later time. This wall section contained other inscriptions to Artemis as well, among them a stele with "supplementary regulations regarding honorary gifts to the Artemis priestess": Th. Wiegand, *AA* 1901, p. 198. K. B. Gödecken locates the post-archaic Artemis sanctuary in the vicinity of the Sacred Gate on the basis of the description of the discovery of the seated statue with the graffito, and justifies his suggestion with an "accumulation of finds of architectural elements and monuments belonging to it": *ZPE* 66 (1986), pp. 235f., illus. 7a; see also V. von Graeve, *IstMitt* 39 (1989), pp. 143ff., esp. p. 144 with n. 11.



Illus. 6. Southern Miletus. Kalabaktepe: 4. East terrace with archaic sanctuary of Artemis Kithone; 5. Late geometric–archaic settlement on the Kalabaktepe. Vicinity of the necropolis on the Kazartepe: 7. Archaic "Lion grave."

a place inside the city proper at the time the Milesians abandoned the Kalabaktepe as a settlement.[135] Thus it would be altogether possible that the bird kore M11 was also dedicated to Artemis Kithone.[136]

The find spot of the small kore head M8, "in the forecourt of the archaic [Athena] temple," indicates that this kore originally stood inside the Athena sanctuary (illus. 5).[137] In the opinion of W. Held, the kore was set up "east of the pronaos on the temple axis in the square in front of the temple some 6 m from the threshold of the pronaos."[138] On that spot a slab was discovered in situ, in which the cylindrical base of a votive statue from the middle of the 6th century had once been embedded.[139] According to Held, the base and the kore head M8 could be part of one and the same votive offering.[140] From the inscription on the base[141] we learn that]okos, son of Leagres, presented the dedication to Athena after winning a contest. However, no kore dedication is known to have been occasioned by victory in a contest, so Held's thesis, convincing as his reconstruction seems, can hardly be accepted. The discovery of five additional statue fragments in this area, recorded in the excavation diaries, indicates that a number of korai and kouroi once stood in the sanctuary of Athena.[142] According to Held's most recent insights, the sanctuary was established in the first half of the 8th century[143] but later underwent a number of changes. In the archaic period its layout was reconfigured. In the first quarter of the 6th century an antis temple was erected oriented to the east; the old cult image with its base from the geometric period was preserved and protected by a simple oval shrine built to the southeast of the altar. The open space between the temple, the altar, and the cult image was used for cult ceremonies.[144] In the 5th century the modest archaic building was replaced by a more elaborate new structure, part of which extended over former secular buildings.[145] In Hellenistic times a large part of the area at the back of the temple was sacrificed in the construction of the West Market.[146] Structural changes to the site certainly involved not only the terrace and the temple but also the votive gifts, which were moved from their sites and eventually used as building material.

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[135] M. Kerschner, *AA* 1995, pp. 218ff.; see also Held 2000, p. 94.

[136] See A. Herda, *ÖJh* 67 (1998), p. 40 with n. 318. "An indication of the site of the post-archaic sanctuary was the find in 1908 of a reused marble ante 'on the Roman addition in the south of the South Market' inscribed with an Artemis Kithone cult statute from the period of the early empire that mentions a temple (νεώς)." See H. Knackfuss, "Der Südmarkt," *Milet* I 7 (1924), pp. 287ff., no. 202; now with translation in P. Herrmann, "Inschriften von Milet," *Milet* VI 7 (1997), p. 199, no. 202.

[137] The find spot of kore M8 is now assured on the basis of the description of the find in the rediscovered excavation diaries from Miletus. For an extensive discussion, see Held 2000, pp. 104ff., pl. 12b, c.

[138] Ibid., pp. 107ff., illus. 5.

[139] According to Held 2000, pp. 107f., the notes of the excavator A. Mallwitz confirm that the base and the slab, already missing by 1963, belonged together.

[140] Ibid., p. 108, illus. 58.

[141] Ibid., pp. 105ff., cat. no. S2, illus. 57. One can deduce from this that contests comparable to the Panathenaea in Athens were held in honor of the goddess Athena; ibid., p. 107.

[142] Ibid., pp. 109f., cat. nos. S3–S7. There were at least five statue fragments, but they have been lost. In addition, numerous kouroi were discovered in the field wall in the vicinity of the Athena temple. See V. von Graeve in Athens 1986, pp. 25ff., pl. 7ff.

[143] Held 2000, pp. 5ff., esp. pp. 179ff. with n. 637, rejects the thesis of C. Weickert, G. Kleiner, and A. Mallwitz, who argued for continuity in the cult of the goddess Athena since the Mycenaean period. In his opinion, "the recollection of the Mycenaean past [is manifested] in the founding of the shrine for the cult image on the still-visible bastion of the Mycenaean city wall; in the 'Greek Renaissance' many

The find spots of the remaining Milesian korai provide no definite clues regarding their original locations. For korai M2, M3, M5, M6, M9, M10, M13, and M14 the notations read variously "scattered find from Balat," "origin unknown," "Miletus," or "old Wiegand depot."[147]

The kore M12 (plate 48)[148] comes from the vicinity of the Kazartepe necropolis (illus. 6).[149] It is not certain that it functioned as a funerary kore, but since it was discovered far outside the city limits, this seems probable.[150]

The reappearance of the small kore head M7 (plate 43)[151] on the Değirmentepe, a hill southwest of the Kalabaktepe outside the area of the ancient city, also provides no indication of where it originally stood.

The kore fragment M15 (plate 45)[152] was found in the rubble of the eastern part of the settlement on the Kalabaktepe. Since an unfinished relief and two unfinished kouros fragments came to light in the immediate vicinity, Graeve[153] concludes that there was a sculpture workshop at this spot on the Kalabaktepe.[154] Given the location of the kore find, it could also have come from that workshop. It is impossible to determine whether or not kore M15 was intended for the temple of Artemis Kithone. From the results of excavations in recent years, one could also consider other sanctuaries in the vicinity. On the Zeytintepe, only 1 km northwest of the Kalabaktepe, an Aphrodite sanctuary was discovered with a number of important finds,[155] including terracotta female figures and terracotta protomai, as well as a miniature base of limestone with a dedicatory inscription to the Aphrodite of Oikous.[156] The discovery of two as yet unpublished marble korai statuettes[157] confirms that in Miletus dedications of korai were also made to the goddess Aphrodite (plate 42).

Also unpublished is an additional kore statuette in marble that was found on the Mengerevtepe (plate 37). This spot has been linked to a place called Assesos, mentioned in Herodotus I, 17–19, due to the discovery of an inscription to Athena Assesia.[158]

Inscriptions

Of the twenty-three inscriptions from the archaic period from Didyma,[159] none can be associated with the korai so far discovered. The surviving inscriptions either are chiseled directly onto sculptures,[160] for example seated figures[161] or the backs of marble lions,[162] or appear on bases.

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shrines were established over Mycenaean ruins in similar fashion as a link to the 'heroic past.'" For the Athena cult, see Ehrhardt 1983, pp. 162ff.; see also Held 2000, p. 94, n. 440. For a detailed discussion of the origins and subsequent phases of the Athena sanctuary, ibid., pp. 5ff., 11ff., 67ff., illus. 5, 16, 32, 43, 54. For more on the temple of Athena: Milet I 8, pp. 52ff.; A. Mallwitz/W. Schiering, *IstMitt* 18 (1968), pp. 87ff.; W. Müller-Wiener in *Milet 1899–1980, Kolloquium Frankfurt 1980, IstMitt* suppl. 31 (1986), p. 100 with n. 16, illus. 26.

[144] Held 2000, pp. 47ff., esp. pp. 65f., 180f., illus. 5, 32.

[145] Ibid., pp. 30ff. W. Held suggests, ibid., p. 32 with n. 134, for the beginning of the construction of the classical temple the period immediately following the battle at Mt. Mykale, 479.

[146] A. Mallwitz, *IstMitt* 25 (1975), pp. 82ff., 86 with n. 42; Held 2000, pp. 30ff., 85ff., esp. pp. 91ff., illus. 54.

[147] See table 3.6. See also Tuchelt 1970, pp. 38ff., n. 46.

[148] G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet* (1968), p. 127. Kleiner still took the kore for a kouros. Graeve 1983, pp. 14f., pl. 12–14.

[149] Based on chance finds and an as yet solitary grave on the Kazartepe, near the present-day village of Balat, it is possible to suppose that the archaic necropolis of Miletus extended much farther south than was assumed in Wiegand's day. W. Müller-Wiener in *Milet 1899–1980, Kolloquium Frankfurt 1980, IstMitt* suppl. 31 (1986), p. 104; W. Müller-Wiener et al., *IstMitt* 38 (1988), pp. 251ff.; V. von Graeve, *IstMitt* 39 (1989), pp. 143ff.; idem, *AA* 1997, pp. 109ff., esp. p. 112.

[150] V. von Graeve, *IstMitt* 39 (1989), p. 144. See the discussion comparing tomb statues and votive statues in H. Philipp, *IstMitt* 31 (1981), p. 150: "The finds let us assume that at least a portion of the archaic necropolis of the 6th century stretched along the Sacred Way toward Didyma."

[151] Graeve 1986a, pp. 82ff., pl. 6, 1–2; 7, 1.

[152] Graeve 1986b, pp. 37ff., esp. pp. 46f., pl. 12, 1–2.

[153] Ibid., pp. 43ff., pl. 9ff.

[154] V. von Graeve, *IstMitt* 40 (1990), pp. 39ff. on settlement activity on the Kalabaktepe.

[155] U. Gans/M. Heinz, *IstMitt* 41 (1991), pp. 137ff.; R. Senff et al., *IstMitt* 42 (1992), pp. 105ff., esp. pp. 107ff.; M. Heinz/R. Senff, *AA* 1995, pp. 220ff.; R. Senff/M. Heinz, *AA* 1997, pp. 114ff.

[156] Aphrodite's name also appears as a graffito on several shards. R. Senff, *AA* 1995, p. 224, illus. 26. For detailed information on the inscriptions, see P. Herrmann, *AA* 1995, pp. 282ff., esp. pp. 284f. The literary tradition regarding the Aphrodite sanctuary of Oikus is based on Theocritus VII, 115f. and other sources. The inscription on the miniature base reads:

['Α]φϱοδίτηι / τήν Οἰϰόντ[ι]
['Α]λπάλη ἀν/έθηϰεν δε[ϰάτην]

"With the name of the dedicator, a certain Alpali, we have for Miletus evidence that the goddess Aphrodite of Oikus received a votive gift from a woman."

[157] R. Senff/M. Heinz, *AA* 1997, pp. 114ff., esp. p. 116, illus. 5.

[158] V. von Graeve, *AA* 1995, pp. 202f., illus. 5 a–b; R. Senff, *AA* 1995, pp. 224f. For extensive discussion of the sanctuary of Athena Assesos, see H. Lohmann, *AA* 1995, pp. 293ff., esp. pp. 311ff., 328. For the inscription: P. Herrmann, *AA* 1995, pp. 288ff.

[159] Didyma II, pp. 1ff.; Tuchelt 1970, pp. 115ff.: of the 23 inscriptions 10 are still preserved, 6 we have only in casts, and 7 in transcriptions or photographs.

[160] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 116, 224f., with all inscriptions assigned to specific sculptures.

[161] Didyma II, pp. 1ff.

[162] Ibid., no. 1, illus. 1; Tuchelt 1970, pp. 93f., 115ff.

The majority name the deity[163] to whom the votive gift was presented, most often Apollo, the god to whom the sanctuary was dedicated. Only one inscription names Artemis, and two others name Hecate, the goddess native to Caria. The Artemis inscription[164] gives no indication of the type of votive gift, but provides proof that already in the archaic period Artemis was worshiped in Didyma along with Apollo. In this inscription as well as the two to Hecate, Apollo is mentioned second as the lord of the sanctuary. The fragmentary inscription on a seated statue, K44,[165] could also refer to Hecate with the word –τϱώνο– ("throno"), which A. Rehm[166] has completed as [–Μή]τϱωνο[ς–] ("Mythronos"). Mythronos points to the fact that she was related to Apollo through his mother Leto.[167]

The goddess Hecate is also known in Miletus through an altar inscription from the Delphinion; and she is mentioned in the Molpoi cult statute.[168]

It is striking that in most of the Apollo inscriptions the value of the gift is stated.[169] In the inscription no. 6bis, for example, which runs along the left thigh of the kouros K9, there is mention of the tenth part of the donor's booty.[170] The surviving inscriptions name either individual or multiple donors.[171] Yet with one exception none of the donor names mentioned can be linked to a historical person. The inscription of Histiaios, no. 14,[172] probably refers to the tyrant Histiaios.[173] Rehm therefore suggests the year 513 as a terminus ante quem for this dedication.[174]

Other names like Anaximandros,[175] for example, were "extremely common in pre-Persian Miletus," Rehm tells us, and in fact there is a kore fragment from Miletus, M1 (plate 36), dedicated by an Anaximandros.[176] For Miletus one can include here the name Mandris, whose son dedicated the kore M1A (plate 36) to the Nymphs.[177]

→[ὁ δεῖνα μ'ἀ]νέθηκεν Νύμφη[ισ]ιν
← ὁ Μάνδϱιος

In Didyma, however, the name Anaximandros cannot be linked with any of the korai with certainty, although there is an inscription on a limestone base from Didyma that names the sons of an Anaximandros as donors and Terpsikles as the artist.[178] The other inscriptions that give the names of artists cannot be linked to korai dedications. As yet nothing is known about Terpsikles and his work: even the type of votive gift he produced cannot be determined. In my opinion it is not improbable, however, that in analogy with the Milesian dedication from Anaximandros, a kore could have stood on this limestone base in Didyma as well.

The second surviving artist signature names Eudemos as the creator of a seated male figure, K46.[179] Whether other unsigned votive gifts are to be attributed to him as well is as yet undetermined.

To summarize, the inscriptions provide no further information about donors and sculptors of korai or about the function of such statues. From the Didyma and Miletus inscriptions one can conclude that, just as on Samos and in Attica, no women are to be credited with having commissioned votive korai.[180]

Interpretation

With their ornaments and their elaborate costumes, the korai from Miletus offer more clues toward a definition of their function and significance than do those of Didyma, which have survived only in fragmentary form.

Yet it is certain that nearly all the korai, both in Didyma and in Miletus, were made to serve as votive gifts. Moreover, one can assume that, by analogy with the Branchidae, these female statues depict historical figures, as it is well known that the seated statues represent people of the time, probably priests, prophets, or aristocrats.[181] The inscription on the seated statue of Chares, for example, not only identifies him as donor, but also mentions his position as ruler of Teichiussa.[182] It cannot be ascertained whether or not another person said to have donated a number of statues, a certain Hermesianax, had himself portrayed among the figures.[183]

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[163] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 115ff. The condition of some inscriptions is so poor that it is no longer possible to make out the name of the god.

[164] Didyma II, no. 17, illus. 22.

[165] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 76, 118.

[166] Didyma II, no. 10, illus. 15. See also Tuchelt 1970, p. 118.

[167] Leto and Asteria, Hecate's mother, were sisters. Th. Kraus, *Hekate* (1960), pp. 16f.

[168] Tuchelt 1970, p. 118, n. 7. See also K. B. Gödecken, *ZPE* 66 (1986), pp. 236f. with n. 48.

[169] Didyma II, pp. 6ff. Except for nos. 6, 8, 9, 14, and 15, in Tuchelt 1970, pp. 116f.

[170] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 56f., 117f., illus. 24.

[171] For example, Tuchelt 1970, pp. 116f., illus. 23. A Nikandros and the sons of a Hippothon or Hippotheon are named, who together dedicated the tithe to Apollo.

[172] Didyma II, p. 9, no. 14, illus. 19; Jeffery 1961, pp. 332ff., 343, no. 32.

[173] Tuchelt 1970, p. 119; Berve 1967, pp. 102ff., 579f.

[174] Didyma II, p. 9, no. 14.

[175] Ibid., p. 3, no. 2, illus. 2. See also Tuchelt 1970, pp. 117, 119.

[176] Homann-Wedeking 1950, p. 58, n. 68; Jeffery 1961, p. 342 no. 26.

[177] According to N. Ehrhardt, *EpigrAnat* 21 (1993), pp. 3f. with n. 10, personal names with the component Mandr- or -mandros are derived from the god Mandros. For Mandros, see Ehrhardt 1983, pp. 176f. For the kore, see also Blümel 1964, p. 65, no. 71; Samos XI, p. 7. According to B. Freyer-Schauenburg, the name Μάνδϱις comes from Kalymnos, an island close to Samos: Μανδϱογένης Μάνδϱιος. G. Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972), pp. 162f.

[178] Didyma II, p. 3, no. 2. The inscription was incised on both sides of the limestone base, and reads A:

οἱ'Αναξιμάνδϱο παῖδες τό Μανδϱομάχ [ὁ ἀ] →
[νέ] θεσαν ἐποίησε δέ Τεϱψικλῆς ←

See also Tuchelt 1970, pp. 119, 121. For the phenomenon of the doubling of an inscription on the base of a votive offering from the same period in the Athena sanctuary in Miletus, see Held 2000, pp. 105ff. with n. 465.

[179] Didyma II, no. 5, illus. 5, 6. Ε[ὔ]δημός μέ ἐποίεν; Tuchelt 1970, pp. 77f., pl. 43, illus. 14.

[180] The only example of a woman appearing as a dedicator in Miletus is the gift from a woman named Alpali presented to the goddess Aphrodite of Oikus. For the inscription, see P. Herrmann, *AA* 1995, pp. 282ff.

[181] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 93ff., 215ff. The seated statue K55, pl. 53,1, 2; 54,1, 2, is understood to be a prophet (seer) on the basis of its attribute, a short staff: ibid., pp. 86f. See U. Höckmann, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 93ff., esp. pp. 97ff.; Martini 1990, pp. 190ff.; Özgan 1978, pp. 29ff., esp. pp. 122, 130ff.; Steuben 1980, pp. 28, 34. For the priesthood of the Branchidae: K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1988, pp. 427ff.,

It is even probable that the female seated statues set up along the Sacred Way were also historical figures.[184] Tuchelt considers them to be priestesses,[185] whereas Martini finds it difficult to believe that dynasts and priestesses would have been depicted in the same way.[186] He therefore identifies the older seated statues as "dynasts' spouses"[187] and the younger ones, created after the middle of the century, as depictions of the "mistress of the oikos." Besides the Branchidae and the seated statues of older women, the younger generation appears to be represented by the richly adorned korai from Miletus and the relief korai K75 and K76 (plate 35)[188] from the pronaos columns of the Didymaion, namely the young women who took part in ceremonial processions along the Sacred Way from the Delphinion in Miletus to the temple of Apollo in Didyma. The destination of these great processions was the festival square around the altar to Apollo, in front of the east façade of the Didymaion.[189]

We are informed about the nature of these great processions by the Molpoi cult statute,[190] which details the rights and obligations of those taking part in the festival, the preparation of sacrificial animals,[191] and descriptions of various customs.[192] For example, the stephanophoroi and hydrophoroi were required to sing the paean at specific points[193] along the Sacred Way before being allowed to perform the prescribed cult rituals. In addition, the hydrophoroi[194] also had to perform certain rites at the Artemis temple.[195] An important stop for the procession

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esp. pp. 431f. with n. 55; for objections, see N. Ehrhardt, *Chiron* 28 (1998), pp. 11ff., esp. pp. 15ff.

[182] Tuchelt 1970, p. 27 with n. 30, K47, pp. 78ff., 211; Didyma II no. 6, illus. 7–8; Jeffery 1961, pp. 332, 334, 343, no. 29, pl. 64; Berve 1967, pp. 117, 588; Steuben 1980, p. 44; Ehrhardt 1983, pp. 20f.; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 207f.; A. Herda in F. Bubenheimer et al. (eds.), *Kult und Funktion griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit, Kolloquium Heidelberg 1995* (1996), pp. 146f.; idem, in Stemmer 1995, pp. 123ff. See also N. Himmelmann, *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (1994), p. 64; N. Ehrhardt, *Chiron* 28 (1998), p. 19, n. 33; K. Tuchelt in Didyma III, pp. 240f. For the location of Teichiussa, see W. Voigtländer, *AA* 1986, pp. 613ff.

[183] Tuchelt 1970, p. 82, K50, pl. 7,1a, pp. 215ff.; Didyma II, no. 9, illus. 12–14; Jeffery 1961, pp. 332, 342, no. 24.

[184] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 27ff., 71ff., esp. pp. 215ff. For the most recent general discussion of the placement of the seated figures, see Ridgway 1977, pp. 126f.; see also P. Schneider, *AA* 1987, pp. 117ff; for the newly discovered seated figures, see Graeve 1983, pp. 8ff., illus. 17–18; Graeve 1985, p. 118, pl. 25,1–3; for the seated statues discovered in the archaic precinct along the Sacred Way, see P. Schneider, *AA* 1989, pp. 173ff.; K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1989, pp. 180ff., esp. pp. 211ff.; Didyma III, pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 139ff., 231ff., pl. 67ff.

[185] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 217ff.

[186] Martini 1990, pp. 193ff. See also H. Jung, *Thronende und sitzende Götter. Zum griechischen Götterbild und Menschenideal in geometrischer und früharchaischer Zeit* (1982).

[187] Martini 1990, p. 199.

[188] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 100ff., K75, K76, pl. 72,1. 2; 73,1. 2. For their interpretation, ibid., pp. 222f. The relief korai have elaborate hairstyles, with locks of hair showing from under their veils, long garments on which traces of pigment have survived, and offerings in their hands. "They stood on the threshold of the temple, presenting their eternal adoration, like the statues outside, to the deities present in the sanctuary" (ibid., p. 222). One can therefore assume that these are depictions of real people. This assumption is supported by a fragment of a head with an individualized hairstyle that frames the head with an elegantly set wreath of hair. Ibid., p. 102, K81, pl. 74,1, 2; similarly E. Simon, *RA* 1972, p. 219 with n. 5.

[189] G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 241ff., esp. p. 245, illus. 19, 21. Sacrificial animals led by the procession were slaughtered at this spot. Kuhn further suggests that the procession broke up here, as its participants distributed themselves in groups in the vicinity of the altar to watch the rest of the ceremony.

[190] The "Molpoi statute" was found in 1903 during excavations in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in Miletus. *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), 510ff., esp. 518f., s.v. "Molpoi" (Poland). For the course of the procession, see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *SBBerlin* 1904, 619ff., esp. p. 628. For processions in general, M. P. Nilsson, *JdI* 31 (1916), pp. 309ff. For the resumption of processions before the middle of the 5th century, W. Hahland, *JdI* 79 (1964), pp. 143ff., 233f. Additional bibliography: Tuchelt 1973, pp. 29, 101; P. Schneider, *AA* 1987, pp. 101ff. with n. 5. See also A. Herda in F. Bubenheimer et al. (eds.), *Kult und Funktion griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit, Kolloquium Heidelberg 1995* (1996), pp. 135ff.; H. Bumke et al., *AA* 2000, pp. 57ff. with n. 4.

[191] For the archaic period: Milet I 3, p. 278, no.133, 18–20. For Hellenistic inscriptions, see W. Günther, "Das Orakel von Didyma in hellenistischer Zeit," *IstMitt* suppl. 4 (1971), p. 101, n. 6.

[192] In one of these customs the stephanophoroi, priests of Apollo Delphinios, brought along two stone cubes, γυλλοί; one was set up outside Hecate's gate, adorned with ribbons and sprinkled with unmixed wine, the other taken to Didyma and placed outside the entrance to the Didymaion. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *SB Berlin* 1904, p. 628. For the γυλλοί, see Nilsson 1906, pp. 167f.; U. Kron in *Festschrift E. Simon* (1992), pp. 56ff., esp. pp. 62f.; Günther, loc. cit., p. 20 with n. 72; Th. Kraus, *Hekate* (1960), pp. 11ff.; Didyma II, no. 16, consecration to Hecate; Tuchelt 1970, p. 118, n. 7. For a general discussion, see J. Fontenrose, *Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions* (1988), pp. 125ff.

[193] For example, outside Hecate's gate at Dynamis, later on the meadow on the summit at the sanctuary of the Nymphs, and in the area of the Keraiites (the horned ones) at the images of Chares. For a "description of the procession of the Molpoi from Miletus to Didyma following the map of the Milesian peninsula" as well as the archaeological finds, see K. B. Gödecken, *ZPE* 66 (1986), pp. 235ff.; most recently H. Bumke et al., *AA* 2000, pp. 57ff.

[194] In an inscription of the hydrophoroi from the period around A.D. 100 we read that a "parapetasma" (curtain) was donated to Artemis, probably for the cult image: Didyma II, p. 225, no. 360. Other inscriptions referring to the hydrophoroi, ibid., pp. 205ff. For the hydrophoroi, priestesses of the Artemis shrine in Didyma, see K. Tuchelt, *IstMitt* 34 (1984), pp. 238ff.; idem, *AA* 1988, pp. 439f. with n. 51.

[195] For problems relating to the location of the city's Artemis temple, see pp. 44ff., nn. 134–136. For the Artemis sanctuary in Didyma and the question of the presence of water in the area of the Artemis sanctuary, see Tuchelt 1973, pp. 32ff.; idem, *IstMitt* 34 (1984), pp. 195ff., 225ff., esp. pp. 229ff.; idem, "Das Artemisheiligtum in archaischer und hellenistischer Zeit," *Didyma Wegweiser* 4 (1985).

also appears[196] to have been on the height at the sanctuary of the Nymphs, a cool spot where the wine was stored and celebrants could rest. According to the most recent findings, the sanctuary of the Nymphs was in the vicinity of the spring.[197] The special significance of this spot, also for cult activities,[198] is suggested by the discovery of structures and votive gifts such as the kore K40A and the seated statue with the inscription to the Nymphs from a son of Euagoras. The placement of the kore K40A near the sanctuary of the Nymphs suggests that the woman it portrayed played some special role in the processions.

The discovery of an archaic cult precinct[199] next to the processional route, only roughly 2 km north of the sanctuary of the Nymphs, has shown quite clearly how important it was for families from Miletus and Didyma to represent themselves. Members of the Milesian aristocracy here demonstrated their stature in an especially striking way with a group of enthroned statues arranged ἐν κύκλῳ; also adorning the temenos are several sphinx figures.[200] This precinct occupied a prominent spot ἐν᾽ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ ("on the processional route"); it is therefore obvious, as Tuchelt mentions, that cult activities—"the presentation of offerings, dancing, and choral singing"—took place in the square that opens out in front of the semicircular group of statues.[201]

It would appear that participants in such important festival assemblies, especially female and not necessarily belonging to powerful noble clans, were equally concerned to commemorate themselves[202] and had statues of family members in full ceremonial dress erected at appropriate places in the sanctuary.

L. Schneider speaks of the "enormously luxurious clothing of the Ionians,"[203] which we read about in ancient literature.[204] Female participants in these festivals are certain to have worn lavish costumes and hairstyles as well as fine jewelry, as displayed in the korai from Miletus. The kore M4, consecrated in the sanctuary of Artemis Kithone[205] on the Kalabaktepe, wears over her delicately pleated and belted chiton a himation whose corners hang down in elegant zigzag lines and whose buttons along the right arm are skillfully rendered. A veil with a three-part border falls down from the kore's head across her shoulders and back; the silhouette of her body is wonderfully naturalistic. The bird in her hand illustrates her veneration of Artemis Kithone/Chitone,[206] not only as fertility and vegetation goddess but also as goddess of the hunt. According to Herda, the festival for Artemis Kithone, "called Νηληΐς according to Plutarch,"[207] was attended by girls, women, and young men from Miletus as well as from neighboring Myus. In connection with the significance of Artemis Kithone as goddess of the hunt, the ceremonies can be thought of as initiation rites.[208] Their function as a marriage market is reflected in the local legend of the Milesian king's son Phrygios, who met and fell in love with the young Pieria from Myus at the festival of Artemis Kithone.[209] We know that in addition to the usual cult rites such as sacrifices and processions, singing and dancing were also important at such religious festivals.[210] With the motif of the grasped chiton, the statues themselves suggest the movement of the dance. As H. Kyrieleis points out,[211] the goddess Artemis is often depicted in vase painting as a running figure or charging huntress, gathering up her long chiton: "these Artemis images from vase painting, typologically quite similar to the sculpted korai, clearly illustrate how the motif of violent movement can become a formal component of a standing figure at rest without losing its essential meaning."[212] The gesture of grasping the chiton is thus not merely elegant; it has a special significance. Kore M11 (plates 46–47) grasps her extremely thin chiton with her right hand so that it clings so closely to her body that her buttocks and legs are clearly visible. She could serve as an illustration for the Homeric hymn to Apollo[213] that extols long garments of the thinnest fabric. A common characteristic in the majority of the surviving korai is the veil,[214] most likely a prescribed piece of costume for women appearing in religious festivals. It possibly indicated that the wearer was a member of the upper class.[215] The veils worn as part of their elegant costume by the hydrophoroi could have been perfectly practical as well, protecting them from the sun and making it easier for them to carry their jugs of water.[216]

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[196] Gödecken (note 193 above), pp. 246ff.

[197] H. Bumke et al., *AA* 2000, pp. 57ff., esp. pp. 59, 96f., illus. 1, 4, 6.

[198] Here the celebrants sang a paean: Milet I 3, no. 133Z, p. 29; Syll. no. 57; Gödecken (note 193 above), pp. 246ff.; P. Schneider, *AA* 1987, p. 115 n. 48; Bumke et al., loc. cit., p. 59. For the cult building, ibid., pp. 70ff. This is also where Th. Wiegand, *SBBerlin* 1905, p. 15, suspected the ceremonial square was on which, a late-Hellenistic inscription informs us, "Dionysian female orgies" took place. See also R. Naumann/K. Tuchelt, *IstMitt* 13/14 (1963/64), pp. 61f.

[199] Gödecken (note 193 above), pp. 217ff.; P. Schneider, *AA* 1987, pp. 101ff., esp. pp. 105ff.; idem, *AA* 1989, pp. 147ff.; K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1989, pp. 180ff., esp. pp. 209ff., 215; idem, *Branchidai-Didyma, AW* special issue vol. 3 (1991), pp. 40ff., esp. p. 47.

[200] For extensive coverage, see Didyma III, pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 231ff., 240 with nn. 262f. According to Tuchelt, the sphinxes served as "guards and protectors"; he sees their large number as "a symbol of authority": "the precinct was guarded and protected, the site atop the pass dominated" (ibid., p. 235).

[201] Didyma III, pp. 236ff.: in this way "the memory of the bequest was kept alive and the virtues of the donors were celebrated."

[202] Schneider 1975, pp. 5ff.; see also Didyma III, p. 240 with n. 264.

[203] Schneider 1975, p. 11.

[204] Thucydides I, 6, 3–5. See also G. Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche* (1955), p. 75, where there is mention of the Ionians' purple garments. For the special importance of purple clothing, see Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 105f.; A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland* (1989), pp. 109ff.

[205] For a detailed description of cult ceremony associated with Artemis Kithone in Miletus and the "marriage market" linked to it, also the dedication to the goddess of ceremonial garments, see A. Herda, *ÖJh* 67 (1998), pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 25ff.

[206] Herda, loc. cit., p. 30 with n. 230, introduces Stephanos Byzantios as a source, who also identifies Artemis as Chitone. Other written sources (for example, Athenaios) mention especially ecstatic dances in honor of Artemis Chitone presented in the Corinthian colony of Syracuse; Herda (note 205 above), n. 229.

[207] Ibid., pp. 25ff.

[208] Burkert 1977, pp. 149ff.; J. N. Bremmer, *Götter, Mythen und Heiligtümer im antiken Griechenland* (1996), pp. 21f.

[209] Discussed in detail in Herda (note 205 above), pp. 25ff. with nn. 189, 190.

[210] Gehrke 1986, pp. 86f.

[211] H. Kyrieleis, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 119ff. with n. 43, pl. 24.

[212] Ibid., p. 120.

[213] Hymnos III, 146–59.

It is obvious that such festivals were staged not only to honor the gods but also to display the lovely young women of the polis in all their finery.[217] As we already learned in the chapter on Samos, the traditional round dances[218] and choral singing gave them a chance to be seen at their best.

Chronological Distribution of the Korai of Didyma and Miletus in Light of the Area's History

Little is known about tyranny in Miletus, though there are literary references to the despotic rule of various individuals.[219]

From the 7th century, for example, we know of the Neleids Laodamas and Amphitres, both of whom sought the kingship.[220] It was decided to award the throne to the one whose deeds proved of greatest benefit to the community. A quarrel ensued, in the course of which Amphitres killed Laodamas. Subsequently Amphitres was killed by Laodamas's sons, bringing an end to Neleid rule.

The demos afterward elected a man called Epimenes as aisymnetes, the highest office in the ruling council. Epimenes misused his power, among other things by confiscating the possessions of Amphitres' sons, who had fled the city fearing for their lives, and proceeded to proclaim himself tyrant.[221]

Sometime later, it is not known just how long, the aristocrat Thrasybulos came to power and ruled the city as prytanis. According to Herodotus,[222] he had greatly distinguished himself in the twelve-year-long war between Miletus and the Lydian king Alyattes; it is therefore probable that he took advantage of the city's desperate situation in order to establish his tyranny. According to E. Meyer, Miletus enjoyed considerable prosperity during the reign of Thrasybulos, as attested by the colonies it founded in Pontos.[223] Since he is known to have been a friend of Periandros, the tyrant of Corinth (c. 627–585),[224] it is possible to place Thrasybulos's rule between the end of the 7th century and the first half of the 6th century. How long the tyrant remained in power after his successes in the Lydian-Milesian war,[225] the conclusion of peace with Alyattes,[226] and the recognition of Miletus as a free city,[227] is not known. According to H. von Steuben, the beginning of the dedication of the colossal kouroi in the Didymaion in the second quarter of the 6th century could be seen as the latest date for the end of Thrasybulos's rule.[228]

Two Milesians, Thoas and Damasenor, established a tyranny of short duration during the unrest following the death of Thrasybulos. After it was overthrown there was a struggle for power between two parties: the wealthy trading aristocracy (πλουτίς) and the laborers (χειρομάχα).[229] Once the πλουτίς assumed power Miletus not only increased the number of its colonies but became even wealthier through piracy, and soon demonstrated its power with votive gifts in the Didymaion. One such was the colossus K9bis,[230] which is expressly identified as a tithe from captured wealth dedicated to the sanctuary, and there were numerous others, "especially in the late second to third quarter of the century."[231]

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[214] A small kore head from Didyma even shows a special variant of the veil: K. Tuchelt, *Branchidai-Didyma, AW* special issue vol. 3 (1991), p. 37, illus. 50. See above, pp. 39f. with n. 52.

[215] Schneider 1975, pp. 19ff., esp. p. 21, nn. 108f.; Held 2000, p. 104 with n. 451.

[216] Tuchelt 1970, p. 222, n. 144. For the discovery of numerous water vessels, idem, *Branchidai-Didyma, AW* special issue vol. 3 (1991), pp. 35ff., illus. 51, 1, 2; see also S. Guettel Cole in Athens 1988, p. 164.

[217] V. Siurla-Theodoridou, *Die Familie in der griechischen Kunst und Literatur des 8. bis 6.Jahrhunderts* (1989), p. 343, nn. 2–4.

[218] The first literary mention of the round dance is in the *Iliad,* XVIII, 593–96, where we also read of the maidens' scented veils. See pp. 29f.

[219] Berve 1967, I, pp. 100ff. For a detailed survey of the sources, ibid., II, pp. 578ff.

[220] Ibid., pp. 100f. For the full story of the founder-hero Neileos in Miletus, see A. Herda, *ÖJh* 67 (1998), pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 16ff. with n. 110. "Laodamas was just (δίκαιος) and desired by the city (τῆι πόλει καταθύμιος)." In his opinion, "the basileus was entrusted with cult duties" (ibid., p. 17).

[221] Aristotle, *Politics* 5, 4, 5, noted that in Ionia tyranny arose out of a powerful position; see also 5, 8, 4. See also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *GGA* 1914, no. 2; Milet III, pp. 75f.; P. Herrmann, *AA* 1995, pp. 290f.; Herda, loc. cit., pp. 16f. with nn. 111–14.

[222] Herodotus I, 20ff. The Lydian kings Sadyattes and Alyattes waged war on Miletus from roughly 611 to 600. See also *RE* XV 2 (1932), 1592, s.v. "Miletos" (Hiller von Gaertringen). For problems regarding the reign of Alyattes, see P. Herrmann, *AA* 1995, pp. 289ff. with n. 143; H. Lohmann, *AA* 1995, pp. 313f. with n. 234; J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 256ff.

[223] E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (1893) III, p. 615. For Apollonia on the east coast of Thrace we are given a founding date of roughly 609, "50 years before Cyrus," Scymn. 728ff. See also Strabo VII, 319. For general coverage of Milesian colonies, see Bilabel 1921, pp. 13ff. For a detailed discussion: Ehrhardt 1983, pp. 25ff. For Miletus at the height of its prosperity, see also J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 261ff. Like the neighboring city of Samos, Miletus took part in the colonization of the Propontis in the 7th century; in addition, both poleis had trading interests in Naukratis, as we know from ceramic finds there: J. Boardman, *Kolonien und Handel der Griechen* (1981), pp. 53, 140f., 143, 153, 283ff.

[224] Herodotus V, 92ζ; Berve 1967, I, pp. 19f.; II, pp. 525f.

[225] Herodotus I, 21ff; R. Naumann/K. Tuchelt, *IstMitt* 13/14 (1963/64), p. 28 with n. 13 (for the time of Alyattes' accession).

[226] Herodotus I, 19ff.; Berve 1967, I, p. 101. See W. Kolbe, *GGA* 1928, p. 105 (rev. by A. von Gerkan, Milet I 8). Kolbe assumes that the city wall was erected in the reign of Thrasybulos. For a detailed discussion, see J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 249ff., esp. pp. 253ff. It is as yet unclear whether or not the archaic Athena temple was also one of Thrasybulos's building projects: Held 2000, pp. 180f.

[227] Berve 1967, I, pp. 101ff., 578ff. See also J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, p. 257 with n. 73. In the sixth year of Alyattes' reign the fire occurred in the temple of Athena of Assesos (Herodotus I, 19) that brought about the conclusion of peace (διαλλαγή) between Miletus and the Lydians.

[228] Steuben 1980, p. 25 with n. 52.

[229] Plutarch, *quaest. graec.* 32. See Berve 1967, I, p. 102; II, p. 579. One must assume that the colonization movement and expanding (sea) trade led to internal unrest or social conflicts: Gehrke 1986, pp. 133ff.; G. R. Tsetskladze in *Festschrift J. Boardman* (1994), pp. 125f.

P. Karakatsanis[232] assumes that the first colossal lions[233] in the Didymaion were votive gifts paid for with war booty. In this period the Milesians, joined by Samos, were warring against neighboring Priene.[234] According to Karakatsanis, the first kore dedications, K36 and K36bis,[235] are to be seen in this same context.

Herodotus tells us that bloody partisan struggles followed, leading the city into an economic crisis and ending only in 525—if not already in 540, as recent scholarship suggests—through the agency of the Parians.[236] After this, H. Berve tells us, no further sole rulers are documented in Miletus for a time.[237]

Around 514 Miletus again fell to a tyrant, namely Histiaios.[238] As an ally of the Persians,[239] Histiaios had taken part in Darius's Scythian campaign, and by standing guard over the Danube bridge had enabled the Persian army to retreat.[240] For this Darius rewarded Histiaios by making him the ruler of Myrkinos in Thrace.[241]

The dating tables for Miletus and Didyma show that in the period up to 514, or the reestablishment of tyranny by Histiaios, gifts of korai continued to be made. In Miletus and Didyma it appears that tyrants did not suppress the erection of votive gifts by the aristocratic opposition, as they did in Athens and on Samos. One can assume that there were dedications both before and after the building of the temple, or around the middle of the century, even though the gifts were no longer as colossal as those from the beginning of the 6th century.[242] In table 2.2 we see a similar development for the korai: the colossal Didyma korai K36 and K36bis from the beginning of the 6th century are followed, especially in the second half of the century, by korai of smaller format. Also the seated figures, which in the decade after the middle of the 6th century include figures of women, show a decrease in size.[243]

One has to wonder why donors ceased to dedicate larger than life-size korai when there was apparently no tyrant to placate. Scholars have provided a number of different explanations. Tuchelt suspects that after the middle of the 6th century all the best sculptors were employed in the lavish building program of the Didymaion,[244] so that architectural sculpture forced freestanding sculpture into the background. H. von Steuben, however, thinks that the rich ornamentation of architecture could very well have coexisted with freestanding sculptures "so long as there were commissions" for them.[245] His explanation for the absence of colossal sculpture is that "the importance of well-to-do private donors declines within the community, which now steps forward as a building financier itself."[246] Fehr, on the other hand, maintains that in such confusing times the polis of Miletus would have been incapable of erecting such a large, important temple without outside help. He therefore suggests that Cyrus donated funds for the building of the temple.[247] It is my feeling, along with Steuben, that one should not dismiss the possibility that potential donors of votive gifts directed their patronage instead to the temple building. As we saw in the case of the building of the Heraion on Samos, such projects could be the undertakings of a single person, a tyrant for example, but could as well have been sponsored by other political forces, such as an aristocratic government.

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[230] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 117f., 147f.

[231] Karakatsanis 1986, p. 210.

[232] Ibid., pp. 91, 209, n. 601.

[233] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 93ff., K66, K67, K67A.

[234] *RE* XV 2 (1932), 1593, s.v. "Miletos" (Hiller von Gaertringen).

[235] Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 92, 209 with n. 602; Tuchelt 1970, pp. 68ff.

[236] Herodotus V, 28f.; *RE* XV 2 (1932), 1594ff., s.v. "Miletos" (Hiller von Gaertringen); Berve 1967, I, pp. 102f.; G. L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians* (1966), p. 79. For the intervention of the Parians and the state's recovery, the year 525 has often been suggested; however, it has recently been shown that a dating of 540 seems more probable. It depends on how one evaluates the tally of annual office holders in the Molpoi inscriptions, and whether one excludes from the count the period when Miletus was destroyed, in 494 or 479: see the detailed discussion in Steuben 1980, pp. 27f. with nn. 50, 51; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 211 with n. 609; V. von Graeve, *IstMitt* 25 (1975), p. 65 with n. 21; Gehrke 1986, pp. 135, 165; Held 2000, p. 181. Also see the literary accounts of the Persian destruction of Didyma and Miletus: K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1988, pp. 427ff., who suggests for the destruction of Miletus the year 479 (by Xerxes). However, N. Günther, *Gnomon* 63 (1991), p. 605, is of the opinion that we should hold to the generally accepted view that Miletus was destroyed by Darius in 494 at the end of the Ionian uprising, likewise J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 262f.; N. Ehrhardt, *Chiron* 28 (1998), p. 14.

[237] Berve 1967, I, p. 102.

[238] For the issue of the tyrant's residence: J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 279f.

[239] Around the middle of the 6th century the Milesians declined a renewal of the Alyattes pact under Kroisos and instead made an alliance with the Persians: Herodotus I, 141,4; 143,1; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 210 with n. 608; Gehrke 1986, p. 136; J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 260ff.

[240] Herodotus IV, 139. For the deeds of Histiaios: D. Lazaridis, *AEphem* 1976, p. 177.

[241] Herodotus V, 11. See also J. Cobet, *AA* 1997, pp. 261f. with n. 122.

[242] Steuben 1980, p. 25, names as the oldest statues the colossal lions in Didyma. The colossal kouroi appear somewhat later (eight statues ranging from three times to one-and-a-half times life-size) along with the large seated statues. See also Tuchelt 1970, pp. 71ff.,158f., and table 2.5.

[243] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 89ff.; Steuben 1980, p. 26; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 211f.; Martini 1990, pp. 199f.

[244] Tuchelt 1970, p. 189, bases his assumption primarily on the high-quality depiction of the relief korai on the columns of the pronaos, which required "the skill of the best sculptors." For the beginning of the construction of the Apollo temple: K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1988, pp. 431f. with n. 40.

[245] Steuben 1980, p. 26, gives as examples the temple of Zeus at Olympia and the Parthenon in Athens, where in addition to the colossal statues of Zeus and Athena Parthenos there was highly varied architectural sculpture.

[246] Ibid., p. 27.

[247] B. Fehr, "Zur Geschichte des Apollonheiligtums von Didyma," *MarbWPr* (1971/72), pp. 51ff. In his reflections, however, he assumes the later dating of the recovery of the polis (c. 525).

These wealthy donors dedicated not only the korai but also kouroi and seated figures, the so-called Branchidae, which are generally thought to represent and to have been commissioned by aristocrats or priests.[248] Some of the inscriptions show that there were even votive gifts from multiple donors.[249] Examples of private gifts are the seated statue of Chares,[250] the fragmentary kouros K9bis,[251] and the lion K66,[252] which was presented as a tithe from booty.

To conclude, it is possible to say that in Miletus and Didyma there was no interruption in the dedication of votive gifts, despite the tyranny of Thrasybulos. However, after the middle of the century the size of such gifts declines, the majority taking more modest form.[253] One gets the impression that private donors withdrew somewhat in favor of a "polis or priesthood [that] demonstrated its wealth and self-confidence with the great temple."[254] Moreover, there was also another major construction project completed around the middle of the century, the Sacred Way, which was followed by processions from the city of Miletus to the sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma.[255] Tuchelt chooses to interpret the Sacred Way itself as a kind of votive offering from the polis of Miletus.[256]

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[248] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 50ff. (kouroi), 71ff. (seated statues), 136ff., 158f. (chronological overview), 189; Özgan 1978, pp. 35ff., 131; Steuben 1980, p. 28, n. 52; Martini 1990, pp. 190ff., esp. p. 195. In his argument, Özgan, p. 131, refers to the fact that the figures of the Branchidae were not necessarily votive gifts, and for that reason could already have been set up on the Sacred Way, also the seated figure of Chares, the prince of Teichiussa, in whose inscription there is no mention of a deity to whom the figure was dedicated. He overlooks the fact that the inscription (Jeffery 1961, p. 29, pl. 64) mentions the god Apollo by name.

[249] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 115ff.; Didyma II, pp. 1ff., no. 1, illus. 1.

[250] Tuchelt 1970, pp. 78ff., K47. For the dedicatory inscription, see Jeffery 1961, pp. 332, 334, 343, no. 29, pl. 64; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 207f.; Steuben 1980, p. 44.

[251] Tuchelt 1970, p. 56.

[252] Ibid., pp. 93f.

[253] The only ones that are larger than life-size are the offering bearer in Berlin and some of the lions. Tuchelt 1970, K16, pl. 11, 18; 19. Moreover, we know that in the Ionic city-states conflict between the aristocracy and the people did not have such disastrous repercussions as in the motherland. See Berve 1967, I, p. 116; II, p. 588.

[254] Steuben 1980, p. 28 with n. 53.

[255] K. Tuchelt, *IstMitt* 34 (1984), pp. 214ff.; idem, *AA* 1989, pp. 143ff., esp. p. 215, n. 151; idem, *Branchidai-Didyma, AW* special issue vol. 3 (1991), pp. 38ff.; A. Herda in F. Bubenheimer et al. (eds.), *Kult und Funktion griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit, Kolloquium Heidelberg 1995* (1996), pp. 133ff., 137, 143. With the building of the Sacred Way the procession assumed considerably greater prestige: Didyma III, pp. 1ff.; Held 2000, pp. 181f.

[256] K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1988, pp. 430ff., mentions Didyma's independence from the polis Miletus in the 6th century.

Theangela

A smaller than life-size kore holding a bird (plate 51)[1] comes from Theangela, east of Halicarnassus in Caria.[2] The figure was carved in marble, and it is missing the neck and head as well as the legs from the hips down. The kore wears a chiton, a short himation, and a veil. Above the belt the pouched chiton forms a curved row of bulging folds[3] that continues below the left arm. Here the kolpos comes to a point, while on the right side it is covered by the short himation. Above the kolpos curve the hem of the himation runs in a semicircle of flat folds to a point under the left elbow; on the right the end of this stepped hem lies beneath the clenched fist that holds some kind of small bag.[4] The same hand grasps the broad middle panel of the chiton, drawing it to the side. The veil lies over the shoulders in front forming two loose curves and covers nearly the entire back, where it is doubled (plate 51b). Incised double lines mark the edges of the fabric on the side.

A similar doubled draping of the veil can be seen on kore no. 22 from the Heraion on Samos (plate 22b).[5] Here the over-fold is smooth, and the hem, though also slanted, runs in the opposite direction. Other similarities between the two korai can be seen from the front, in the arrangement of the veil over the shoulders and the bulging folds in the pouching chiton, which are formed like those of the Samian kore no. 20 (plates 19a, d),[6] which seems to present even greater similarities to the Theangela kore. In the latter and in kore no. 20 the folds follow the natural fall of this section of the garment, while in kore no. 22 they run at an angle, in deliberate contrast to the folds of the himation, which run the other way. Kore no. 20, another bird kore from Miletus, M11 (Berlin 1577: plates 46–47),[7] and the Theangela kore show still other similarities in their gestures, the folds and form of their garments, and the formation of the center panel of the chiton, which is edged with thin, compact folds.[8] Chronologically, the Theangela kore comes between the Samian korai nos. 20 (c. 540) and 22 (540/30) and kore M11 from Miletus (c. 525–500); it dates from around 520.

The smooth arched folds of the veil on the shoulders are a feature typical of Miletus, as Freyer-Schauenburg has shown. They are found on the Miletus kore M4 (Berlin 1791: plate 40a) and on almost all the smaller than life-size Milesian seated figures that wear a veil,[9] while on Samian korai the veil falls straight down from the head onto the back. For this reason Freyer-Schauenburg assumes that the Samian kore no. 22 also originated in Miletus.[10] The sculptor of the Theangela kore was accordingly strongly influenced by the Milesian style.

The figure was discovered on Theangela's akropolis.[11] The plinth and feet of an additional kore came to light in the same place, but have since been lost.[12]

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[1] London, British Museum inv. no. B319, *BMC*. Pryce 1928, 1, pp. 149f., illus. 188; Lippold 1950, p. 66; P. Laubscher, *IstMitt* 13/14 (1963/64), p. 87 with n. 59; Richter 1968, p. 93, no. 167, illus. 532–35; Samos XI, p. 44 with n. 147; pp. 47, 50, 53; Akurgal 1961, p. 238, illus. 205; Tuchelt 1970, p. 127, L84; pp. 150, 186.

[2] Herodotus I, 175; W. Judeich, *AM* 12 (1887), pp. 331ff., 335f.; R. Laumonier, RA 1933, pp. 50ff.; *RE* V (1934), 1353ff., s.v. "Theangela" (Ruge); G. E. Bean/J. M. Cook, *BSA* 50 (1955), pp. 112ff., 145ff., illus. 14 (map); idem, *BSA* 52 (1957), pp. 89ff.; Stillwell 1976, p. 869, pl. 7. For the founding of the city of Theangela, see F. Işik, *Die Koroplastik von Theangela in Karien und ihre Beziehungen zu Ostionien* (1980), pp. 18f.

[3] For the prototype of the kolpos in Asia Minor, see N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *IstMitt* 15 (1965), pp. 28f., pl. 12, 1; Samos XI, pp. 47f. with nn. 160, 162.

[4] A. Kriegenherdt in Stemmer 1995, p. 108, n. 4, suggests that this object is to be read as a purse, as in kore M11 from Miletus (Berlin).

[5] Samos XI, p. 50, no. 22, pl. 13.

[6] Ibid., p. 44, no. 20, pl. 11.

[7] See the Dating section in the Didyma and Miletus chapter.

[8] Himmelmann-Wildschütz, loc. cit., p. 26 with n. 10, pl. 9, 13; Samos XI, no. 20.

[9] See Tuchelt 1970, K60, pl. 59, L99, pl. 85; Samos XI, pp. 45, n. 154 (list of Milesian works), 53.

[10] Samos XI, pp. 52f. For a general discussion of Milesian influences on Caria in the 6th century, see also W. Radt, "Bauten und Siedlungen auf der Halbinsel von Halikarnassos," *IstMitt* suppl. 3 (1970), pp. 17ff., 107, 223f., 262; Akurgal 1961, p. 238; Tuchelt 1970, p. 186.

[11] W. Judeich, *AM* 12 (1887), pp. 336f.; G. E. Bean/J. M. Cook, *BSA* 50 (1955), pp. 112ff. with nn. 115, 116; idem, *BSA* 52 (1957), pp. 89ff., illus. 6.

[12] Judeich, loc. cit., pp. 336f. (drawing by F. Winter); Tuchelt 1970, pp. 127, L85, 150, 186.

Numerous inscriptions from this region[13] suggest that there was a temple of Athena on the Akropolis.

Birds are common kore attributes on Samos and are found very often in Miletus. Smaller sculpture also includes figures of young women carrying birds, such as one from the village of Pokowskoje that is now in the Odessa museum.[14] A. Furtwängler compares this piece with the Theangela kore and thinks it is Milesian work, but in costume and gestures it resembles even more a Samian statuette from the Heraion, no. 9A (plate 11),[15] and the small kore E5 from Erythrai (plate 56), which was possibly produced around the middle of the 6th century.[16]

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[13] *RE* V A2 (1934) 1376f., s.v. "Theangela" (Ruge). A large number of eastern Ionic terracotta figures of young women carrying birds were found in a bothros on the north slope of the Theangela akropolis: Işik, (note 2 above), pp. 25ff.

[14] Pokowskoje was sited on the Chersonesos in Tauria. Surviving height of the figure: 33 cm; reconstructed height: c. 70 cm. A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (1893), p. 716; E. Oksmann, *AA* 1928, pp. 82f., illus. 1; Lippold 1950, p. 65, n. 18; Langlotz 1927, p. 173, no. 3; Laubscher (note 1 above), p. 83. For the Megarian colony of Chersonesos, see Boardman 1981b, pp. 286, 296, 300.

[15] Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 32ff., illus. 27, pl. 8.

[16] C. Bayburtluoğlu in Athens 1986, pp. 195ff., pl. 81. See pp. 61f.

Klaros

The life-size kore from Klaros (plate 52)[1] is made of limestone. She wears a belted chiton that hugs her body. Her upper body and shoulders are covered by a round shawl that falls nearly to her wide belt. The belt is incised with several lines, probably in imitation of metalwork. From the center of the belt a wide panel that descends in front is set off from the otherwise smooth garment by a series of vertical folds. The hem of the chiton forms a broad curve in front that exposes the bare toes. The maiden's left arm lies against her breast, and her right arm hangs down at her side.

The kore's lower body visibly twists to the side (plates 52a–b, f), producing a sense of movement seldom met with in kore statues.[2]

In its execution the kore seems somewhat crude, which surely has to do with the material. Because it is so poorly preserved it is no longer possible to determine whether locks of hair once fell down in front or what they might have looked like. One can just make out the treatment of the hair on the back; it appears as a blocklike mass broken up into individual strands ending in a straight line (plate 52d).

Scholars have repeatedly compared the kore from Klaros with the Auxerre kore[3] and, more recently, with Parian korai from the oeuvre of the Phrasikleia.[4] In fact, the shawl worn by the Klaros kore is seen elsewhere only on the Auxerre kore (plate 53), where it covers only the shoulders, leaving the breast and arms free. The overall structure and body form of the two korai are nonetheless distinctly different. The Auxerre statuette[5] appears stiff and boardlike, and seems more indebted to the forms of the xoana, whereas in the Klaros kore the forms are developed organically from inside out. The rounding of the buttocks and curves of the almost cylindrical lower body are clearly developed. Also, the hanging arm is not straight as in the Auxerre kore (plate 53d) but slightly bent at the elbow (plates 52c, e). To my thinking, the Klaros kore is closer in the rendering of her body to Samian works, for example the bird kore of Cheramyes (plates 8–9),[6] and in a larger sense also to the korai of the Geneleos Group (plates 24–28).[7] The Klaros kore has not yet reached the stage of development represented by the Phrasikleia (plates 114–15, 235), for which reason I choose to place her around 560.[8]

The kore was discovered in the sacred precinct of Apollo Klarios (illus. 7), site of a famous oracle in antiquity that belonged to the city of Colophon.[9] Over a long

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[1] Izmir Museum 3708. L. Robert, *TürkAD* 10, 1 (1960), p. 59; M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 65 (1961), p. 49; J. M. Cook/D. J. Blackman, *ARepLond* 1965, p. 46; L. Robert, *RA* 1966, p. 216; Richter 1968, p. 26, no. Ia; Tuchelt 1970, pp. 130, 160; Fuchs/Floren, p. 396, n. 1; J. Dedeoğlu, *Izmir Archaeological Museum* (1993), p. 43; J. de la Genière, *REA* 100 (1998), pp. 235ff., esp. pp. 242ff., pl. 1, no. 6, and pl. 5.

[2] For this feature, see I. Kleemann, *Frühe Bewegung* I (1984), pp. 35ff.; H. von Steuben, "Kuroi am Wegesrand," in *Festschrift J. Borchhardt* (1996), pp. 55ff. See also p. 25 with n. 180.

[3] For the kore, see Richter 1968, p. 26; M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 65 (1961), p. 49.

[4] Fuchs/Floren, p. 396, pl. 35,1 (Klaros kore), pl. 10,4 (Phrasikleia).

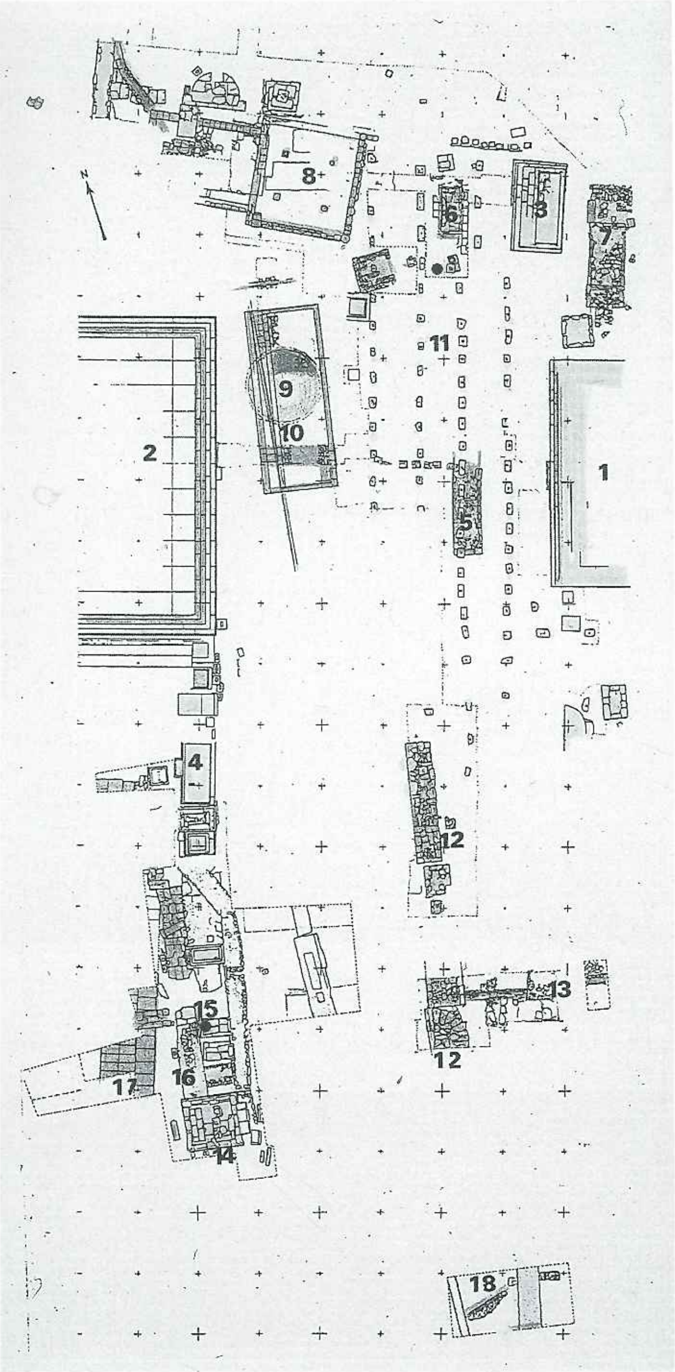
[5] M. Collignon in W. Kraiker, *Archaische Plastik der Griechen* (1976), pp. 38ff. For the interpretation of the Auxerre statuette as supplicant, that is, a mortal, or as "a cult statue of a goddess" on the basis of her gesture, see F. Brommer, *JdI* 101 (1986), p. 49 with n. 89. D. Klug in Stemmer 1995, pp. 105f., also considers it possible that it was a funerary statue. The gesture of this female figure, whose right hand with its extraordinarily long fingers touches her left breast, has not yet been clearly explained. If we compare the Auxerre figure (plate 53) with the colossal kore from the Sellada necropolis on Santorini that presents the same gesture, discovered in November 2000 and dated by excavator Charalambos Sigalas to c. 640 (plate 76), it would seem most probable that the Auxerre kore was also a funerary statue. See the preliminary report on the discovery of the Santorini kore in the newspaper *TA NEA* for November 29, 2000. According to a letter from the excavator, however, it would be premature to interpret the work as a funerary kore, for in the vicinity of the discovery site there is also an Aphrodite sanctuary along with a Thesmophorion. For the sanctuary of Aphrodite, see Ch. Sigalas, *Kernos* 13 (2000), pp. 241ff.

[6] Samos XI, pp. 27ff., no. 7, pl. 7, 8.

[7] Samos XI, pp. 113ff., nos. 61, 62, pl. 49, 50, 53. A further possible comparison would be kore no. 16; see Samos XI, pp. 38ff., pl. 9.

[8] For the dating, see Ridgway 1977, p. 98; Fuchs/Floren, p. 396; but J. Dedeoğlu, *Izmir Archaeological Museum* (1993), p. 43, dates the statue c. 630/20 (based on comparison with the Auxerre kore).

[9] The sanctuary lies 13 km south of Colophon, whose patron deity was Apollo Klarios. This is attested by countless coins from Colophon that show the god with his attributes, the cithara and the tripod. See *RE* XI 1 (1921), 548ff., s.v. "Klarios" (Adler); L. B.



Illus. 7. Klaros: map of the precinct of Apollo Klarios.

period[10] the oracle enjoyed an international reputation.[11] In a Homeric hymn to Artemis,[12] Klaros is even said to be Apollo's favorite place. Within the sanctuary's precinct there were a number of temples, altars, and cult buildings.[13] North of the great Apollo altar stood a smaller altar belonging to the Ionic temple of Artemis,[14] on the north side of which the kore came to light.[15] South of the Artemis altar (illus. 7, no. 6) the matching square base was discovered with a hollow for the plinth and a ringlike lead mounting. Next to it, still in situ, was the relatively tall round base for another kore, of which only the feet and lower legs survive (illus. 8, 9). The round base was in turn set into a rectangular block. The archaic altar to Artemis was subsequently rebuilt a number of times. In the course of these changes the bases of the two korai were apparently moved on more than one occasion, for the last time in the Roman period, to adapt their positions to the new layout.[16]

Holland, *Hesperia* 13 (1944), pp. 91ff., 169ff. (on Colophon); G. Klaffenbach, "Die Ausgrabungen von Klaros," *Das Altertum* 1 (1955), pp. 215ff.; Bilabel 1921, p. 211; Stillwell 1976, p. 226, for Colophon, p. 233; Roebuck 1959, pp. 7, 16, 28f., pl. 2, for Colophon, ibid., pp. 11 with n. 20, 13f., 16f., 19, 25, 51 with n. 53; J. de la Genière, *Cahiers de Claros* I (1992), pp. 11ff., illus. 1, color pl. 1, 1a, 2a; idem, *REA* 100 (1998), pp. 235ff., pl. I. For the significance of Colophon's imperial-era coinage for the group of cult images at Klaros (Artemis-Apollo-Leto): M. Flashar, *Boreas* 21/22 (1998/99), p. 232, nn. 28ff. For the dating of the Klaros cult-image group: idem, in *Hellenistische Gruppen. Gedenkschrift für A. Linfert. Schriften des Liebighauses* (1999), pp. 53ff., illus. 1.

[10] C. Schuchhardt, *AM* 11 (1886), pp. 429, 431 (on the oracle grotto); K. Buresch, *Klaros. Untersuchungen zum Orakelwesen des späteren Altertums* (1889), pp. 29ff.; Th. Macridy, *ÖJh* 8 (1905), 164ff.; idem, *ÖJh* 15 (1912), pp. 44ff.; Th. Macridy/Ch. Picard, *BCH* 39 (1915), p. 36, illus. 1–5 (on inscriptions from the 4th century); pp. 48ff. (inscription list); G. Klaffenbach, "Die Ausgrabungen von Klaros," *Das Altertum* 1 (1955), pp. 225f. (on the temple's asylia). From the 2nd century A.D. numerous inscriptions with the names of priests are known; see Klaffenbach, op. cit., pp. 227ff.

[11] The inscriptions name votive gifts from a number of cities in Asia Minor, Thasos, Chios, Crete, Macedonia, and Thrace. For a 4th-century inscription discovered in Athens that attests to a dedication to Apollo Klarios, see S. Koumanoudis, *AEphem* 1883, pp. 22f. For other inscriptions: Th. Macridy/Ch. Picard, *BCH* 39 (1915), pp. 48ff.; *RE* XI 1 (1921), 549, s.v. "Klarios" (Adler); Langlotz 1975, pp. 157ff. with n. 7.

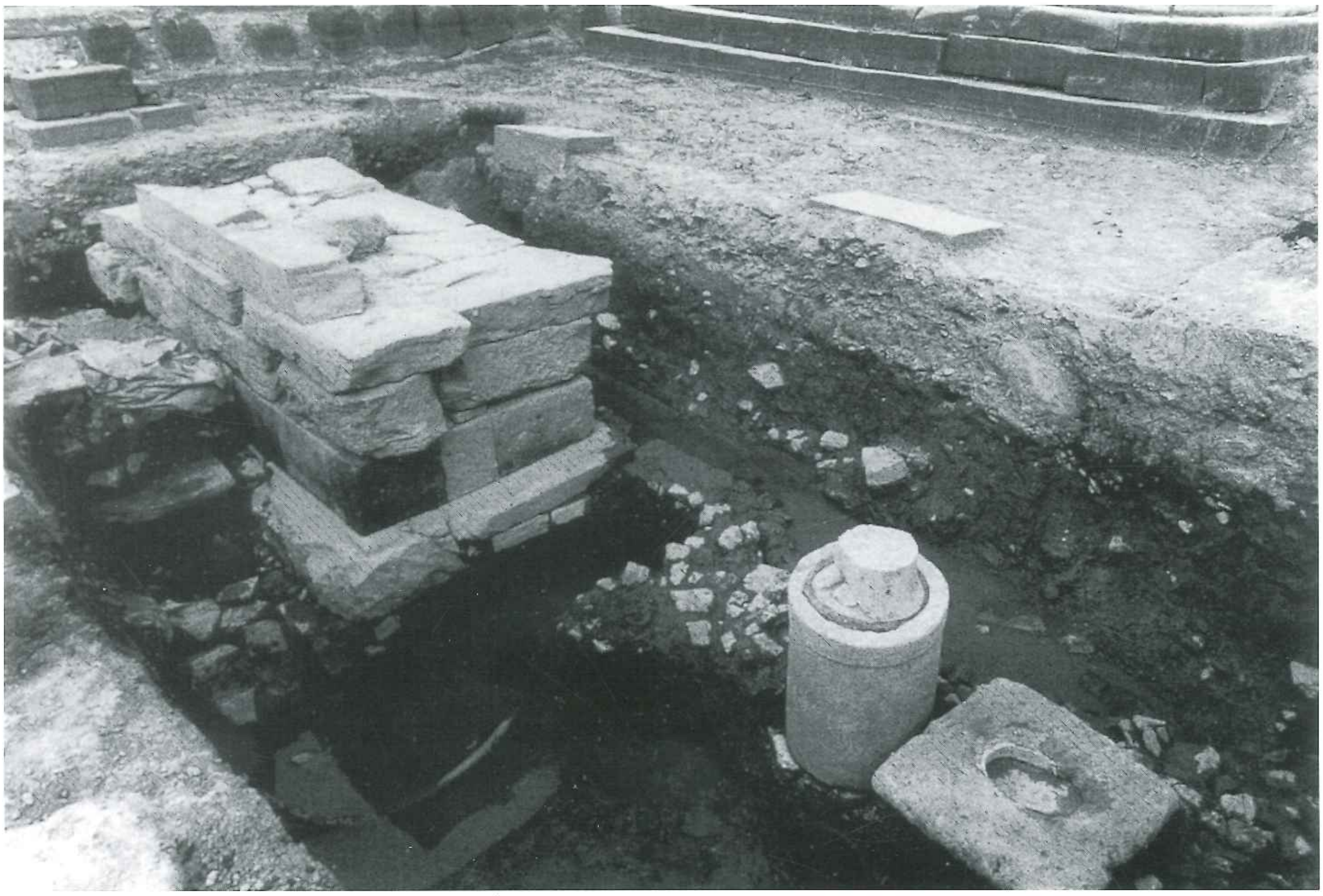
[12] Homer, *Hymn* IX, 5. In the Homeric hymn to Apollo III, 40, Apollo Klarios is specifically named.

[13] On the Klaros sanctuary in general, see Klaffenbach, loc. cit., pp. 214ff.; M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 65 (1961), pp. 48ff., illus. 8–9, pl. 25; *EAA* IV (1961), pp. 364f., s.v. "Klaros" (Lissi); Akurgal 1987, p. 430, illus. 170; M. Schwaller in *Cahiers de Claros* I (1992), pp. 65ff.; J. Rougetet in *Cahiers de Claros* I (1992), pp. 101ff., illus. 1ff.; M. Büyükkolancı/H. Uzunoğlu in *Heroische Landschaften, AW* special issue (2000), pp. 34f.

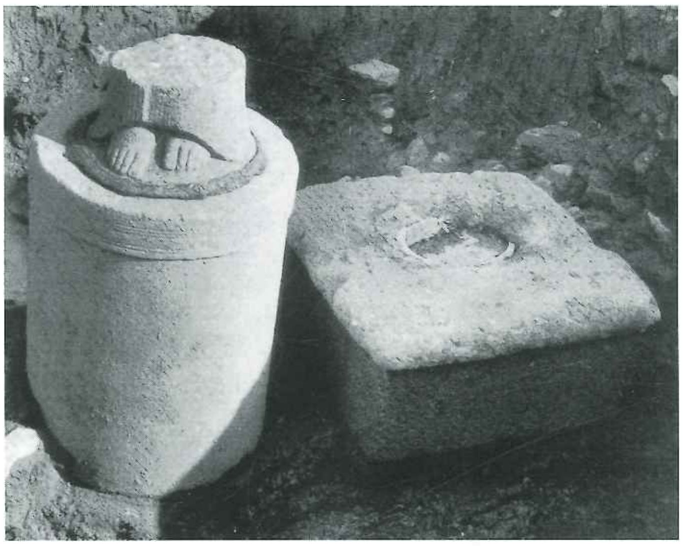
[14] Other altars were also discovered in the vicinity of the Artemis temple, though they are from a later period. They included an altar to Poseidon Themeliouchos and one to the goddess Artemis Pythie from Miletus. See E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (1978), pp. 136ff. For Artemis Pythie from Miletus: Ehrhardt 1983, pp. 148f.

[15] L. Robert, *TürkAD* 10.1 (1960), p. 59; M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 65 (1961), p. 49. There are also other archaic finds from the sanctuary, among them a calf bearer that resembles in type the offering bearer from Didyma. See G. Klaffenbach, "Die Ausgrabungen von Klaros," *Das Altertum* 1 (1955), p. 225 (calf bearer); Tuchelt 1970, pp. 59, 130; Samos XI, p. 86; Fuchs/Floren, p. 396 with n. 2. At least five kouroi were discovered in the central area of the sanctuary, south of the Apollo temple. See J. de la Genière, *REA* 100 (1998), pp. 235ff., esp. pp. 241ff., pl. 1 no. 15 and pl. 12,2.

[16] De la Genière, *REA* 100 (1998), pp. 242ff., pl. 1, no. 6, and pl. 4. For the topography of the sanctuary in Roman times, see M. Flashar in *Hellenistische Gruppen, Gedenkschrift für A. Linfert. Schriften des Liebieghauses* (1999), pp. 55f., illus. 1.



Illus. 8, 9. Klaros: the find spot of the bases of the two korai.



Incised on the left side of the Izmir kore is an inscription that names the donor: "Timonax, son of Theodoros, the first priest, dedicated me to Artemis (τό πϱῶτος ἱϱεύσας)."[17] The same dedicator is named in the inscription on the lower-body fragment of a kouros dedicated to Apollo.[18] The two dedications document for the first time that a public office holder, therefore in all probability not a family member, dedicated a kore to the female deity and a kouros to the male one in the same sanctuary. Other inscriptions tell us[19] that in Klaros the deities Apollo and Artemis shared the same cult. We learn from the sources[20] that in Klaros the seer was a male priest elected from one of several specific Milesian families, not a woman as at Delphi. Thus one might rightly assume that the "first priest" Timonax was the sanctuary's high priest, chiefly responsible for oracular pronouncements.

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[17] The inscription is mentioned only in connection with the kore, and the full wording in Greek has not yet been published.

[18] J. de la Genière, *REA* 100 (1998), p. 241; see illus. 7, no. 15.

[19] *RE* XI 1 (1921), 549, s.v. "Klarios" (Adler); A. E. Kontoleon, *AM* 14 (1889), pp. 97f., no. 31.

[20] In detail in *RE* XI 1, loc. cit., 549; G. Klaffenbach, "Die Ausgrabungen von Klaros," *Das Altertum* 1 (1955), p. 221. For the Klaros oracle, see also W. Günther, "Das Orakel von Didyma in hellenistischer Zeit," *IstMitt* suppl. 4 (1971), pp. 100, 112, 114, 116 with n. 6; J. de la Genière, *REA* 100 (1998), pp. 250ff. In Klaros the oracle was always pronounced at night. See E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (1978) 137; U. Höckmann, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), p. 99 with n. 54.

Erythrai

From Erythrai, the present-day village of Ildiri, five korai are known, most of them badly fragmented (table 4.1).[1]

The well-preserved kore E1 (plates 54–55) was discovered on Erythrai's akropolis on the podium of the Athena temple.[2] The larger than life-size[3] figure was carved from white, coarse-grained marble. The head,[4] the center section of the left arm, and the back of the right hand were carved separately and attached (plates 55c–e)[5]; the feet are missing (table 4.2).

The kore wears a belted chiton with sleeves, which falls in a large rounded pouch in front that completely covers the belt. Beneath this kolpos a wide band of vertical folds runs down between the legs to the feet. The belt is visible in the center of the back, and the so-called little window is present (plate 54b). The garment's fastenings can clearly be seen on the right upper arm, while on the forearm only faint traces survive. Short, ripple-like clusters of folds fall a short way from either side of the fastening at the shoulder (plates 54a, 55c).

The kore grasps her chiton with her right hand and places her left hand, fingers extended, on her right breast. On her upper body, the center panel of the chiton, and the part held in her hand, the fabric is indicated by close-set vertical grooves; on the back the garment is smooth, and clings to her body (plate 54). Strands of hair, preserved only on the back, end in a curve of triangular points in an arrangement that appears almost like an ornament (plate 54b).[6]

A very similar treatment of the hair at the back of the head can be seen on the Parian kore from Naoussa, no. 802 (plate 79b), the Kyrene kore II (plates 98b, 99c), and less markedly on the Kyrene kore I (plate 96b). Additional similarities between the Erythraian kore and the Naoussa kore are the sculptural rendering of the shoulderblades, the delicate furrow of the spine, but most of all the nearly identical form of the "little window"; all this suggests an insular Ionic influence, which is confirmed by comparison with the early torso no. 226 from Chios, which also shows the "little window" (plates 93a–b). Because of the early date of the Chios torso, one could assume that this "little window" was developed in Chios and that the Erythraian kore displaying the motif is indebted to Chios in its characteristic features.[7] The very similar ripplelike gatherings of folds on our kore and the Chian kore from Metochi (plate 94) nevertheless suggest a reciprocal influence. Such interchange seems likely given the proximity of Erythrai and Chios, especially since Erythrai, lacking a hinterland, was forced to rely on sea trade and the neighboring islands. Historical sources also attest to ties among Chios, Paros, Miletus, and Erythrai.[8]

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[1] I have numbered the five korai as follows: E1 = Izmir museum, inv. no. 5301. E2 = Izmir museum, inv. no. 69. E3 = Izmir museum, no inv. no. E4 = excavation inv. no. ERY1970P/3. E5 = excavation inv. no. ERY1970P/1, Izmir museum, inv. no. 6779.

[2] E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 1ff., pl. 1–3; Akurgal 1987, p. 58, pl. 76, 77; idem, in *Festschrift N. Himmelmann* (1989), p. 39; Herdejürgen 1968, p. 21; Ridgway 1977, p. 98; Fuchs/Floren, p. 397, pl. 35,2; *EAA* suppl. II (1994), pp. 498ff., illus. 557. For the find spot, see also M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 69 (1965), p. 147; idem, *AJA* 70 (1966), p. 157; idem, *AJA* 71 (1967), p. 169; idem, *AJA* 87 (1983), pp. 439f. For the Athena temple: Akurgal 1987, pp. 49f., 424, illus. 55–57, 160, pl. 96–97. For Erythrai: E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (1978), pp. 231ff. The temple of Athena is one of the oldest Greek sanctuaries in Asia Minor, since the podium dates from the second half of the 7th century. The temenos wall was added only around 530; see also Held 2000, p. 61, n. 258.

[3] Surviving height (without head and feet): 1.80 m.

[4] The head that probably belonged to the kore was discovered together with the statue, also on the podium; it has not yet been published. For the location of the discovery of the kore and head: E. Akurgal, *Erythrai, an Ancient Ionian City* (1979), pp. 5f., illus. 6. According to M. Donderer, *ÖJh* 61, suppl. (1991/92), pp. 192ff., esp. p. 234, no. 4, the head does not belong to the statue.

[5] Carving pieces separately and attaching them to the body of the sculpture was a customary technique in Miletus. See Samos XI, pp. 44, 112 with n. 31 (listing of Milesian works with attached pieces). For a detailed discussion, see A. Hermary, *BCH* 122 (1998), pp. 53ff., esp. pp. 66ff.

[6] For the hairstyle of kore E1, see Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, p. 255.

[7] See p. 100, also pp. 86, 102f.

[8] Rubensohn 1949, pp. 1808ff.; *RE* VI 1 (1958), 585ff., s.v. "Erythrai" (Bürchner); Berve 1967, p. 106; Roebuck 1959, pp. 14f., 28. Together with Miletus and Paros, the Erythraians founded the city of Parion on the Propontis: Ehrhardt 1983, p. 36; see also Karakatsanis 1986, p. 176. Also suggesting a connection with Chios are finds of very similar metal belts dating from the later 8th century to roughly 600, which came to light both on Chios and in Erythrai: Boardman 1981b, pp. 31, 35, 100, 105, 284. In addition, K. Schefold, in *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft, Festschrift H. Vetters* (1985), p. 60, n. 30, mentions that a kouros head in Basel that probably comes from Erythrai was created under the influence of the "school of Chios."

The formation of the kolpos and the paryphe between the legs led Akurgal[9] to call the figure E1 a work in the Milesian tradition. In reaching his opinion he relied mainly on examples from smaller sculpture and vase painting,[10] which however offer little that is comparable. What we have called the kolpos is scarcely met with there. Comparisons between large-format sculptures and smaller sculpture rarely prove satisfactory; and in this case they are especially ill advised inasmuch as perfectly good comparisons are available in contemporary monumental sculpture, such as the already mentioned Parian kore from Naoussa. Both present the same kolpos and little window on the back, and the two are astonishingly similar in their overall concept (plates 54b and 79a–b). According to B. Schmaltz, the belt appears to have been reduced in form and shifted on both korai so that its meaning is to a certain extent redefined; the same might be said, incidentally, of the motif of the little window. Owing to such changes, "the trunk [is] perceived as a unit separate from the legs."[11]

The curved pouch and the center panel are encountered again on the Athena of Endoios,[12] on some of the korai from the Akropolis in Athens,[13] on images of Artemis from the frieze of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi,[14] and on a lower-body fragment from Samos in the Vathy Archaeological Museum.[15] These works nevertheless date from the beginning of the last third of the 6th century,[16] while the Erythrai kore must have been produced earlier, around the middle of the century.[17] Endoios worked in Erythrai; Pausanias relates that while there he created the cult image for the temple of Athena Polias.[18] Perhaps one could even assume, as does H. Herdejürgen, that the kore E1 is an early work of Endoios.[19]

The vertical folds that ornament the kore's upper body and the center panel of the chiton are again found on the larger than life-size and life-size contemporary korai from Ionia and Samos; see, for example, the bird-holding kore M4 from Miletus (plate 40a) and the Didyma korai K37 (plate 31) and K38.[20] These figures are in turn linked to the Akropolis korai 619 and 677 (plates 128, 127), which are themselves related to such Samian works as the Cheramyes korai (plates 4–7), the Berlin kore with a hare (plates 8–9), and the korai of the Geneleos Group (plates 24–28).[21] Further, we find a vertical folding, though wider and less finely structured, on other Akropolis korai from the same time (Akr. 582: plate 125).[22] According to Schmaltz, the Erythrai kore E1 is a "late successor" of the type[23] represented by the above-mentioned kore from Chios (no. 226), the Parian korai from Naoussa (nos. 802 and 163), and no. A4062 from Delos (plates 93b, 79, 77, 64). Schmaltz describes more closely the type of simple belted chiton with pouches above the belt falling down onto the hips, which can be seen on the kore from Hagios Ioannis Rentis,[24] for example, and also on the torso from Moschato (plates 108–9, 230–33, 110),[25] which date from the early 6th century. The motif was therefore known in Attica at this time as well, so that one could assert, with Schmaltz, that "the belted chiton [accordingly seems] to be an old, traditional costume that was known and favored throughout the Aegean."[26]

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[9] E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 2ff. See also idem, *Griechische Reliefs des 6. Jahrhunderts aus Lykien* (1941), pp. 77ff.; idem, in *Festschrift N. Himmelmann* (1989), p. 39: Milesian or insular Ionic influences.

[10] E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 2f., nn. 5–10.

[11] Schmaltz 1998, p. 12, where the relationship between the korai's upper and lower body is discussed in detail. See also N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 100f., who had even earlier discussed this design phenomenon in great detail.

[12] Akr. 625: Langlotz 1939, p. 109, no. 60, pl. 85; Langlotz 1975, pp. 174ff., pl. 53, illus. 3; Herdejürgen 1968, p. 21; Fuchs/Floren, pl. 21,6.

[13] Akr. 602, 670, and 671, c. 530/20 (pl. 136, 152–53, 160–61): E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, p. 3. For the formation of the kolpos, see Fuchs/Floren, pp. 298f.; see also Özgan 1978, pp. 102f. with n. 332.

[14] R. Lullies/M. Hirmer, *Griechische Plastik* 3 (1972), pl. 49, 51, 53; Boardman 1981a, pp. 187f., illus. 212,2; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 172ff., 383f., pl. 12,2.

[15] For the development of the kolpos into an elongated hanging pouch like that shown by the Samian kore in Vathy (pl. 23), see Samos XI, p. 58, no. 26, pl. 14.

[16] Samos XI, p. 59.

[17] E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, p. 6; Herdejürgen 1968, p. 21, dates the kore to c. 550.

[18] Pausanias VII, 5, 9. For an extensive discussion of Endoios, see Deyhle 1969, pp. 12ff.; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 297ff.

[19] Herdejürgen 1968, p. 21. E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, p. 7, links the kore to a contemporary of Endoios whom he identifies as an Ionian. However, Pausanias I, 26, 5, calls Endoios expressly 'Αθηναῖος, and this is attested also by three inscriptions found in Attica that bear his sculptor's signature. See Deyhle 1969, p. 59, s.v. "Endoios."

[20] Tuchelt 1970, p. 144: "As for the draped figure, two trends can be seen in Ionia in the second quarter of the century: the one is dominated by large surfaces broken up by only a few drapery folds; in the other a dense system of vertical and diagonal folds envelops the figure. In both, the folds are strictly parallel." The above-named korai represent the second of these trends. See Tuchelt 1970, pp. 68f., pl. 36, 1–2 (K37); 37, 1–2 (K38).

[21] Samos XI, p. 24: "The delicate vertical folds of the chiton that extend across the lower body may also be indebted in part to eastern precedents; they are already prefigured, however, in Samian terracottas from the 7th century." The examples of draping cited by E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 3ff., nn. 19–25, are again limited to small works such as the bronze statuette from Ephesus in Istanbul. See Akurgal 1961, illus. 176, 177.

[22] Akr. 582: Langlotz 1939, pl. 12; Payne/Young, pl. 14,5. Akr. 586/587 (relief figures): Langlotz 1939, illus. 355–56; Payne/Young, pl. 14,1–2. For a full discussion of the "gathering of folds between the legs" of the Erythrai kore, see E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 4f.

[23] Schmaltz 1998, p. 10, with examples from 7th-century vase painting that document the above-mentioned type of chiton.

[24] D. Lazaridis, *AAA* 1 (1968), p. 34, illus. 3 (PM2530).

[25] Richter 1968, p. 39, no. 40, illus. 132–34 (NM3859).

[26] Schmaltz 1998, p. 10.

Yet it must be emphasized that the kore E1 from Erythrai presents, in addition to its Ionic, Samian, and Milesian features, stylistic elements of the insular Ionic tradition, particularly the work of artists from Chios and Paros.

Of the roughly life-size kore E2[27] only the hip area is preserved. It is made of grayish-white marble and comes from the rubble fill between the archaic terrace of the Athena temple on the akropolis and the Byzantine fortress.[28] The holes in the front and back are late invasions, according to the excavator, from a time when the fragment was used as building material. The front is divided by vertical folds, the back completely destroyed. The fragment resembles the Samian korai in type and is dated to around 560/50 (tables 4.1–4.4).[29]

Fragment E3 consists of only the section below the hips.[30] It comes from what was originally a life-size figure made of grayish-white marble. The fragment was discovered in the wall of a house in the present-day village of Ildiri. Here, too, there are holes with traces of lead casting. Because of the similarity in its vertical folds to E2, it would appear that this kore was produced at the same time.

The small fragment of a garment E4 was also discovered on the Erythrai akropolis.[31] The curving folds suggest that this is a section of the grasped chiton. The fragment consists of white marble and shows a similarity in the drapery to the larger than life-size kore E1; it, too, can be dated to around 560.

Finally, the large statuette E5 (plate 56)[32] comes from the rubble fill of the akropolis and is made of a grayish, coarse-grained marble; the head and feet are missing. The kore wears a chiton, a small diagonal himation, and a veil. In her left hand she holds a pomegranate between her breasts. The right hand, clenched into a fist, can be seen beneath the thin veil, while the exposed thumb secures its hem precisely, as in the Cheramyes korai (plate 6).[33] The diagonal himation runs downward as a broad band from the right shoulder, passes under the left arm, then ends in two long kolpoi. It covers the right breast and part of the left. On its right side three clusters of folds, each secured with a button at regular intervals, run vertically across the shoulder, down to the tip of the kolpos. The left side of the himation is smooth, like the kolpos. The belt is visible beneath the small, rounded indentation in the himation, while the back presents the smooth surface of the veil. A very delicate depression can be seen in the area of the waist, but the spine is scarcely visible. On the right side a fold with a double incised line can be seen, which very probably suggests a doubled veil similar to that of the Cheramyes kore (plates 5, 56b).[34] The statuette was presumably created in the period between the Cheramyes kore and the Geneleos Group, or around 560.

All the features mentioned show a connection to Samian art.[35] A recently discovered statuette from the Heraion on Samos, no. 9A (plate 11),[36] is so similar that one might easily confuse the two; it can be considered a companion piece with the Erythraian work. The consistency of the figure's grayish-white marble is typical of stone from Samian quarries,[37] suggesting that the statuette was created on the island of Samos and imported to Erythrai.

Korai E2 and E4 from Erythrai also point to the Samian art tradition, but in their case it cannot be said with certainty whether they were imported from Samos or produced by local artists under Samian influence.

Erythrai's korai come mostly from the rubble fill in the area of the Athena temple on the akropolis. According to the report of the excavator, E. Akurgal,[38] kore E1 had been stolen by thieves in antiquity and carefully buried with the head, so it might later be sold at a profit (table 4.4).

Even though they were not discovered in their original locations, there can be no doubt that the Erythraian korai E1–E5 were dedicated to Athena.

The pomegranate presented by the larger statuette E5 is not a typical offering for the goddess Athena, but inasmuch as she functioned here as the city's patron deity and protector of all aspects of the lives of its citizens,[39] the appearance of a fertility symbol in her cult is not surprising. In the Greek world at least two festivals are known in which the celebration of Athena reflected the polis's concern for the success of its crops, the growth of its population, and the welfare of its children.[40]

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[27] C. Bayburtluoğlu in Athens 1986, pp. 193ff., pl. 80,1–2. With respect to condition and dating, I follow the author's assertions.

[28] Ibid., p. 194.

[29] Ibid., p. 197, n. 10.

[30] Ibid., pp. 194f. with n. 4, pl. 80,3.

[31] Ibid., p. 195 with n. 5, pl. 80,4.

[32] Ibid., pp. 195f. with n. 6, pl. 81,1–3. The surviving height is 35 cm, the reconstructed height roughly 80 cm.

[33] According to C. Bayburtluoğlu in Athens 1986, p. 195, the statuette does not wear a veil. Based on the rendering of the clothing and comparisons from Samos, however, I find it obvious that the kore does have a veil. Kyrieleis 1995, p. 34, n. 96, concurs.

[34] But see C. Bayburtluoğlu in Athens 1986, p. 198. Freyer-Schauenburg, Samos XI, p. 24 with nn. 44–46, rightly holds that the veil, the diagonal himation, and the "vertical chiton folds extending across the lower body" of the Cheramyes kore already appear in 7th-century Samian terracottas: "Thus eastern influences may have been at work as well, but were so subsumed in the overall conception of the statue . . . that out of these possible eastern details a purely Greek work resulted." To my thinking the larger statuette E5 can be evaluated in a very similar way.

[35] Samos XI, pp. 24, 26.

[36] It differs from the Samian statuette only in that the maiden there clutches a small hare against her breast with her left hand. See also Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 32ff., esp. p. 34, illus. 27, pl. 8.

[37] For the types of marble in the Erythraian korai, see C. Bayburtluoğlu in Athens 1986, pp. 196f. Kyrieleis 1995, p. 34, calls the Erythraian kore an "export piece" from Samos (table 4.3).

[38] E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, p. 1.

In Erythrai's history we find links to Chios (Chian dialect), Miletus, Paros, and Samos,[41] yet we are told very little about the city's political situation.[42] Presumably it was ruled in the 7th century by tyrants who had driven out the former king.[43] After the tyrants' fall it appears that the monarchy was not restored in its earlier form; instead, an oligarchy seized power that was composed of members of the royal line of the Basilids.[44] Nothing is known about the duration of their rule; as Aristotle relates, the oligarchy was done away with after conflicts with the demos. Since tyranny is documented for Erythrai only in the 7th century, we must exclude any connection between tyranny (or its overthrow) and the appearance of korai in the middle of the 6th century. One could assume that while the Basilids commemorated themselves with large votive gifts on the akropolis they also admitted other donors of votive gifts (statuettes, for example).

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[39] Nilsson 1955, pp. 437f. "In Erythrai Athena was called Poliouchos—protectress of the city": Akurgal 1987, p. 48 with n. 170.

[40] Nilsson 1955, pp. 440ff., 443f.

[41] See p. 59, n. 8, and p. 86, n. 53.

[42] According to C. Bayburtluoğlu in Athens 1986, p. 196, the tyrant Pythagoras ruled in Erythrai for a brief time. See also C. Roebuck in Chios 1986, pp. 85f.; Roebuck 1959, pp. 14ff., pl. 2.

[43] For a full discussion, see Berve 1967, pp. 96f., 576 (list of sources); *RE* VI 1 (1958), 575ff., esp. 585ff., s.v. "Erythrai" (Bürchner); G. L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians* (1966), pp. 48ff. The three comrades Ortyges, Iros, and Echanos are said to have toppled the rule of Knopos, Erythrai's founder, with the help of Amphiklos and Polyteknos, tyrants from Chios (Strabo 14, 633; Hippias, *Athens* VI, 259a).

[44] *RE* III 1 (1958), 96f. s.v., "Basilidai" (Toepffer); *RE* IV 1, loc. cit., 585. According to Herodotus VIII, 132, Basilids also ruled on the island of Chios. See Roebuck in Chios 1986, pp. 87f. with n. 27. Aristotle, *Politics* VIII, 1305b, 18–22.

Klazomenai

The smaller than life-size kore[1] from Klazomenai (plate 57)[2] is made of limestone; it is preserved from the base of the neck to the thighs. Her right arm is bent, and with her right hand she holds against her breast an attribute that G. Richter interprets as a bird. Her left hand grasps her chiton in the familiar way, which suggests that the missing left leg was set slightly forward. Her hair is suggested in front by four notched strands, two of which fall down across her breast on either side, while a larger number run parallel down her back and end in a straight line. The kore wears a chiton with the diagonal himation characteristic of insular Ionic artists. This heavy garment lies nearly flat against the body and lends the figure a massive, stiff appearance. The sense of motionlessness is underscored by the straight, wide vertical folds of the himation, which are set off from one another by deep furrows and end in a zigzag hem. They descend vertically from the right shoulder, continue in a slight curve under the left arm, and continue clear across the back (plates 57a–b). Although the draping on the back is somewhat livelier, the artist failed to give the kore an appearance of lightness and refinement. The sharp-edged, dry execution of the folds is more reminiscent of metalwork. The kore appears as unyielding and incoherent in its forms as the Andros kore (plates 75, 228–29)[3] and a late kore from the Akropolis (plate 135),[4] whose body and garments are equally uncoordinated. The elegant gesture with which the maiden's right hand holds some attribute against her breast is all that softens the rigidity seen in the Andros kore.

The kore dates from the last third of the 6th century and stands close to the art of the Ionic islands,[5] especially Paros.[6] This causes one to wonder why the kore shows no dependence on Samian-Milesian art, or in the broadest sense eastern Ionic form tradition,[7] for Klazomenai[8] lies not far from Colophon, a Milesian colony.[9] Geographic proximity does not necessarily influence art forms, however; the Klazomenaians, as we know, built a treasury in Delphi before 548,[10] and on that occasion could certainly have come in contact with Nesiotic artists.[11] In this context it is worth recalling the karyatids of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi (plate 87), which are attributed to a Parian workshop[12] and thereby document the fact that the adaptation of foreign art forms was altogether common. According to E. Langlotz, a frieze of palmettes said to come from the Klazomenaian treasury was not carved in Delphi itself, but brought to the sanctuary as a finished product.[13] This frieze was carved from the same limestone as the Klazomenai kore and the fragment of a hand in the Budapest museum.[14] According to Langlotz, this appears to be the limestone found in great quantities in Orak Adasse, in the bay of Phokaia.[15] The material thus suggests that the kore's sculptor was a native artist indebted to the art of insular Ionia.

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[1] Louvre 3303, surviving height 80 cm. Richter 1968, p. 92, no. 163, illus. 520–23; Akurgal 1961, pp. 239f., illus. 206; Langlotz 1975, pp. 120f., pl. 40, 9–11; Ridgway 1977, p. 98; Croissant 1983, p. 54, pl. 10; Fuchs/Floren, p. 397 with n. 16, pl. 35,3; G. Kokkorou-Alewras in Athens 1986, p. 85 with n. 33; M. Hamiaux, *Les sculptures grecques* I. *Des origines à la fin du IV^{e} siècle avant J.-C., Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines* (1992), p. 61, no. 52. For additional finds from Klazomenai, for example a female upper body from a votive relief from 560, see E. Akurgal in *Festschrift N. Himmelmann* (1989), pp. 38f.

[2] For Klazomenai in general: *RE* XI 1 (1921), 545ff., s.v. "Klazomenai" (Bürchner); Ch. Picard/A. Plassart, *BCH* 37 (1913), pp. 378ff.; G. Oikonomos, *Prakt* 1921, pp. 63ff.; Akurgal 1987, pp. 15f; Stillwell 1976, p. 458, pl. 7; Roebuck 1959, pp. 29f., 107, 109, pl. 2; Boardman 1981b, pp. 31, 35, 110, 137, 143.

[3] See p. 80.

[4] Akr. 585: Richter 1968, p. 100, no. 181, illus. 573–76. This statement refers above all to the front view; the back is structured with greater vitality, though it has the same arrangement of himation folds.

[5] See also Ridgway 1977, p. 98: from the Cyclades, perhaps from Attica. For the dating of this kore as compared to the kore from Lindos/Rhodes Γ131, see G. Kokkorou-Alewras in Athens 1986, pp. 85f.

[6] Paros played a decisive role in introducing the diagonal himation to the Greek mainland; see pp. 86ff., 126ff. For a detailed discussion of the origin of the diagonal himation, see Schmaltz 1998, pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 13ff., 17ff.

[7] Lippold 1950, p. 61 with n. 11: the costume and pose are reminiscent of insular Ionic korai; however, the emphasis on massiveness and the reluctance to release the limbs recall works from Samos and Miletus. The fleshy, rounded arms and hands also suggest the influence of Samos.

[8] J. M. Cook, *AEphem* 1953/54, pp. 169ff., illus. 1–2; Roebuck 1959, pp. 11, 14, 28ff., 107, 109, pl. 2; Stillwell 1976, p. 458, pl. 7.

[9] Herodotus I, 16. See also Bilabel 1921, p. 55; Ehrhardt 1983, p. 212.

[10] Herodotus I, 51; Langlotz 1975, pp. 68ff.; G. Gruben, *JdI* 78 (1963), pp. 146ff.; idem, *MüJb* 23 (1972), pp. 21f. with n. 56.

[11] Langlotz 1975, p. 45.

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[12] See pp. 84f., n. 47; pp. 96f., n. 22. G. Gruben, *MüJb* 23 (1972), pp. 9ff., 16ff., 28f., suspects that Parian stonecutters were brought to Delphi to train others during the building of the treasuries. See also Kontoleon 1963, p. 59, on the Siphnians' artistic dependence on Paros.

[13] Langlotz 1975, pp. 45, 68ff., pl. 7,1; 16,4: behind the Kyreneans' building fifteen fragments of a palmette frieze were found, dating from c. 535. One fragment bears on the back the mounting note ΕΣΤΟΝ ΔΕΞΙΟΝ and ΙΧΟΣ "on the right side," which goes beyond the usual mark of a simple letter or number to indicate placement. The frieze could thus have been carved elsewhere, namely in Klazomenai, and brought to Delphi as a finished work. For the frieze, see Fuchs/Floren, p. 398 with n. 20.

[14] A. Hekler, *Antike Skulpturen in Budapest* (1929), p. 20, no. 11.

[15] Langlotz 1975, pp. 45, 69, 71f. For the material, see also E. Akurgal in *Festschrift N. Himmelmann* (1989), p. 39.

The "Rhaidesto" Kore[1]

The smaller than life-sized kore (plates 58–59)[2] in the Thessaloníki Archaeological Museum comes from Bizye (modern Vize), in Thrace.[3] It is made of Proconnesian marble[4] and wears a chiton with a diagonal himation whose vertical folds end in a zigzag hem. The chiton, with its dense, ripplelike folds, lies close to the body and helps to emphasize its contours. One unusual feature is that the kore's diagonal himation does not have the edging[5] characteristic of this garment and seen in examples of insular Ionic korai. As a result, the fabric of the himation appears thick and heavy, lacking the softness and suppleness that the edging and the folds descending from it tend to provide. The vertical folds on the Rhaidesto kore emphasize the flatness of the front of the body. The figure appears quite rigid.

The grasping of her chiton is indicated by a smooth bundle of stretched folds that is not integrated into the flowing drapery of the rest of the garment. The rendering of the chiton and the himation's zigzag hem recall Samian korai from the last quarter of the 6th century.[6] Accordingly, the Rhaidesto kore must have been carved in this same period. We find the same smooth, stretched chiton folds on kore no. 22 (plate 21), while kore no. 25 (plate 23) shows a similar stepped, zigzag hem of the himation drawn over the right shoulder. Moreover, the differentiation between the upper body wrapped in the heavy himation and the lower body, where the thin chiton allows the curves of the buttocks and legs to show through, is similar to the above-named Samian works. One might even derive the flowing ripples in the chiton of the Rhaidesto kore from those of the Samian kore no. 26 (plate 23).

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[1] The kore is generally called this in the literature, though it comes from Vize; it arrived in Thessaloníki along with a mantle kouros from Rhaidesto and apparently got its name on the basis of this shared transport. For the kouros, inv. no. 930, see S. Pelekidis, *Thrakika* 1 (1928), pp. 8ff., illus. 5–8; Özgan 1978, pp. 55ff., 92 with n. 173, illus. 29; Fuchs/Floren, p. 404 with n. 8; G. Despinis in *Κατάλογος Γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης* I (1997), pp. 18f., no. 5, pl. 10–13. For Rhaidesto, the ancient Bisanthe and present-day Tekirdağ on the Propontis west of Istanbul, see L. D. Loukopoulou, *Meletemata* 9 (1989), pp. 41ff. A map with the village of Tekirdağ is reproduced in M. Özdoğan, *TürkAD* 26 (1982), p. 50, pl. 15. For a kouros in a private collection in present-day Tekirdağ that probably came from ancient Bisanthe, see V. von Graeve, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), pp. 103ff., pl. 20–21.

[2] Thessaloníki museum inv. no. 929. Surviving height 58 cm. E. Kalinka, *ÖJh* 24 suppl. (1926), p. 145, no. 42, illus. 17; Pelekidis, loc. cit., pp. 5ff., illus. 1–4; Langlotz 1939, pp. 28, 33, no. 2; W. Darsow, *MdI* 4 (1951), pp. 91f., pl. 22; Herdejürgen 1968, p. 45; F. Petsas, *Makedonika* 9 (1969), p. 136, no. 36, pl. 17; G. Neumann, *AA* 1971, p. 186, illus. 2–4; Langlotz 1975, p. 55 with n. 25; Ridgway 1977, p. 102, illus. 25–26; Özgan 1978, pp. 55, 57f., 75f.; Fuchs/Floren, p. 404 with n. 7, pl. 35, 4; Rolley 1994, p. 268, illus. 300; I. Vokotopoulou, *Οδηγός Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης* (1996), p. 28 with color illus. Most recently, with extensive bibliography, G. Despinis in *Κατάλογος Γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης* I (1997), pp. 19f., no. 6, pl. 14–17. The kore has been in Thessaloníki since the evacuation of Eastern Thrace in October 1922. The history of the collection of the Rhaidesto Society at the time is discussed extensively in L. Polychronidou-Loukopoulou, *Η ιστορική, αρχαιολογική και λαογραφική έρευνα για τήν Θράκη. Συμπόσιο* (1988), pp. 127ff., esp. p. 132, n. 24.

[3] For ancient Bizye (Βιζύη), in present-day Turkish Thrace, between the Samian colony of Perinthus and the colony of Apollonia established on the Pontus by Miletus, see *RE* III (1897), 552, s.v. "Bizye (Βιζύη)" (Oberhummer); R. M. Dawkins, *JHS* 26 (1906), pp. 191f.; Kalinka, loc. cit., p. 118; K. Bittel, *AA* 1939, p. 179, illus. 53 (map showing the village of Vize); Stillwell 1976, p. 155, map 7, 3A.50. The precise spot where the kore was found is nevertheless unknown; the statement by Kalinka, loc. cit., p. 145, that the kore comes from Vize cannot be definitely confirmed, according to L. Loukopoulou, *Meletemata* 9 (1989), p. 177.

[4] S. Pelekidis, *Thrakika* 1 (1928), p. 5, n. 5; 29. For Proconnesus and its celebrated marble: Strabo VII, 331 Fr. 56; XIII, 587–88.

[5] Pelekidis, loc. cit., p. 11; W. Darsow, *MdI* 4 (1951), p. 91 with nn. 50–53. In his opinion the absence of a border is unusual, although it is seen on the stele from Dorylaion and on the female figures of the southwest frieze of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi.

[6] Samos XI, no. 22, pl. 13: c. 540; no. 25, pl. 15: c. 530; no. 26, pl. 14: c. 530–20. Herdejürgen 1968, p. 45, associates the dating of the Rhaidesto kore "with the youngest figures of the Milesian group," and dates it to around 530. Ridgway 1977, p. 102: c. 520; Özgan 1978, pp. 75f.: end of the third quarter of the 6th century; L. Loukopoulou, *Meletemeta* 9 (1989), p. 189: last quarter of the 6th century.

The hair of the Rhaidesto figure forms a solid rectangle at the back, similar to the hairstyle of the Philippe and Ornithe of the Geneleos Group (plates 24b, 26b, 28f). The kore can therefore be considered a peripheral work from the Samian sphere,[7] as is also suggested by its discovery in Bizye, not far from the Samian colonies of Bisanthe and Perinthus.[8] The artist felt the influence of Samian art tradition, but was unable to achieve a unity between the upper and lower body. The lower body, with the striding pose and the elegant modeling of the chiton and its abundance of curves, seems to have more movement than the rather more rigid upper body.

R. Özgan[9] holds that the Rhaidesto kore is a direct successor of the Berlin kore head 1851 from Kyzikos (plate 60),[10] said to be of north Ionic tradition, but this is not necessarily true. Unfortunately, the head of the Rhaidesto kore, which would allow us to compare the facial features, is missing. The hair on the backs of the two korai, though executed in an unusual, almost graphic manner, is nevertheless clearly different (plates 58b, 60b).

On the Berlin head the strands of hair fall in flat, thick zigzag rows that meet in the center in such a way as to produce a row of rhombuses along the part.[11] This "manneristic" look contrasts with the hair of the Rhaidesto kore, in which the considerably more three-dimensional strands of hair fall in tight zigzag steps and come together with greater softness at the part.

N. Himmelmann dates the Berlin head to around 525, and points to the uncertainty of its origin;[12] however, it probably comes from northern Ionia.

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[7] Payne/Young, p. 58, were the first to recognize the kore's Samian character. See also Neumann (note 2 above), pp. 186f; Fuchs/Floren, p. 404. According to V. von Graeve, *IstMitt* 46 (1996), p. 100, n. 21, the Rhaidesto kore could have "taken inspiration for the style of its drapery from Miletus." According to Despinis (note 2 supra), p. 20, Milesian and insular Ionic influences are scarcely evident.

[8] Bisanthe (present-day Tekirdağ) and the neighboring Perinthus (later Ἡράκλεια, present-day Eregli) are known to have been Samian colonies. See Bilabel 1921, pp. 154ff.; Roebuck 1959, pp. 110, 114. For Bisanthe, see also *RE* III (1897), 500, s.v. "Bisanthe" (Oberhummer). For Perinthus, see *RE* XIX 1 (1937), 802ff., s.v. "Perinth" (Oberhummer).

[9] Özgan 1978, p. 58, n. 181.

[10] Blümel 1964, p. 40, no. 31, illus. 85–86; Richter 1968, p. 93, no. 165, illus. 528–30; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *IstMitt* 15 (1965), pp. 35f., pl. 21–22; P. Hommel, *IstMitt* 17 (1967), p. 123; Langlotz 1975, p. 115, pl. 31,1; 52,6. The head presumably comes from Kyzikos or from the coast of the Sea of Marmara (Langlotz 1975, p. 115); it was purchased on the art market by Th. Wiegand and given to the museum.

The badly abraded kore head Berlin inv. no. 1852 was also a gift from Wiegand; it is said that he bought it on the art market as well. The head presumably comes from Anatolia and, according to Blümel 1964, p. 38, illus. 77–80, dates from the middle of the 6th century: Richter 1968, no. 93, illus. 289–90; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, loc. cit., pp. 39f., pl. 20. According to K. Tuchelt, *AA* 1989, p. 212, n. 137, it is, however, the head of a sphinx and not a kore, as was always previously assumed.

[11] One has the impression that the artist was interested only in achieving an especially decorative, painterly effect with the pattern of the hair. The hair at the back remains isolated from the flood of bead-like waves above the forehead, which frame the face in a realistic way (pl. 60), and the three locks that fall behind the ear. Whether this is a reflection of the style of the time or of the specific region cannot be determined, for the majority of the surviving kore heads from the Ionic sphere are covered with a veil. For the kore's hairstyle, see also Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 236ff.

[12] Himmelmann-Wildschütz, loc. cit., pp. 36f. Based on the decorative, ornamental aspect of its archaic forms, Langlotz 1975, pp. 115f., dates the head to c. 500.

Delos

Dating

The Delian korai begin with the dedication of the Nikandre statue,[1] which, as the oldest large-format kore (plates 62–63, 213), stands at the very beginning of Greek monumental sculpture.[2] Suggested datings for the work range from 680 to 640 (table 6.1).[3]

The votive statue of Nikandre has been the object of intense study ever since its discovery in 1878. The most intriguing question is just what role this Daedalic figure might have played in the rise of Greek monumental sculpture.[4]

By comparing the Nikandre with other Daedalic artworks, especially with the mid-7th-century kore from Astritsi that was discovered in central Crete,[5] G. Kokkorou-Alewras has concluded that Cycladic or Cretan art was of crucial importance in the emergence of the monumental statue in Greece. Also the Auxerre kore (plate 53), from the third quarter of the 7th century and with its "pure Cretan-Daedalic style,"[6] must be ascribed to the Cretan artistic sphere, even though the place and circumstances of its discovery are still uncertain. This is confirmed, despite the figure's small, "though monumentally conceived"[7] format, if one compares it to the lower body of a kore from Eleutherna (plate 53), also found in central Crete, from the middle of the 7th century.[8]

According to Kokkorou-Alewras, any determination of where monumental works of sculpture were first produced depends on how we rank the three factors "statuesqueness," "material," and "continuity of sculptural development." If the first of these is given precedence, as it is by F. Matz and L. Alscher, for example, one might consider the northeastern Peloponnese. If size and material are held to be decisive, as they are, for example, by E. Homann-Wedeking, G. Richter, and N. Kontoleon, then the birthplace would have to be in the Cyclades. Finally, if continuity of sculptural development is the uppermost consideration, as it is for K. Schefold and C. Davaras, then Greek monumental sculpture was surely born on Crete.[9]

The spectacular recent find of a colossal kore on Santorini (plate 76) is bound to rekindle such discussion about the birthplace of monumental sculpture. However, it will be necessary to wait for Ch. Sigalas's publication of that figure before the arguments can be reconfigured and perhaps even a decision becomes possible.[10]

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[1] The dates given in the table are based mainly on the suggestions in Richter 1968, pp. 23ff., 88ff.

[2] For the Nikandre, see Richter 1968, p. 26, no. 1, illus. 25–28; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 1ff., 12ff., K1; Kokkorou-Alewras, 1995, pp. 37, 80, K1, pl. 9, 10, with extensive bibliography; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 155f. with n. 42; H. V. Herrmann, "Zum Problem der Entstehung der griechischen Großplastik," in *Wandlungen, Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking* (1975), pp. 35ff.; Steuben 1980, p. 29; Fuchs/Floren, p. 155; Gruben 1997, p. 266. However, Martini 1990, pp. 89ff., esp. p. 132, sees in the fragment of a Samian kore (Samos XI, no. 1) a precursor of the Nikandre statue.

[3] Richter 1968, p. 26: c. 650; Pedley 1976, pp. 19f.: c. 625; Fuchs/Floren, p. 155 with n. 42: middle of the 7th century; Martini 1990, p. 41: c. 670/60; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 88: second quarter of the 7th century; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 80: c. 660/50; S. Moraw in Stemmer 1995, pp. 106f.: c. 650; Ph. Jockey in *Sculptures déliennes* (1996), p. 14: c 630. See also all the detailed dating suggestions in H. Jung, *Thronende und sitzende Götter* (1982), pp. 195ff., n. 130. See p. 71, n. 60.

[4] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 1ff., 12ff. with extensive bibliography on the Daedalic style and varying opinions on the problem of where Daedalic sculpture originated; see also Martini 1990, pp. 90ff., 98ff., 132ff., 209ff.

[5] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 1ff., 12ff. For the Astritsi kore: C. Davaras, "Die Statue aus Astritsi," *AntK* suppl. 8 (1972); Fuchs/Floren, p. 127 with n. 45.

[6] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 18: "Virtually all scholars agree that the Daedalic style was crucial to the development of Greek monumental sculpture, and have hoped to pinpoint as the place of origin of Greek monumental sculpture the place where the Daedalic style was most fully developed." For the Auxerre kore, Paris, Louvre 3098, see Richter 1968, p. 32, no. 18, illus. 76–79; Fuchs/Floren, p. 126 with n. 44; Martini 1990, pp. 92ff., 133ff., illus. 13; Rolley 1994, pp. 137f., illus. 116; D. Klug in Stemmer 1995, pp. 105f.; see also p. 56 with n. 5.

[7] Martini 1990, p. 25.

[8] N. Stampolidis, *BSA* 85 (1990), p. 400, illus. 26, considers the Eleutherna kore a precursor of the Auxerre kore, which he sees as an original Cretan work produced in a workshop that had close ties to that of the Eleutherna kore. For the fragments of kouroi found in Eleutherna: ibid., pp. 398ff., illus. 25. For the kore: idem, *Ancient Eleutherna: The Geometric-Archaic Necropolis at Orthi Petra* (1993), pl. 1; idem, *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑ, Από την γεωμετϱιϰή ϰαι αϱχαϊϰή νεϰϱόπολη. Ταφιϰές πυϱές ϰαι ομηϱιϰά έπη* (1994), pp. 65f., pl. 1a.

[9] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 21.

There is no denying an indebtedness to the Nikandre statue on the part of the kore A4062 (plates 64–65, 214),[11] from the beginning of the 6th century, Kontoleon insists,[12] yet at the same time it presents a distinctly different body language. While the Nikandre figure is distinguished by the blocky garment that widens toward the bottom and almost wholly obscures the shape of the body beneath it, in the later kore, despite a flatness reminiscent of the Nikandre, the body framework is clearly visible. The belting on kore A4062 serves less as a break between the two halves of the body than as a way of emphasizing the broad hips, below which the clinging garment follows the lines of the legs as they narrow toward the feet. The incised meander pattern on the lower body is new.[13] Although there is no indication of drapery,[14] the chiton forms a kolpos in front that is arranged so as to provide a glimpse of the belt as though through a "little window" (plate 64).[15] The kolpos is not immediately recognizable owing to weathering, and its ends cannot be followed because of the fracture at the waist. This particular form of belting, taken over from the Ionic realm, can also be seen on the Akropolis kore 619 (plate 128).[16] An earlier dating was recently suggested for this kore,[17] but in comparison with the Delos kore A4062 it appears to present more advanced forms; the parallel folds of the chiton on the upper body reflect the shape of the body in a more pronounced way. Accordingly, it becomes necessary to push back the date of the Delian kore; it must have been produced in the years around 580, and the Akropolis kore in the second quarter of the 6th century.

Also, the Delian upper-body fragment of kore A3996 (plates 66, 215)[18] cannot have been earlier than the kore A4062, as Kokkorou-Alewras supposes.[19] The compressed body forms, the overall cubic arrangement, and the pose of the hands are ultimately the same in both statues, but on A3996 the locks of hair are rendered in a more three-dimensional manner. With N. Zapheiropoulos,[20] I therefore consider the torso to be younger than A4062 and agree that it should be dated, like korai from Moschato and Aigina, to the second quarter of the 6th century, which makes it a connecting link between kore A4062 and the Parian kore from Naoussa, no. 802 (plate 79).

Finally, the weathered head A2386 has been ascribed, doubtless correctly, to the third quarter of the 6th century.[21] It is generally judged to be Parian work.[22]

The Delian korai dedicated later and recognized as Parian,[23] A4063,[24] A4064,[25] A4065,[26] A4067,[27] A4068,[28] and NM22 (plates 67–72, 216–27), date from the last quarter of the 6th century. Various attempts have been made to place them in more precise chronological order. Because of the vertical folds of the diagonal himation and the Parian origin of these korai, they are compared with the karyatid of the Siphnian treasury (plate 87b).[29] Because of the prominence of the center fold and the width of those on either side, it strikes me that kore A4067 (plates 70, 222) stands nearest to the karyatids from 530/25. Korai A4064[30] and A4063 (plates 68, 218; 67, 216) reveal narrower folds and a center fold that has been shifted closer to the right shoulder,[31] suggesting that they were produced later than the karyatids. E. Kostoglou-Despoini[32] correctly sees kore A4063 (plates 67, 216–17) as the youngest of the group; the folds of her himation are arranged more softly and loosely on the back, so that the figure as a whole takes on a more slender and more animated form. The especially richly ornamented and finely carved kore NM22 (plates 72, 226–27),[33] which would appear to date from the close of the 6th century, stands chronologically at the end of the group of Parian korai from Delos, along with the head A4945 (plates 73, 215), which G. Richter dates to the first quarter of the 5th century.[34]

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[10] In the present investigation I am not concerned with the question of how Greek monumental sculpture developed, so I only mention in passing the problems presented by the earliest 7th-century korai.

[11] B. Sauer, *AM* 17 (1892), pp. 48ff., no. c; Homolle 1885, illus. 3; E. Löwy, *ÖJh* 12 (1909), pp. 249f., illus. 126; E. Pfuhl, *AM* 48 (1923), p. 168; F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* (1949), p. 197, pl. 121; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 46f., K38; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 53, 108, K68, pl. 41; Bruneau/Ducat, p. 62; J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 186, pl. 25, illus. 15, 16; N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 99ff., pl. 40–41; Fuchs/Floren, p. 157 with n. 47; Ph. Jockey in *Sculptures déliennes* (1996), p. 16; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), pp. 61ff., 252, cat. no. 55, illus. 76.

[12] N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1939, pp. 30ff.

[13] See pp. 86f. with n. 56.

[14] The kore does not wear a diagonal himation of the type seen on the Cheramyes kore, as was assumed in the older literature, but only a chiton. For the diagonal himation, see Payne/Young, p. 16, n. 1; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *IstMitt* 15 (1965), p. 29. With reservations, W. Darsow in *Festschrift A. Rumpf* (1952), pp. 44f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 101. Disputing the diagonal himation: Bruneau/Ducat, p. 62; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 243, n. 562; J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 186. The weathered section on the upper body that was formerly taken to be a diagonal himation has recently been identified as the remains of the kore's left hand placed against her breast. See N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 104 with n. 88; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 53, 108.

[15] N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1939–41, p. 31, n. 2; idem, *AM* 73 (1958), pp. 119f. For examples of this form of belting, see also the section Marble and Artists in the Paros chapter, pp. 86f.

[16] Richter 1968, p. 47, no. 38, illus. 194–97. The kore, formerly considered to be Samian, is now held to be from Naxos. Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 46, 53 with n. 143, K43, concurs, dating it to the second quarter of the 6th century; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 53, 108, K69: c. 570/60.

[17] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 46f., n. 143: c. 580; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 108, dates the Delos kore to c. 570/60; see also p. 71.

[18] Homolle 1885, p. 22, pl. 4,1–2; J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 185, no. 9, pl. 24, illus. 13–14; Bruneau/Ducat, pp. 62f.

[19] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 47.

[20] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 101.

[21] J. Marcadé in *Stele, Festschrift N. Kontoleon* (1980), pp. 85ff., pl. 24,1–4.

[22] Fuchs/Floren, p. 179.

[23] E. Buschor, *AM* 54 (1929), p. 152; see also Gallet de Santerre 1958, p. 289, n. 7.

[24] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 3 (1879), pl. 14, 15; idem, *BCH* 4 (1880), pp. 32ff.; Homolle 1885, p. 31, pl. 9a, b; Richter 1968, p. 89, no. 150, illus. 480–82. According to Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 44, end of the 6th century. Beginning of the 5th century: Fuchs/Floren, p. 167 with n. 59; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), pp. 62, 254, cat. no. 69, illus. 84.

[25] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 3 (1879), pp. 108ff., pl. 2, 3; Homolle 1885, p. 31, pl. 7 a, b; Richter 1968, p. 88, no. 147, illus. 468–71; Fuchs/Floren, p. 167 with n. 58; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), p. 255, cat. no. 70, illus. 85.

[26] J. Marcadé, *BCH* 74 (1950), pp. 201ff., illus. 14; Fuchs/Floren, p. 167 with n. 54; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), p. 254, cat. no. 68, illus. 83.

[27] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 3 (1879), pl. 17; idem, *BCH* 4 (1880), pp. 32ff.; Homolle 1885, p. 31, pl. 8; Richter 1968, p. 89, no. 149, illus. 476–79; Fuchs/Floren, p. 167 with n. 59; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), p. 254, cat. no. 66, illus. 82.

[28] Homolle 1885, p. 31, pl. 6; Kontoleon 1950, p. 144, illus. 76; L. Marangou in Athens 1986, p. 123 with n. 31; Fuchs/Floren, p. 167 with n. 53; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), p. 254, cat. no. 67, illus. 82.

Size

A summary of the Delian korai presents the following formats (table 6.2):

larger than life-size	1
life-size	9
smaller than life-size	1
larger statuette	–
smaller statuette	1

The Delian korai begin in the middle of the 7th century with the dedication of the larger than life-size figure of Nikandre. Korai produced only a short time later, however, are smaller than life-size, apart from one smaller statuette. In the last quarter of the 6th century the statues approach a life-size format.

Ornament

Since most of the Delian korai are preserved only in fragments, it is impossible to form a complete picture of the jewelry they wore. On three korai we can see necklaces with buds rendered in relief.[35] Kore NM22 wears two other necklaces as well, the longer of which hangs to below her breasts. At one time these were probably adorned with metal pendants, as is suggested by the groupings of three drilled holes between the folds of the himation (plates 72, 226). The wide edging of the himation also shows a series of at least four drilled holes that also point to metal jewelry. This kore is unusual in that she wears an additional garment on top of the himation. Probably an epiblema, it covers the entire back of the figure without folds, yet strongly emphasizes the shape of the body. In its shape and the manner in which it is worn it resembles the himation of the Cheramyes korai. The shawl, apparently at least doubled, falls from the shoulders in the front and on the sides, half covering the breasts but definitely emphasizing their swelling. On the left side the ends extend in broad zigzag folds to the thigh, whereas on the right side they fall even farther, to below the knee. This exquisitely formed garment, anything but schematic in its rendering, is wide open on the left side of the body, where the hand grasps the chiton (plates 72d, 227).

On three korai one can make out drilled holes at the ends of the locks of hair (plates 68, 218; 69, 220; 71, 224), which also could have served to hold metal ornaments.[36] This kind of jewelry has been found as yet only on so-called Nesiotic korai.[37] On some Delian korai the locks were carved separately and attached.[38] Their sculptors clearly took pains to render the korai's hairstyles as elaborately as possible.

Although the heads of none of the figures survive, on kore A4063 it is possible to detect a special type of head covering. Against the back of the figure hang two pointed parts of a head covering (plates 67b, 217), whose ends are indented like the ends of the folds of the diagonal himation of kore A4068 (plates 71, 224–25). These are not locks of hair, as Richter supposes,[39] but rather the ends of a taenia or a kind of mitra.[40]

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[29] Herdejürgen 1968, pp. 54f.; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 51 with n. 160; Fuchs/Floren, p. 167 with nn. 53, 58f. For the karyatids of the Siphnian treasury: Richter 1968, p. 66, no. 104, illus. 317–20. Langlotz 1975, p. 17, remarks that assured dating of works from the 6th century is possible only if one can tie them to dates from history, as is the case with these korai relative to the dating of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi, whose architectural sculpture was not yet completed when the city suffered catastrophe in about 525. Thanks to Herodotus III, 57, it is certain that the Siphnian treasury was built before 525; see also Gruben 1986, pp. 85f.

[30] According to Herdejürgen 1968, p. 54, the fragment from Delos A100 (*Délos* XXIV [1959], p. 101, pl. 73, illus. 184f.) is related to the kore A4064. Since the fragment is badly weathered and not very informative, it is not considered in the remainder of this discussion.

[31] Langlotz 1927, p. 136, pl. 83 a.

[32] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 44 with n. 123.

[33] Homolle 1885, p. 31; idem, *BCH* 13 (1889), pp. 217ff., pl. 7; Richter 1968, p. 88, no. 149, illus. 472–75; Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 106, illus. 173, 174; Fuchs/Floren, p. 167 with n. 56; Ph. Jockey in *Sculptures déliennes* (1996), p. 48; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), p. 255, cat. no. 72.

[34] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 3 (1879), pl. 4, 8; idem, *BCH* 4 (1880), 36f.; Homolle 1885, p. 26, pl. 5,1; Richter 1968, p. 104, no. 189, illus. 601–4: F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), p. 253, cat. no. 64, illus. 81.

[35] A4063 (pl. 67, 216), A4067 (pl. 70, 222, with pigment traces: 223), NM22 (pl. 72, 226). Kore A4063 has a drill hole in the center of her décolletage, so one can assume that she wore some sort of metal necklace.

[36] A4068, A4064, A4065, NM22. See Th. Homolle, *BCH* 4 (1880), pp. 29ff.; Bruneau/Ducat, p. 63. For the hairstyle of Delian korai in general, see Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 11ff., esp. pp. 168ff.

[37] Andros kore, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. no. 1544 (pl. 75); Richter 1968, p. 89, no. 152, illus. 487, 490. Of the Akropolis korai only Akr. 611 (pl. 155) has this kind of jewelry; it was carved of island marble, and Langlotz 1939, p. 54, no. 11, pl. 22, identifies it as Nesiotic, or island, work.

[38] A4063, A4064, A4068, NM22: Gruben 1997, p. 276, n. 28; in kore A4064 the marble peg is still in the hole.

The head A4945 wears a stephane, which is covered on the back of the head by the hanging mass of hair; a drilled hole on the top of the head suggests that a meniskos was attached. In addition, the kore wore metal earrings, as indicated by drilled holes on the earlobes (plates 73, 215).[41]

Attributes

Almost none of the Delian korai came to light complete with attributes; most are missing their arms and hands. Exceptions are the Nikandre dedication (plates 62–63, 213) and kore A3996 (plates 66, 215). The right arm and hand of the Nikandre figure are fully preserved, whereas the left arm from the elbow to the wrist is missing. Both hands have drill holes roughly a centimeter in diameter, probably used in attaching attributes. What these may have been is disputed. Because the inscription documents that the kore was consecrated to the bow-hunting Artemis, it has generally been suggested that she held a bow and arrow.[42] The left hand is indeed drilled completely through, but the hole is too small to have held a bow.[43] The right hand has only a deep hole, so that whatever object it held could only have stood up out of her fist. This precludes an arrow gripped in the center of the shaft. H. Gallet de Santerre has proposed that the kore held reins attached to lions on either side, but the small diameter and unequal execution of the drill holes argue against this.[44] It seems clear that the figure held in her hands two different attributes. The most likely objects would have been branches or flowers, such as those carried, for example, by the women in the depiction of a procession on a late-7th-century vase from Anagyros in Athens.[45]

The participants in round dances, competitions, and beauty contests were marriageable young women (παϱθένοι),[46] and we may be correct in assuming that the Delian Artemis was venerated mainly as a protector of these parthenoi, whose progress to marriage, motherhood, and mistress of the oikos she accompanied.[47]

Wickert-Micknat explains that round dances were an event of some consequence for young people, marking their acceptance into the community of adults—an initiation, as it were—and Artemis was possibly one of the deities in whose cult these initiation dances were performed.[48]

Two hydriai in Cambridge[49] and Athens[50] from the period around 700 show dancers, mainly young women, holding branches and wreaths in their hands. This motif is also known from literature, for example a Homeric hymn to Gaia.[51]

From Herodotus we know that young men on Delos were accustomed to presenting offerings of hair wound around a green branch to the Hyperborean Nymphs, and that virgins made similar offerings of hair wrapped around a spindle when they married.[52] Artemis was also venerated as χϱυσηλάϰατος, the goddess with the golden spindle (distaff), and round dances were performed in her honor.[53] In the Homeric hymn to Artemis there are repeated comparisons between young maidens and the goddess Artemis and her connection to the Nymphs and to vegetation. When Nausicaa plays with her ball and dances with her friends she is compared to Artemis with the Nymphs.[54] And Odysseus rhapsodizes that she is as slender and lovely as the young palm tree that he had seen next to the altar of Apollo on Delos.[55]

As these examples from art and literature make clear, the goddess's feminine aspect appears to have played a crucial role on Delos, and a reconstruction of the Nikandre with branches or flowers in her hands strikes me as altogether appropriate.

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[39] Richter 1968, p. 89, no. 150, illus. 480–82.

[40] L. Marangou in Athens 1986, p. 123, pl. 53, 1, 2. See also H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (1966), pp. 69ff. For general coverage, see A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst. Untersuchungen zur Typologie* (1968).

[41] Richter 1968, p. 104, no. 189, illus. 601–4; Th. Homolle, *BCH* 4 (1880), pp. 35ff.

[42] H. Jung, *Thronende und sitzende Götter* (1982), pp. 195ff., n. 130 with further bibliography; Samos XI, p. 26; Fuchs/Floren, p. 156. Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 54 with n. 99, also agrees with such an interpretation.

[43] G. Bruns, *Die Jägerin Artemis* (1929), p. 30, considers that the drill hole, despite its small diameter, was made to receive a "bronze bow of the flattest possible form." To my thinking, however, such a thin bow in the hands of a larger than life-size figure would have seemed out of proportion.

[44] Gallet de Santerre 1958, p. 256; by analogy with the perirrhanteria, Martini 1990, p. 135, illus. 29, disagrees. For further examples, see Richter 1968, pp. 28f., nos. 5–7, illus. 37–44. See also N. Kontoleon, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), p. 398; S. Adam, "The Technique of Greek Sculpture," *BSA* suppl. 3 (1966), p. 44. For perirrhanteria in general, see J. Ducat, *BCH* 88 (1964), pp. 577ff.; F. W. Hansdorf, *AM* 89 (1974), pp. 47ff.; B. S. Ridgway in Marble 1990, p. 190.

[45] Richter 1968, pp. 24f., pl. 8a, depiction of a πομπή ϰοϱῶν.

[46] Wickert-Micknat 1982, R31f.

[47] Ibid., R29, R34. See also *RE* II 1 (1895), 1346, s.v. "Artemis" (Wernicke).

[48] Wickert-Micknat 1982, R26ff.

[49] M. Wegner, "Musik und Tanz," *ArchHom.* III U (1968), U76, cat. no. 72, pl. UIIb; Tölle 1964, p. 21, no. 49, pl. 18.

[50] Hydria from Analatos, Wegner, loc. cit., U53, cat. no. 25; Wickert-Micknat 1982, R27ff. with n. 121, illus. 2; Tölle 1964, p. 20, no. 47, pl. 17; *Chefs-d'œuvre de la céramique grecque dans les collections du Louvre* (1994), p. 22, no. 6 (loutrophoros depicting a round dance with both men and women on the neck).

[51] Homer, *Hymn.* XXX, 14f.

[52] Herodotus IV, 34; Nilsson 1906, pp. 207ff.: "Hair offerings are generally presented to deities such as Artemis, Aphrodite, river gods, and Nymphs, who oversee the fertility of crops." For hair offerings in general, see E. Harrison in Athens 1988, pp. 245ff.

[53] Homer, *Hymn.* XXVII, 1f.

[54] Wickert-Micknat 1982, R30, R115; *Odyssey* VI, 101–9.

[55] *Odyssey* XVI, 149–62. For the comparison of a maiden with a flower, see Schneider 1975, pp. 253ff.

Marble and Artists

We know that there was no sculpture workshop on Delos itself, even though numerous votive gifts were set up in this central and widely venerated sanctuary. The sanctuary also soon became known throughout the Greek world as a meeting place where Cycladic artists had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the newest ideas and developments in art.[56]

In the 7th century and the first half of the 6th century, Delos was ruled by the powerful neighboring island of Naxos, and the Naxians erected a number of buildings and sculptures[57] displaying a characteristically Naxian style.[58] The Nikandre statue is definitely known to be Naxian work from its inscription and its material.[59] With its extremely flat, blocklike forms it also accords with stylistic features of Naxian art.[60]

The other early kore from Delos, A4062 (plates 64–65, 214), has frequently been considered Naxian work as well, most recently by Kokkorou-Alewras.[61] In her opinion it shows a certain similarity to the Akropolis kore 619 (plate 128), formerly thought to have come from Samos but now held to be from Naxos.[62] Comparing the two korai, however, one tends to be struck by their differences. The Akropolis kore 619 is characterized by the sculptural depiction of the body through parallel, flat surfaces and a solid outline with abrupt transitions, whereas the kore A4062 has softly rounded, even flowing body lines, and for that reason more likely belongs to the Parian art sphere. Early on, N. Zapheiropoulos[63] had placed it with the group of so-called Nesiotic korai, to which the Parian kore from Nausa, no. 802 (plate 79), also belongs. The latter, in turn, despite its clearer proportioning of upper and lower body, shows a distinct similarity to the Delian kore A4062 (plates 64–65). In addition to the supple rendering of body forms visible through their clothing, both have the meander border running down the center panel of the chiton between the legs, as well as the identical placement of the left hand on the right breast, and the bulk of the hair is formed in a similarly "pliant" manner;[64] moreover, both are carved from Parian marble.[65] Perhaps the Delian-Parian kore A4062 is one of the Parian prototypes scholars have been looking for, thus far in vain.[66]

The upper-body fragment of island marble A3996 (plates 66, 215) is also attributed to a Naxian workshop on account of "its cubic and broad-surface character."[67] In the rendering of the belt area this kore resembles somewhat the Delian kouros A334 of Naxian marble,[68] and this motif of costume could suggest that it derives from the Naxian artistic landscape. However, because of its similarities in the conception of the body to the Delian-Parian kore A4062 already mentioned, I prefer to think of this kore[69] as a connecting link between kore A4062 and the Parian kore no. 802 from Nausa. The later korai from Delos, A4063,

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[56] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 48ff., 52; Steuben 1980, p. 32; Fuchs/Floren, p. 179; H. Kyrieleis in Samos X, p. 59.

[57] F. Courby, *BCH* 45 (1921), p. 240; Courbin 1980, p. 121; Steuben 1980, pp. 30f.; H. Gallet de Santerre, *BCH* 108 (1984), p. 671. For the Naxian stoa, see also M. Ch. Hellmann/P. Fraisse, *Délos* XXXII, pp. 85ff. A detailed description of the buildings on Delos was recently presented in Gruben 1997, pp. 261ff.

[58] B. Sauer, *AM* 17 (1892), pp. 64ff.; Lippold 1950, pp. 42ff.; Langlotz 1927, pp. 126ff.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 40ff., 54ff., 88ff., 120 with n. 149 (with a detailed listing of other Naxian works on Delos); Steuben 1980, pp. 13ff.; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 63ff., 162ff.; Martini 1990, pp. 208ff.

[59] For a discussion of the sculptor from the workshop in which the Nikandre statue and other related works are supposed to have been produced, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 68ff. A second work on Delos that is certain to have come from Naxos, thanks to its inscription, is the so-called colossus of Apollo. For that work, ibid., p.70; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 163; Gruben 1997, pp. 267ff., illus. 3.

[60] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 1ff., 11, 36ff., 46ff.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 68ff.; Pedley 1976, pp. 18ff.; Martini 1990, p. 209. See also Ch. Karusos, *JdI* 52 (1937), p. 191 with n. 1, who discusses the difference between the Parian and Naxian workshops: "Basic to the sensibility of the Parian artist is the round body or (in a surface) elastic curve, whose sides or sections he connects in an almost angular way because he loves clear distinctions between the individual elements; the Naxian, however, proceeds from a thin, right-angled, rigid body to which he gives only the slightest rounding so as to produce the connection between its sides." See also Steuben 1980, pp. 9ff.

[61] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 46f., K38. See also Walter-Karydi 1987, pp. 62f., no. 1, illus. 86–87.

[62] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 46f., K43, pp. 53f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 73, 108, K69; Martini 1990, p. 212. For the kore Akr. 619, see Richter 1968, p. 47, no. 48, illus. 194–97.

[63] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 99f.

[64] Martini 1990, p. 214.

[65] Bruneau/Ducat, p. 62. Ducat believes that the marble of the kore A4062 is from Paros, likewise Martini 1990, p. 214. For the difficulty distinguishing between Parian and Naxian marble with certainty, see G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien* (1890), p. 43; B. Ashmole, *BSA* 65 (1970), pp. 1f. See also Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 105 with n. 25; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 108: the marble of this kore is neither the typical coarse-grained Naxian variety nor the fine-grained white Parian type, but rather a gray stone found on both Cycladic islands. It might be possible to determine the origin of the material with certainty by analyzing the marble using modern scientific methods.

[66] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 101 with nn. 57, 58; see pp. 85ff. For a different opinion, see Martini 1990, pp. 140, 214. He assumes that the kore A4062 grasps her skirt with her right hand in much the same way the Cheramyes kore does, and has placed her right foot "almost imperceptibly" forward. Because of this difference in motif from the other Parian korai he does not see it as the prototype of the "Parian" kore type.

[67] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 47 with n. 144; J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 24, illus. 13. 14.

[68] Richter 1960, no. 27, illus. 22–24; Kontoleon 1950, p. 142, illus. 74; G. Daux, *BCH* 83 (1959), pp. 559ff., illus. 1, 2, pl. 28; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 8, 90, K11; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 82, K6, pl. 11.

[69] The poor condition of the upper body A3996 makes it difficult to determine where it came from with certainty.

A4064, A4065, A4067, A4068, and NM22, are attributed to Parian workshops;[70] they form a group around the Parian kore in the Metropolitan Museum (table 6.3).[71]

The oldest monumental statues on Delos are made of the white, coarse-grained marble from the island of Naxos;[72] however, local Delian marble was used in the temple of Leto erected around 540.[73] The so-called Naxian Apollo, for example, was made of marble that came from quarries between Melanes and Potamia on Naxos.[74] The forms of these figures were apparently already roughed out, so that as little material as possible had to be transported.[75] According to G. Gruben, "from archaic down to Hellenistic times all larger pieces of stone and sculptures were delivered from the quarry and transported 'in bosse' (that is, with a protective inch on all sides)."[76] For monumental statues they surely used quarries near the sea, so that the roughed-out works could easily be loaded on ships.[77] The figures were then given their final touches in the workshop—most probably on Naxos,[78] for artists would not have worked on Delos, despite the heightened risk of damage during transport, owing to the sanctity of the island.[79] The Akropolis korai 619 and 677, for example, carved from Naxian marble and held to be Naxian works revealing no Attic influences,[80] could even have been finished where they were meant to be placed.[81]

Even today there are unfinished colossal kouroi in the marble quarries on Naxos.[82] The majority of the ancient marble quarries[83] are in the north of the island near the village of Komiaki, near Apollonas.[84] The place took its name from the bearded colossus that lies there, in which some choose to see an Apollo figure or a Dionysos.[85] Additional quarries are near Melanes,[86] somewhat farther southwest near Kastraki, and to the east near Aparanthos.[87]

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[70] For example, Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 26, 50ff., 175, pl. 2, 9a, 25b, convincingly established the relationship between the kore A4067 and the Artemis Delie as well as its dependence on the karyatid from the Siphnian treasury. She sees in the folding of the short himation of the kore A4067 the immediate precedent for the formation of the side folds of the Artemis Delie. There is also an apparent relationship between A4063 and A4064, for which reason Kostoglou-Despoini dates the kore A4063 to the beginning of the 5th century. See Gallet de Santerre 1958, p. 289, n. 7.

[71] See the Marble and Artists section in the Paros chapter, p. 87, nn. 70–74. E. Buschor, *AM* 54 (1929), p. 152; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 56.

[72] B. Sauer, *AM* 17 (1892), pp. 46ff., esp. pp. 71ff. 76f.; A. Tschira in E. Homann-Wedeking, *JdI* 55 (1940), p. 262 with n. 6. It was even used for sculptures in prehistoric Cycladic art; C. Renfrew/J. Peacey, *BSA* 63 (1968), pp. 54, 60; Fuchs/Floren, p. 151; I. Papageorgakis, "Τά εἰς τήν μαρμαρική Τέχνη χρήσιμα πετρώματα τῆς 'Ελλάδος," *Annales géologiques des pays helléniques* 18 (1977), pp. 222ff.; G. Gruben, *MüJb* 23 (1972), p. 17. See also M. Waelkens et al. in Marble 1990, pp. 11ff.

[73] Gruben 1997, p. 413. For quarries on Delos, see Ph. Fraiss/T. Kozelj, *BCH* 115 (1999), 283ff.

[74] Gruben 1997, pp. 270ff. with n. 47; Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 120 with n. 60; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 87f.

[75] C. Blümel, *Griechische Bildhauer an der Arbeit* (1940), pp. 10ff., illus. 2–5; see also Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 125f. with nn. 87f. In her opinion, artists probably had their workshops near the quarries, since kouroi left lying in the marble quarries are in various stages of completion. For the transport of large blocks of marble, see A. Orlandos, *Τά ὑλικά Δομῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων 'Ελλήνων* (1958), pp. 88ff. For marble quarrying in general, see M. Waelkens et al. in Marble 1990, pp. 47ff.

[76] Gruben 1997, pp. 270, 413; similarly H. Kyrieleis in Samos X, p. 59.

[77] Gruben 1997, pp. 267, 293f. with n. 13.

[78] Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 124ff.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 40ff., esp. pp. 45ff., also feels that the Delian statues were completely finished on Naxos. For the artists' mobility, see H. Kyrieleis in Samos X, p. 61. S. Thomas, Frankfurt am Main, plans to discuss this in detail in her dissertation.

[79] Aristotle, *Oeconomica* 134b II, II 2 (Armstrong); Homann-Wedeking 1950, p. 65; B. M. Mitchel, *JHS* 95 (1975), 84f. According to Fuchs/Floren, p. 406, n. 2, there are also works that were shipped half finished so as to avoid damage. They give as an example a smaller than life-size kouros that was fished from the sea off the coast of Chalkidiki. In their opinion, the sculptor could have completed the statue wherever it was to be set up. They refer to the kouros from Stageira, now in the Polygyros museum: F. M. Petsas, *Makedonika* 15 (1975), p. 251, pl. 175; K. Sismanidis, *AErgoMak* 7, 1993 (1997), p. 436. At the same place, in the small bay called Λιοτοπιού, the torso of a roughly life-size kore dating from near the end of the 6th century was found: Sismanidis, loc. cit., p. 435, illus. 21; idem, *ADelt* 48 (1993), chron 346, pl. 103δ. However, another example shows that finished figures were transported as well. A larger than life-size kouros was recovered from the water in the harbor of Maroneia in northern Greece. See Fuchs/Floren, p. 407, n. 3. For the kouros of Maroneia (the ancient Thracian Mesembria), now in the Komotini museum, no. 2012, see A. Varvitsas, *Prakt* 1975, p. 145, pl. 124b. For a detailed discussion of the kouroi in the Komotini museum: P. Karakatsanis, "Οι Κούροι της Θράκης: Σημασία και λειτουργία του αρχαϊκού αγάλματος," *Θρηίκιος Άνεμος* 2 (1997), pp. 17ff.

[80] According to W. Lambrinudakis, *AAA* 1976, pp. 266ff., 273, an unfinished sphinx from the period 540/30 found on Naxos (Naxos museum inv. no. 6259) shows Attic influence. From Herodotus I, 64, we learn that at that time there was a close relationship between Naxos and Athens; Peisistratos, for example, entrusted the guarding of the sons of his opponents conquered at Palini to the Naxians. It would thus be conceivable that the sphinx was intended either as a tomb monument for an Athenian on Naxos or as an export article to be set up in Attica. Aristion, from Paros, who made the statue of Phrasikleia, had worked in Attica for some time, and serves as an example of how even an Ionian island artist could have produced korai with Attic influences. See Martini 1990, p. 202; K. Karakasi, *Antike Welt* 6 (1997), pp. 509ff.

[81] Aristotle, *Oeconomica*. II, 3, reports that Lygdamis, having established himself as tyrant, seized in the workshops still unfinished statues ordered by families of the aristocratic opposition and had them sold. This tells us that the statues were on the island and were apparently meant to be finished there as well. Naxian marble was probably less commonly exported; see Fuchs/Floren, p. 151. For a different view, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 106f., 123f. with n. 77. On the Akropolis in Athens flat tiles of Naxian marble were found bearing the letters "BY," apparently the signature of Byzes, who was celebrated in an epigram by his son Euergos as the inventor of marble tiles; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 151f. with nn. 8–10. For flat tiles as evidence of Naxian imports, see also B. Sauer, *AM* 17 (1892), pp. 76ff.; N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1939–41, p. 32; Steuben 1980, pp. 29f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 122 with n. 71.

[82] Renfrew/Peacey, loc. cit., illus. 1, pl. 12a, b; 13a, b; G. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien* (1890), pp. 42f., 52ff.; B. Sauer, *AM* 17 (1892), pp. 74f.; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 63f., K17, K18 (colossi in the quarries of Pharangi and Flerio), K19 (a Dionysos in the quarry at Komiaki/Apollonas); G. Gruben, *MüJb* 23 (1972), p. 17 with n. 26; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 151f., pl. 9, 7; Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 101ff. with nn. 32, 34, 35, illus. 3 (Flerio), 4 (Pharangi), 11 (Apollonas); Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 40ff., illus. 41–48, 50–52; pl. 21, 31–33.

Find Spots

Table 6.4, which lists the spots where the Delian korai were found, makes it clear that nearly all the korai (A4062, A4063, A4064, A4067)—also the Nikandre—came to light in the area of the Artemision (illus. 10, 11).[88] They were discovered together with other marble sculptures, for example the Nike of Archermos,[89] in a trench. The group find suggests that they had probably not been "buried" but rather utilized as grading material.[90] According to Th. Homolle's description, the trench lay in front of the temple of Apollo, on the east side behind a slope bordering "a considerable pile of rubble" to the north, east, and west that extended northwest of the temple and apparently surrounded the as yet not fully excavated area of the Artemision with the boundary hall. The excavators' attempt to find traces of structural foundations in the area of the find spot was unsuccessful.[91]

The weathered kore head A2386[92] comes from a cistern in the Great Palaestra. Since this so-called granite palaestra was built only in the 2nd century B.C.,[93] one has to assume the head had been moved there. There is no indication of where the upper-body kore fragment A3996 was found.[94]

Thanks to the inscription on the statue dedicated by Nikandre,[95] we know that the figure was presented to the goddess Artemis. Since it was found quite close to the Artemision, it was probably originally placed next to the Artemis temple.[96] We can assume that the korai found with it stood there as well, as votive gifts to Artemis. The same is true of kore NM12, which has frequently been identified as the goddess Leto;[97] it was discovered to the northwest of the Italic Agora.

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[83] For a complete list of ancient marble quarries on Naxos, see Dworakowska 1971, pp. 81ff., illus. 16; Dworakowska 1975, pp. 34, 36, 58, 64f., 73, 87, 131ff. For a more recent detailed discussion, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 101ff., with new photographs and earlier bibliography.

[84] Lepsius (note 82 above), pp. 52f.; M. Waelkens et al. in Marble 1990, pp. 47ff., 58, illus. 9, 16, 18; Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 107 with n. 32, pp. 115ff., illus. 2, 12 (detailed map).

[85] Now held to be Dionysos: Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 97, K28 with extensive bibliography; Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 115ff. with n. 49, illus. 11, 15; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 54, 101ff., K60; Gruben 1997, pp. 293ff., 300, 415f. The colossus was meant to be presented to the Dionysos sanctuary at Yria, the main place of worship on Naxos. An unfinished kouros, now in the National Museum in Athens (NM14), also comes from the same quarry: C. Blümel, *Griechische Bildhauer an der Arbeit* (1940), pp. 19f., illus. 12–13; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 97, K37, pl. 29.

[86] For general information about the Melanes quarries, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 107ff. with nn. 31, 33, illus. 5–7, 10. According to W. Lambrinudakis, *Ergon* 1991, pp. 94f., illus. 143–44 and *Prakt* 1991, p. 257, pl. 152a, b, M. Kores identified splintered fragments in the Melanes marble quarries that match the Pharangi kouros. According to statements by W. Lambrinudakis in Athens 1986, p. 113, pl. 45,2, 3, the unfinished statue of a clothed male, now in the Naxos museum, comes from the Melanes quarries. Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 114, nn. 43–45, illus. 10, indicates that another three kouroi were carved of marble from the Melanes quarries; see also Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, K15, K16, K24. Moreover, near Melanes on the road toward Flerio-Kuros there is a half-finished architectural fragment of colossal size (7.5 m × 1.38 m) referred to by the local populace as the "Cabinet of the Kings," which was probably intended for the Apollo sanctuary. G. Welter, *AM* 9 (1924), p. 83, identifies the stone as a jamb. Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 109, n. 37, illus. 5. See also G. Gruben/W. Koenigs, *AA* 1970, p. 140; W. Koenigs, *AA* 1972, pp. 381ff. with n. 3. For a detailed discussion, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 37ff., esp. pp. 40ff., 46ff. The marble of the colossus of Delos comes from the quarries of Flerio, near Melanes: Gruben 1997, pp. 293ff.

[87] Renfrew/Peacey, loc. cit., p. 46, illus. 1, pp. 54, 60; Dworakowska 1975, p. 172; Dworakowska 1971, pp. 82ff., illus. 4, 16 (nos. 15 and 16); Kokkorou-Alewras1992, p. 126 with n. 90, illus. 2. In addition to the marble, the Ναξία λίθος (emery) was also well known, a Naxian discovery used for polishing marble statues: S. Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* (1933), p. 19; A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften* (1959), p. 130; Dworakowska 1975, p. 84; Dworakowska 1976, pp. 43ff., esp. p. 47.

[88] Bruneau/Ducat, map I 56, Building no. 46 and in the area between Buildings 6, 11, 46, and 39; Kontoleon 1950, folding map of Building nos. 16, 6, 9; Gallet de Santerre 1958, map E between the Artemision, the Naxian oikos, and the Apollo temple; K. Tsakos in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pl. 1–2.

[89] Bruneau/Ducat, p. 67, illus. 9.

[90] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 3 (1879), pp. 99ff.; idem, *BCH* 4 (1880), pp. 29ff.; Homolle 1885, pp. 31ff., pl. 1 (NM1), 2 (A4064), 3 (A4062), 6 (A4068), 7 (A4945), 14–15 (A4067), 17 (A4063); F. Courby, *BCH* 45 (1921), pp. 207ff., pl. 3–4; R. Vallois, *BCH* 48 (1924), pp. 415f. See also E. Bethe, *AntK* 14 (1938), pp. 101f., 119. Information about the finds is taken from the older literature. Richter 1968 gives as the find spot for the korai A4063, no. 150, and A4945, no. 189, the vicinity of the propylaea (Bruneau/Ducat, map I, no. 5). If this is true, it is not far from the find spot mentioned above in the vicinity of the Artemision. An additional kore fragment (*Délos* XXIV [1959], p. 101, pl. 73, illus. 184f.) was found in the "granite monument" south of the Italic agora (Bruneau/Ducat, p. 171, map II, no. 54). Since the building dates only from the second half of the 2nd century, the fragment must have been moved there. Because of its poor condition it is not discussed here in detail.

[91] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 3 (1879), pp. 99ff. Homolle relies on the map in A. Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée. Architecture, sculptures, inscriptions et vues du Péloponèse, des Cyclades et de l'Attique* (1838), III, pl. 1, the "rubble heap" in the area Q. R. S. T; see also W. Kraiker, *Archaische Plastik der Griechen* (1976), p. 24.

[92] J. Marcadé in *Stele, Festschrift N. Kontoleon* (1980), pp. 85ff., pl. 24, 1–4; Fuchs/Floren, p. 164, n. 36.

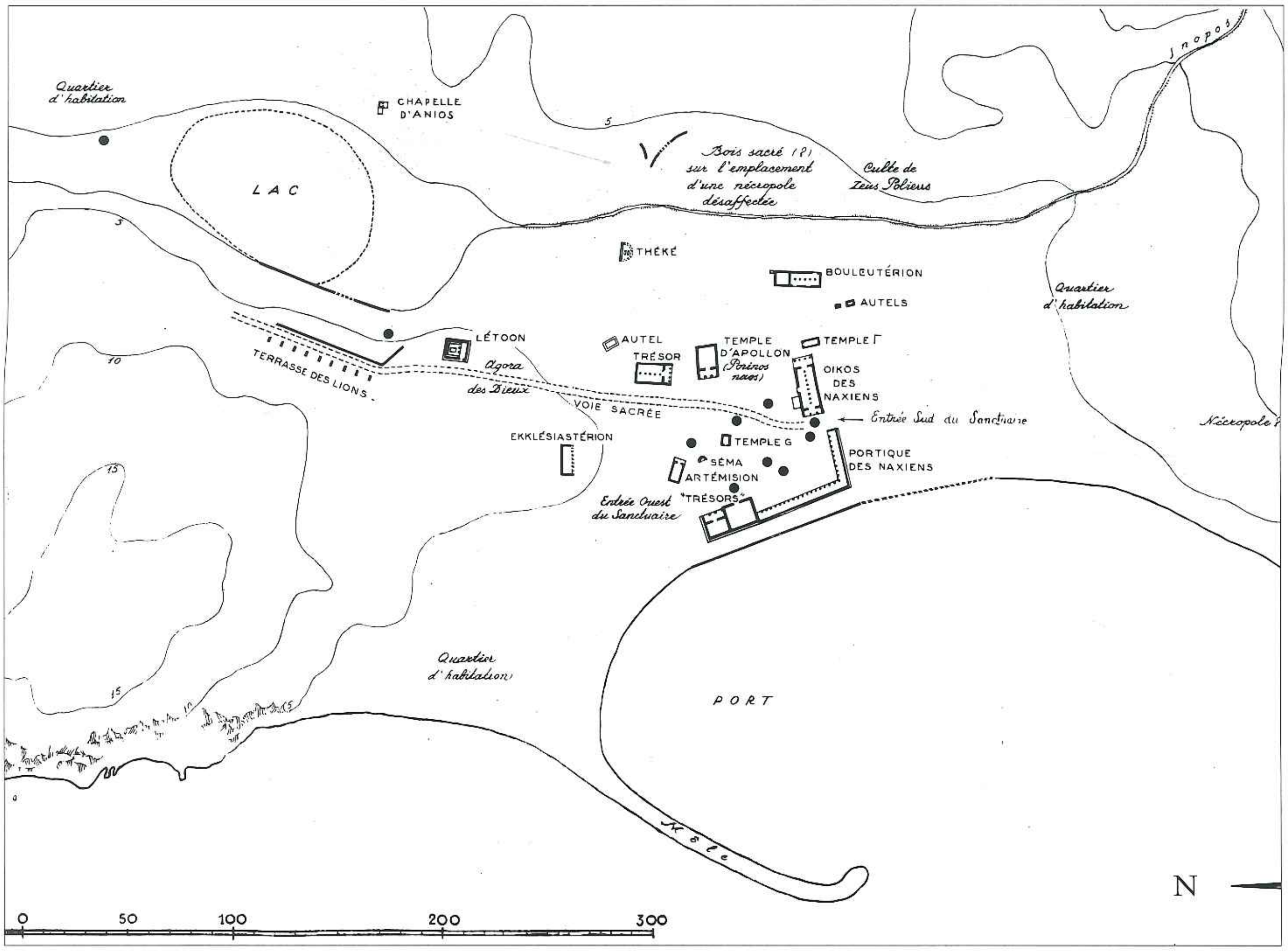
[93] Bruneau/Ducat, pp. 193f. Map II, no. 66, illus. 60; Ph. Bruneau, *BCH* 102 (1978), pp. 151f.

[94] J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 185, no. 9, pl. 24, illus. 13–14; Bruneau/Ducat, p. 62.

[95] See pp. 76f.

[96] Also Steuben 1980, p. 31, illus. 37. Similarly Gruben 1997, p. 413.

[97] For this and the earlier bibliography, see F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΔΗΛΟΣ* (1998), p. 255.


Quartier d'habitation
CHAPELLE D'ANIOS
LAC
5
3
Bois sacré (?) sur l'emplacement d'une nécropole désaffectée
Culte de Zeus Polieus
Inopos
THÉKÉ
BOULEUTÉRION
AUTELS
Quartier d'habitation
LÉTOON
AUTEL
TRÉSOR
TEMPLE D'APOLLON (Porinos naos)
TEMPLE Γ
OIKOS DES NAXIENS
10
TERRASSE DES LIONS
Agora des Dieux
VOIE SACRÉE
Entrée Sud du Sanctuaire
Nécropole ?
EKKLÉSIASTÉRION
TEMPLE G
SÉMA
ARTÉMISION
PORTIQUE DES NAXIENS
15
Entrée Ouest du Sanctuaire
"TRÉSORS"
Quartier d'habitation
15
PORT
Môle
N
0
50
100
200
300

Illus. 10. Map of archaic Delos: dots mark the spots where korai were found.

The famed colossus of Delos[98] stood in the templeless Apollo sanctuary in front of the north wall of the Naxian oikos, where its base survives to this day.[99] Steuben and Karakatsanis assume that the smaller kouroi were placed nearby.[100] This would make the grouping analogous to the presumed placement of smaller korai around the larger than life-size statue of Nikandre.

If we assume that in the archaic period the square around the Altar of the Horns,[101] which should have been near the Artemision, was the heart of the sacred precinct, it is understandable why the Naxians placed the korai as gifts to the goddess Artemis near her temple[102] and thus in the center of cult activity (illus. 10–13).

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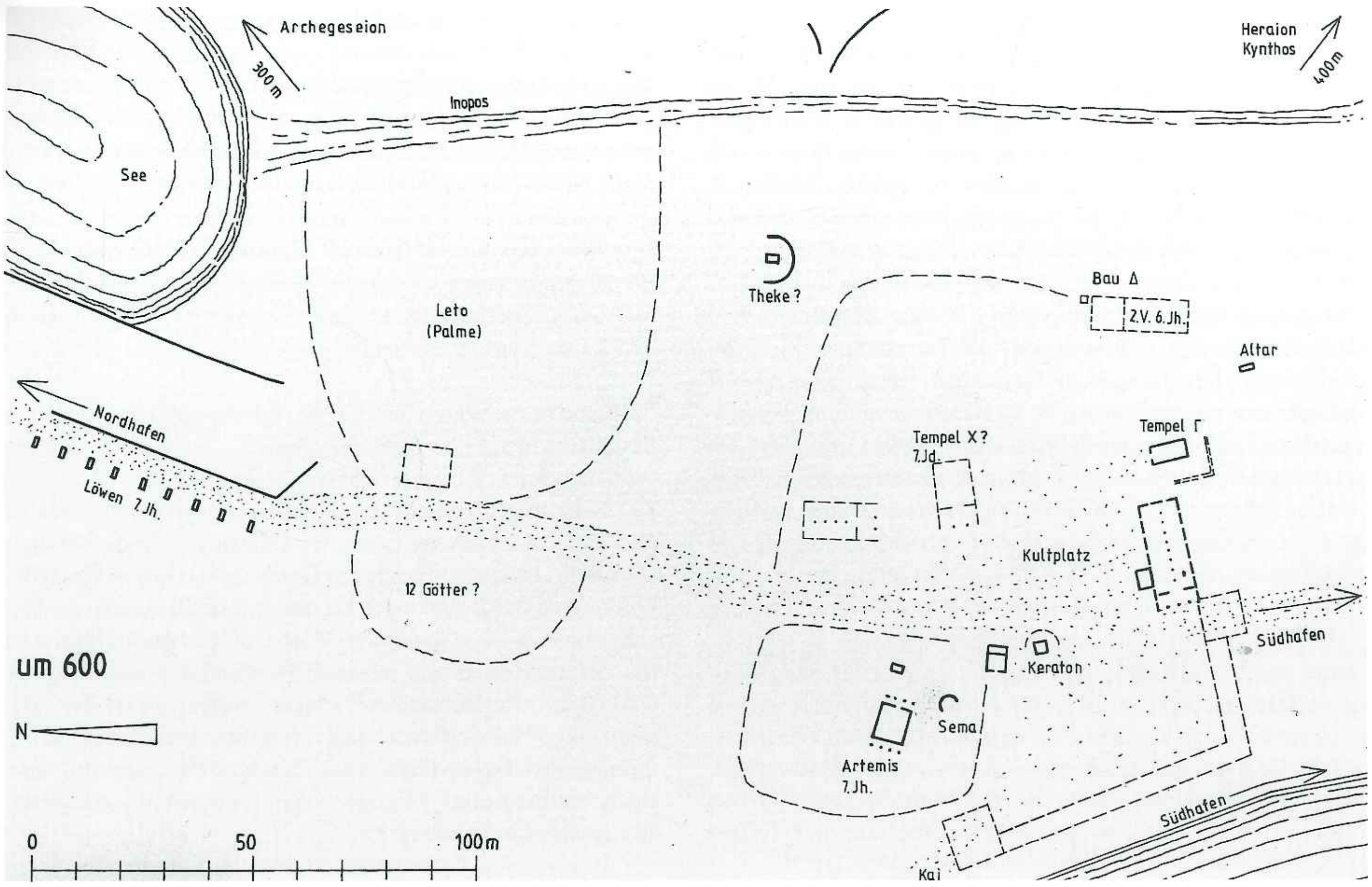
[98] Bruneau/Ducat, pp. 125ff., map I, no. 9; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 68, no. 25, K11 (A4094), pp. 129f.; Richter 1960, pp. 51f., no. 15, illus. 87–90; Fuchs/Floren, p. 152, n. 15; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 92, K14; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 87f., K18; Gruben 1997, pp. 267ff., illus. 3, 8.

[99] P. Courbin in "Ét déliennes," *BCH* suppl. 1 (1973), pp. 157ff.; Courbin 1980, pp. 29, 38. See G. Gruben, *AM* 80 (1965), p. 205 with n. 62; Gruben 1997, pp. 268ff., illus. 5.

[100] Steuben 1980, pp. 29f.; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 169f. For a listing of the Delian kouroi, see Bruneau/Ducat, pp. 56ff.; Pedley 1976, pp. 18ff.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 8ff., 32ff.; see also N. Kontoleon, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), pp. 396f. "Until the middle of the 6th century Apollo had no temple of his own." Similarly, Gruben 1997, pp. 410f; for the Naxian kouroi dedicated in Delos, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 46ff.

[101] Legend relates that the κεράτινος βωμός (Altar of the Horns) was made by Apollo himself out of the horns of goats killed by Artemis on Mount Kynthos. This was the altar around which Theseus and his companions danced the geranos (crane) dance after his return from Crete: F. Brein in *Festschrift F. K. Dörner* (1978), p. 134; O. Rubensohn, *AEphem* 1939, pp. 590ff.; Bruneau 1970, pp. 19ff.; G. Roux, *BCH* 103 (1979), pp. 128f.; G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 238f. For dance on Delos, see also F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Hephaistos* 11/12 (1992/93), pp. 100f. (translated by W. Rappl); for the Altar of the Horns, universally accepted as sacred, see K. Tsakos in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 179ff.

[102] Artemis was venerated in her old Mycenaean temple until 700: Gallet de Santerre 1958, pp. 73ff. Map A–E with the ground plan of the pre-Artemision A–C. The Artemis temple is therefore older than the earliest temple of Apollo, which was erected only around the middle of the 6th century; see also Kontoleon 1950, pp. 47f.; N. Kontoleon, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), p. 395; Gruben 1997, pp. 301ff., 308, 372ff., esp. pp. 407ff.


Archegeseion
300 m
Inopos
Heraion
Kynthos
400 m
See
Leto
(Palme)
Theke ?
Bau Δ
Z.V. 6.Jh.
Altar
Nordhafen
Löwen 7.Jh.
Tempel X ?
7.Jd.
Tempel Γ
Kultplatz
12 Götter ?
um 600
N
Südhafen
Keraton
Sema
Artemis
7.Jh.
Südhafen
Kai
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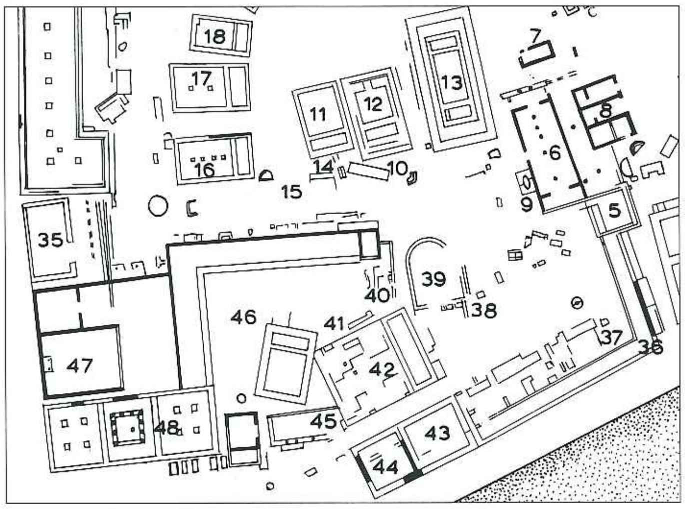
100m

Illus. 11. Delos circa 600.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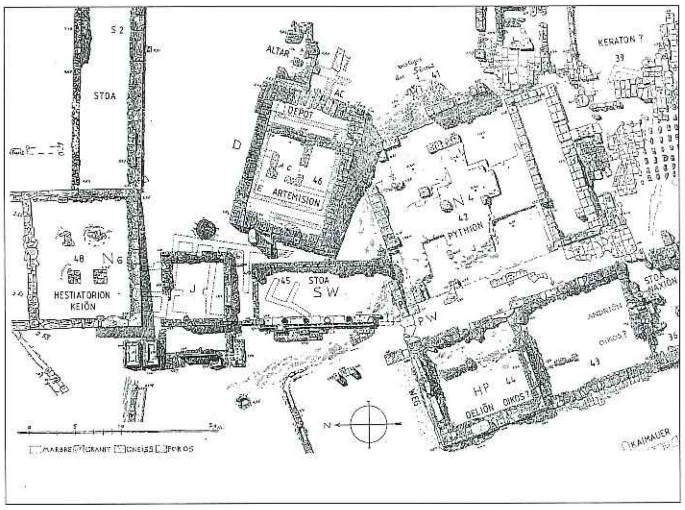
Illus. 12. Delos: Apollo sanctuary.


S2
STOA
ALTAR
DEPOT
46
ARTEMISION
D
N
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PYTHION
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HESTIATORION
KEIŌN
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STOA
SW
PW
KERATON ?
39
STOA
NAXIŌN
ANDRIŌN
OIKOS?
43
44
HP
DELIŌN
OIKOS?
N

Illus. 13. Delos circa 600: Artemis sanctuary.

Around 550 the sanctuary was enclosed to the south and along the sea to the west by a stoa presented by the Naxians.[103] Before that, at the beginning of the 6th century, they had already built the so-called Oikos in the southern part of the sanctuary, in front of which stood the colossal kouros.[104] In the space to the west of the Oikos they built up a level terrace, onto which the later stoa opened.

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[103] G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 232ff. with n. 410. See also Gallet de Santerre 1058, map E; Bruneau/Ducat, pp. 146f. Map I, no. 36; Vallois 1944f., I, p. 21; M. Ch. Hellmann/Ph. Fraisse, *Délos* XXXII (1979), pp. 89ff.

[104] For a general discussion, see Gruben 1986, p. 148. Courbin 1980, 33ff., 93, 135f., assumes that the oikos was the oldest Apollo temple, but that view has not been generally accepted; see also H. Gallet de Santerre, *BCH* 108 (1984), pp. 671ff.; D. Mertens, *Gnomon* 58 (1986), p. 433; P. Courbin, *BCH* 111 (1987), pp. 63ff.; G. Gruben, *IstMitt* 39 (1989), p. 172 with n. 29; Th. Kalpaxis, *AA* 1990, pp. 149ff. Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 102f. with n. 9, believes that the oikos and the stoa are made of Naxian marble. For the kouros, see Steuben 1980, pp. 29ff.; Bruneau/Ducat, pp. 119f. Map I, no. 6; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 170; Gruben 1997, pp. 301ff., on the oikos, pp. 308ff., on the "porinos naos," pp. 57f.

The location of the Altar of the Horns, the cult center of the sanctuary, continues to be debated.[105] Most scholars see Buildings 39 or 42 (illus. 12) as the remnants of the altar, but G. Kuhn has convincingly argued that Building 42 can hardly be related to the Altar of the Horns since it was a closed structure with a number of rooms. In that it accommodated burnt sacrifices, the altar must have stood in the open, visible to all celebrants. Moreover, Building 42 presents no traces of architecture that might be said to match descriptions of the form of the altar. Kuhn does find these in Building 39, however, which he reconstructs as the podium for the altar with a baldachin above.[106] During cult celebrations animals were slaughtered here, dances were performed, and hymns in praise of Apollo and Artemis were sung.[107] It is therefore tempting to assume that at this crucial spot the Naxians not only built the oikos and the stoa, providing celebrants with banqueting space and protection from the sun and rain,[108] but also set up the korai in front of the Artemis temple and the kouroi around the altar outside the Oikos.[109] In so doing they were able to demonstrate their wealth and influence on this religious sanctuary of such great importance to the entire Ionic world. As we read in one of the Homeric hymns to Apollo,[110] distinguished personages from all over Ionia were drawn here. The processional way originally led from the north harbor along the lion terrace to the center of the sanctuary. After 600, pilgrims reached the temenos from the south.[111]

Inscriptions

The only kore on Delos to carry an inscription is the statue presented by the Naxian woman Nikandre. It appears below the belt on the figure's left side in two lines that read from bottom to top and back again (plate 63).[112]

> Νικάνδϱη μ'ἀνέθ[η]κεν [ἐ]κηβόλ[ω]ι ἰοχέαιϱηι
> κόϱη Δεινοδίκεο[υ] το[ῦ] Ναξίο[υ] ἔξοχος ἀλ[λ]έων
> Δεινομένεος δε κασιγν[ή]τη Φϱάξου δ'ἄλοχος. μ[έ
> ὁ δείνα ἐποίεσεν]

"Nikandre dedicated me to the far-shooting maiden, the daughter of Deinodikes of Naxos, prominent among women, sister of Deinomenos, wife of Praxos."[113]

Nikandre's dedication demonstrates the fact that at this time the Naxians were in a position to flaunt their wealth and social standing on Delos with a larger than life-size statue.[114] The donor Nikandre names her most important relatives—her father, brother, and husband. Her use of the personal pronoun μέ and the related personification μ'ἀνέθηκε ("dedicated me") is an indication of her self-assurance.[115] Moreover, she identifies herself as κόϱη, daughter of Deinodikes, and ἔξοχος, "the beautiful one, the prominent one." Ἔξοχος κόϱη is apparently a superlative form of παῖς καλή.[116]

It can generally be assumed that the Samian, Attic, and Parian korai are meant to depict παίδες καλοία, or young, beautiful maidens, particularly since they do not display divine attributes. The same must apply to the Nikandre statue.[117] To the Greeks of this epoch it was apparently only natural that a figure of the Naxos woman Nikandre as ἔξοχος κόϱη be presented to the ἑκηβόλος (Artemis).[118]

If we take the statue to be a depiction of the actual Nikandre, it would seem that she, along with members of her family who are specifically named in the inscription, had an important function in the cult on Delos, just like the family of "–arches" on Samos.[119]

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[105] G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 234ff. with nn. 420–21; Ph. Bruneau, *BCH* 105 (1981), pp. 79ff.; Bruneau/Ducat, map I.

[106] Kuhn, loc. cit., pp. 235ff., illus. 18. K. Tsakos, in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 179ff., pl. 1–2, concurs.

[107] Gallet de Santerre 1958, pp. 245f.; K. Tsakos, in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 181f.

[108] Kuhn, loc. cit., pp. 240f. with n. 476.

[109] As inscriptions on the statues themselves attest, in Klaros korai were dedicated to Artemis and kouroi to Apollo. See pp. 57f.

[110] Homer, *Hymn*. III, 145–50, 147: "ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγεϱέθονται"; Thucydides III, 104, 6. See also E. Behte, *AntK* 14 (1938), p. 110. For a general discussion, see Tölle 1964, pp. 73ff.

[111] According to Gruben 1999, p. 410, after 600 processions reached the temenos from the south. In the course of their alterations, the Naxians erected the colossus at the end of the old route entering from the north; yet it also guided visitors coming from the south. A. Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Thetis* 5/6 (1999), p. 161, holds that the approach to the sanctuary was from the north through the entire archaic period.

[112] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 3 (1879), pp. 3ff., pl. 1; M. Fränkel, *AZ* 1879, pp. 85ff.; E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (1885), no. 430; Jeffery 1961, pp. 47, 291, 303, no. 2, 311, pl. 55, no. 2. According to U. Kron in Uppsala 1996, pp. 155ff., it cannot be determined whether the figure was meant to represent Artemis or Nikandre herself, but there is no question but that Nikandre was a member of one of the great aristocratic families on Naxos during the period of the island's influence on Delos. See also Gruben 1997, p. 410.

[113] Translation from W. Kraiker, *Archaische Plastik der Griechen* (1976), p. 27, n. 9.

[114] Martini 1990, pp. 104ff.

[115] Philipp 1968, pp. 22f. Such personification apparently becomes weaker in later gifts, and the personal pronoun is used for other votive offerings as well, such as tripods (Jeffery 1961, p. 260, no. 7, pl. 50; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 261f., no. 229; additional examples in Philipp 1968, pp. 103ff.; Pausanias V, 24, 3). Just how stereotypically this μέ came to be used is shown by inscriptions that have a verb form in the first person singular in one line and switch to the third person singular in the next. For the importance of Greek women as donors of buildings and works of art, see B. S. Ridgway, *AJA* 91 (1987), pp. 399ff., esp. p. 400.

[116] For παῖς καλή, see also Kontoleon 1963, p. 68, n. 2; Samos XI, p. 9; Martini 1990, p. 81.

[117] Against the interpretation of the Nikandre as Artemis, see also Schneider 1975, p. 2 with n. 20; Martini 1990, p. 106; see also F. Brommer, *JdI* 101 (1986), p. 50 with nn. 90–91.

[118] The epithet ἑκηβόλος is also attested for Apollo on the basis of a bronze statuette from Naxos in Berlin, inv. no. 7383: M. Fränkel, *AZ* 1879, p. 84; K. Neugebauer, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* I (1931), pp. 90ff., illus. 30, pl. 31; Nilsson 1955, p. 541.

[119] Samos XI, p. 9. See pp. 26, 28ff.

Such an interpretation of the Nikandre statue could possibly shed light on the colossal statue known as the Naxian Apollo.[120] If the female figure represents the aristocratic Naxos woman Nikandre, the colossal kouros could also be the likeness of a specific mortal.[121] Moreover, H. Philipp[122] explains that the use of the word Ἀνδριάς in the inscription on the Naxian "Apollo"[123] is ambiguous. According to Herodotus, it is used to name a very large statue. From the sources we see that it first refers to larger than life-size statues of people, but was subsequently used simply for male images, no matter their size.

Interpretation

Thanks to the inscription on the statue of Nikandre and the discovery of the Delian korai in the vicinity of the Artemision, we can assume that the figures were primarily gifts to the goddess Artemis,[124] who was highly venerated and shared the cult in this sanctuary with her brother, Apollo. Cult celebrations honored the two together, and splendid votive gifts were presented to both of them.[125]

Artemis was mainly worshiped as πότνια θηρῶν, mistress of animals[126] and goddess of the outdoors. In ancient tradition she not only appears as a huntress but plays together with the Nymphs, among whom she stands out as ἁγνή, an untouched virgin.[127] South of the Artemision the grave of the two Hyperborean maidens—or "Nymphs"[128]—was discovered, what Herodotus called the σῆμα of Hyperoche and Laodike;[129] this is with certainty related to the goddess, for Artemis was also venerated as a fertility goddess and goddess of marriage.[130] Like the Nymphs she stands beside women in childbirth, and is identified as κουροτρόφος.[131]

At the same time, Artemis is given the epithet Χρυσηλάκατος (goddess with the golden distaff),[132] who teaches girls to spin, at that time women's most important occupation next to weaving.[133] From epic poetry we know that in honor of Artemis χρυσηλάκατος maidens appeared as choral singers or round dancers together with the Κοῦραι Δηλιάδες,[134] who stood at the service of Apollo as Ἑκατηβελέταο θεράπναι. These had the task of maintaining the cult of both deities.[135]

The Iliad speaks of dancing maidens in the Artemis cult, and in the hymn to Aphrodite dances by "brides and virgins bringing cattle" are commended as appropriate to Artemis.[136] The significance of round dances was repeatedly emphasized, not only in religious terms but more particularly as a social institution. On such occasions young women took care to make as imposing a "showing" in public as possible.[137] In epic poetry there is frequent mention of the erotic charms of dancing girls in the cult of Artemis. In one passage we read that even Hermes was so fascinated by one of the korai that he carried her away.[138] It is easy to imagine that mortal men were no less susceptible to the erotic attraction of the dancing virgins, κοῦραι Δηλιάδες, when in their dance they sought to display certain parts of their bodies to best advantage or even bare them by cleverly grasping their chitons.[139] Just such a dance appears on fragments of an amphora from as early as the geometric period that was discovered in the Artemision.[140]

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[120] Steuben 1980, p. 13, illus. 16. 17; Fuchs/Floren, p. 152 with n. 15.

[121] The colossus from Samos is also clearly not the representation of a god. See H. Kyrieleis in Athens 1986, pp. 40ff.; idem, in Samos X, pp. 87ff. with n. 394.

[122] Philipp 1968, pp. 24, 106ff.

[123] Jeffery 1961, p. 292, no. 10.

[124] In analogy to Artemis, Apollo could well have received the kouroi as votive gifts.

[125] Gallet de Santerre 1958, pp. 239ff.; O. Rubensohn, *AA* 1931, p. 364; Rubensohn 1962, pp. 43f. with nn. 42, 45; G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 237ff. For korai and kouroi, see Bruneau/Ducat, pp. 56ff.

[126] G. Bruns, *Die Jägerin Artemis* (1929), pp. 5ff.

[127] Burkert 1977, pp. 233ff.

[128] The two pairs of Hyperborean virgins-nymphs came to Delos and brought votive gifts to the goddess Eileithyia for her assistance at the birth of the divine twins Artemis and Apollo: Z. Papadopoulou in Fos Kykladikon 1999, p. 115. For the goddess Eileithyia, see S. Pingiazoglou, *Eileithyia* (1981), pp. 11ff., esp. pp. 33ff.; Th. Hadzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (1978), pp. 150f. For the "Nymphs," see also E. Kostoglou-Despoini, *ADelt* 31 (1976), A 170ff.

[129] Herodotus IV, 34; Nilsson 1906, pp. 207ff. For σῆμα, see Ch. Picard/J. Replat, *BCH* 48 (1924), pp. 247ff. For θήκη of Opis and Arge, the second pair of Hyperborean virgins, whose grave was discovered across from the west fronts of the three Apollo temples, see *Délos* V, pp. 63ff.; O. Rubensohn, *AA* 1931, p. 363; N. Kontoleon, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), p. 397. For the connection between the Altar of the Horns and σῆμα as well as that of the virgins with the ancient cult celebrations on Delos, see Bruneau 1970, p. 26; Gallet de Santerre 1958, pp. 181 with n. 6, 186, 194f., 245 with n. 6; Bruneau/Ducat, pp. 149f., no. 41; Z. Papadopoulou in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 115ff., esp. p. 117; K. Tsakos in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 182ff.

[130] Girls dedicated dolls to her as goddess of marriage; see Wickert-Micknat 1982, R33f., illus. 3.

[131] Nilsson 1955, pp. 486ff., 492ff.; U. Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II (1959), pp. 146f. See also Th. Hadzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos* (1978), pp. 150f. As Artemis Lochia she assists women in childbed. For Artemis Lochia, see N. D. Papachatzis, *ADelt* 33 (1978), pp. 10ff. Also on the mainland, in the present-day city of Achinos, near Lamia (the ancient Echinos), not far from Thermopylae, a costly and elaborate votive relief dating from c. 300 B.C. was discovered that depicts a young mother making an offering of thanks to Artemis Lochia on the occasion of the birth of her child: F. Dakoronia/L. Gounaropoulou, *AM* 107 (1992), pp. 217ff.

[132] *Iliad* XVI, 183, Homer, *Hymn.* XXVII; Wickert-Micknat 1982, R29, R34.

[133] Wickert-Micknat 1982, R39 with n. 167: "The distaff here becomes the attribute of the lady of the house, symbol of her skill and adornment to her person" (*Odyssey* IV, 121–36); R115 with n. 674.

[134] Homer, *Hymn.* III, 156–76; Wickert-Micknat 1982, R23. Considerable evidence of choral singers in Delos is collected in Rubensohn 1962, p. 50 with nn. 52–53; for extensive discussion, see Z. Papadopoulou in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 114ff.

[135] In the Homeric hymn to Apollo (III, 146–47) they are extolled as μέγα θαῦμα (great marvel), for with their hymns to Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, and especially their ability to imitate all manner of voices (III, 162–164: πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὺν / μιμεῖσθ' ἴσασιν.), that is, all dialects, they so enchanted visitors to Delos from the entire Ionic world that each one was convinced he had been singing himself. They therefore not only played a very important role in cult activities during festivals, but their songs symbolized the common interest of the many different peoples who came to the Delos sanctuary. For an extensive discussion of music and choruses in Delian myths and of cult festivities on the island, see Z. Papadopoulou in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 121ff. See also E. Kostoglou-Despoini, *ADelt* 31 (1976), A171 with nn. 27, 34.

[136] *Iliad* XVI, 181–83; Wickert-Micknat 1982, R23.

[137] For the public appearances of upper-class women, see Athenaios 12, 521C. See also Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, p. 108. See, for example, pp. 29f. above.

Women participating in cult festivals wore especially beautiful garments[141] and elaborate hairstyles.[142] The statues of korai from Delos present just such a picture, with their richly draped chitons and abundant necklaces, earrings, and ornaments in their hair.[143] The Ionians lavished their wealth on gifts of korai to this most prestigious religious site.[144] And with them they provided enduring images of how their young women actually looked on specific occasions.[145] Beautiful women, both in real life and in the form of statues, were symbolic of the aristocrats' superiority.[146]

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[138] Wickert-Micknat 1982, R30, XVI, pp. 179f.

[139] Sappho, fr. 61D; *Odyssey* VI, 101, 109. For more detail, see Schneider 1975, pp. 29f. For the dance motif, see pp. 29f. with nn. 239, 257; see pp. 50f. with n. 211.

[140] C. Dugas/K. Rhomaios, *Délos* XV, p. 87, no. 6, pl. 43, 56. For additional examples with depictions of women performing round dances, see M. Wegner, "Musik und Tanz," *ArchHom* III (1968), U49ff., cat. no. 115; Tölle 1964, p. 52, no. 131.

[141] "Trailing chitons of the Ionians—ἑλκεχίτωνες": *Iliad* XIII, 685; see Schneider 1975, pp. 5f.

[142] Also in the Homeric hymn to Demeter, II, V1–2, the young women are described as having beautiful hair and slender ankles; see also Schneider 1975, pp. 19ff.

[143] Kore NM22, for example, or the kore head A4945.

[144] Thucydides III, 104, 6; Homer, *Hymn.* III, 146ff. Even foreigners brought sacrificial animals to festivals on Delos, the king of Sidon for example; see Nilsson 1906, p. 145 with n. 4; Rubensohn 1962, p. 47.

[145] Deubner 1969, pp. 203f. "The Delian festival embassy came regularly from Athens in the month of Hieros (=Anthesterion) to Delos, to take part in the celebration of the Apollonia."

[146] Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, p. 108.

Naxos

Aside from the statue of Nikandre, it is problematic to place the korai found on Delos within the artistic tradition of Naxos, for there are no known signatures of Naxian sculptors from Delos[1] that can be definitely linked to korai statues. Also, there are no examples from the island of Naxos itself to compare them to; with the exception of a single fragmentary kore (plate 74),[2] no female statues have as yet been discovered there. The surviving height of the fragment, which shows the kore's lower legs, is 39.5 cm, indicating that the original statue was life-size. The fragment was discovered in the sanctuary of Kaminaki, which lies on a knoll on the steep coast roughly a kilometer north of the city of Naxos. According to the excavators, the sanctuary was presumably consecrated to the goddess Eileithyia. But because of its exposed position and its orientation toward the Apollo sanctuary on Delos it could also have been a Delion.[3]

Because of this kore fragment's similarity to a number of the Akropolis korai,[4] W. Lambrinudakis dates it to the period around 525. Although the maiden is depicted in the familiar Samian manner,[5] with the right leg placed forward instead of the left,[6] his comparisons are altogether apt. In the rendering of the folds and the transparency of her garment, which clings closely to her legs, it is indeed possible to see correspondences with korai from the Akropolis, for example 682, 594, and 598 (plates 146–47, 252; 181–83, 273; 156–75).[7]

Unfortunately, the kore cannot be used as a comparison with other statues attributed to Naxian workshops, owing to its fragmentary condition.[8]

Another find from Naxos, an as yet unpublished small kore head, comes from the sanctuary of Demeter at Sangri. It is smaller than life-size and is said to date from the last quarter of the 6th century.[9]

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[1] Only a few artists' signatures survive on Delos related to kouroi. The name Νησστι[άδ]ης in the Naxian alphabet, incised on the belt of a Daedalic statue fragment, Delos museum A2462, may be the oldest surviving inscription by a Greek sculptor. Jeffery 1961, p. 292, no. 9; N. Kontoleon, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), p. 398; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 70f., 82, K8, with extensive bibliography. According to Gruben 1997, pp. 282ff., 414, illus. 12a–d, the name Nesstiades does not necessarily imply that this is a new Naxian sculptor. The name of the sculptor Euthykartides from Naxos is also found in the inscription on a base with the feet of a kouros, Delos museum A728. For him, and for a suggested reconstruction of the lower body of a kouros belonging to the base, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 70, 83ff., K12, K12a, pl. 18, illus. 24–27. Also for Euthykratides: Fuchs/Floren, pp. 151ff. with n. 19; Ph. Jockey in *Sculptures déliennes* (1996), p. 40; Gruben 1997, pp. 285f., illus. 11. We know the name Euerges from Pausanias V, 10, 3; see Jeffery 1961, pp. 211, 304, 415, no. 3, pl. 55; Steuben 1980, pp. 29f. The name of one additional artist from Naxos, Leukarion, is inscribed on a round capital from the 6th century that was reused as the base for a tomb monument for Theolistes: Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 47, 57, 125, K106.

[2] Naxos museum no. 62. W. Lambrinudakis in Athens 1986, pp. 109, 114, pl. 46, 1. See also Ch. Karousos/N. Kontoleon, *Prakt* 1937, p. 119, illus. 6, 7. Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 99f., K53, identifies the kore fragment as a stray find from Kaminaki (Lakkoi, north of the island's capital).

[3] G. Gruben, *AA* 1972, p. 363 with n. 95; idem, *AA* 1982, p. 165. For a general discussion of Delia, see Rubensohn 1962, pp. 39ff. We know of a total of 22 Delia. For the Kaminaki shrine, see A. Ohnesorg, *Inselionische Marmordächer* (1993), p. 76.

[4] Richter 1968, Akr. 598, illus. 358–61, Akr. 672, illus. 373–76, Akr. 681 (Antenor kore), illus. 336–40.

[5] Samos XI, pp. 127ff.

[6] This arrangement does appear, though rarely, in the later Akropolis korai, as for example Akr. 672.

[7] This view is shared by Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 100, although she would prefer to date the Naxos kore to near the end of the 6th century.

[8] A comprehensive discussion of Naxos's sculpture workshops based on the evidence of kouroi can be found in Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 68ff.

[9] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 100, K55, Naxos museum no. 78; see also N. Kontoleon, *Prakt* 1954, pp. 353f.

Andros

The kore from Andros (plates 75, 228–29), now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, is also difficult to fit into a specific artistic landscape, though some scholars, most notably E. Langlotz, identify it as a work from Naxos.[1] The kore can be ascribed only in a general way to the art of the Cyclades in the waning 6th century, notably represented by the group of Parian korai with short diagonal himatia. The Andros kore also wears a himation over her chiton, its heavy folds falling from the right shoulder and ending in a zigzag hem. Even the rendering of these folds seems less organic than that seen on Parian korai, more "graphic." Body and clothing are not as unified as in the Parian korai, where the forms of the drapery are clearly dependent on the movement of the body beneath. The thin chiton clings to the legs, and the folds from where it is grasped logically radiate outward from a single point. The body forms in the Andros kore seem far less three dimensional, and its clothing appears as though it were added arbitrarily, almost like some foreign element. This is particularly evident on the back, where the folds from the grasping are suggested by only a few lines (plates 75b, 229). On the front, the transition between chiton and himation is sharp-edged and unnatural. The whole figure seems dry and rough, its forms isolated. Clearly, the artist who carved the Andros kore failed to understand how to render convincingly the unit of body and drapery.[2] For this reason the kore must be considered a provincial work, with no evidence of typical Naxian or Parian stylistic features.[3]

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[1] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek no. 1544. Langlotz 1927, p. 126, no. 11; Richter 1968, p. 89, no. 152, illus. 487–90; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 52f.: "This attribution is based mainly on the hard, linear, broad-surface treatment of the drapery and the cubist construction of the figure, features that have also been noted on contemporary Naxian kouroi from the last quarter of the 6th century." For the kouroi: ibid., pp. 35f.; Johansen 1994, pp. 56ff., no. 13. The kore was acquired in Athens in 1896, and is known to come from a building in Batsi, on Andros, where it had been used as part of the masonry in a wall. See Th. Sancius, *Andros* (1914), p. 37.

[2] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 53, believes that the Andros kore is "far removed in its overall appearance" from the Parian korai from the last quarter of the 6th century. The Paros kore in the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the one in the Delos museum are much deeper in their modeling than the Andrian one. The artist probably had in mind korai ornamented with metal inserts at the ends of their locks of hair, such as the korai A4064, A4068, und NM22 from Delos. Similarly Ridgway 1977, p. 100 with n. 17. See pp. 68f., 82f., 86f.

[3] Johansen 1994, p. 56, describes the kore as a local product.

Thera

A kore from Thera (plate 76) displays a distinctly Naxian style[1] dating from the last quarter of the 7th century and was initially treated as a kore,[2] but some scholars now identify it as a kouros.[3] The upper part of the statue, which is all that survives of the life-size figure, is badly weathered and partly broken, so that the sex of the statue cannot be determined with certainty. In my opinion, the shape of the breast and the side and back views suggest a kore, as they do not conform to contemporary figures of young men.[4] N. Kontoleon suspects that the kore was a funerary statue; however, owing to the uncertainty about where it was found, this must remain an open question.[5]

Also from Thera is a weathered life-size kore head[6] whose round face is ringed by a mass of hair parted in the center. The forehead is oval in form like that of the "ex-Knidian" kore, for which reason F. Hiller von Gaertringen dates the kore to the end of the 6th century, and thinks she shows a Parian influence.[7] G. Kokkorou-Alewras concurs with this dating, noting the relationship between this head from Thera and the karyatid from the Siphnian treasury, especially in the rendering of the mouth and lips, and in the structure of the eyes with the Akropolis kore 678. Nevertheless, despite its rounded face, reminiscent of the Parian kouros in the Louvre,[8] she argues that it has nothing in common with Parian style, though the artist who carved it was influenced by the sculptor who produced the kouros in the Louvre.[9] She sees the kore as a local work, but one that in its badly weathered state permits us to draw no more detailed conclusions about the art of Thera.[10] Perhaps, after the publication of the colossal kore recently discovered near Sellada (plate 76),[11] it will be possible to come up with new arguments toward an evaluation of the sculpture of Thera in the archaic period.

The kore head and other votive gifts were discovered in the foundations of dwellings in the vicinity of the agora, above the stoa. The site of its discovery suggests it may have been an offering to Athena, for in all probability there was a temple to Athena Polias on the Agora.[12]

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[1] Based on the style and material of the statues from Thera or the "Thera group," whose relationship to the Naxian workshop is generally recognized, the Thera kore is discussed here as Naxian in style. For the Thera group, see N. Kontoleon, *AM* 73 (1958), pp. 117ff., esp. pp. 121ff.; for Naxian-Daedalic features and the works from Thera: Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 11, 48ff.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 68ff. For the relationship between artists from the two islands, see also Karakatsanis 1986, p. 175.

[2] Thera museum no. 318. N. Kontoleon, *AM* 73 (1958), pp. 117ff., esp. p. 137, appendix 81, 82,1–2, 89,1; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 6ff., 11, 48, 88, K5; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 37, 69f., 83, K9, pl. 16 (c. 620); Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 61f., 161f., 165f. The kore belongs to a group of five larger than life-size kouroi made of Naxian marble about 600 and closely related to each other. See N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1939–41, pp. 1ff., illus. 1–14; N. Kontoleon, *AM* 73 (1958), pp. 117ff., Kouroi A, B, C, D, appendix 85–92; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 176f. with n. 5. Kouroi inv. nos. 306–8, 310, 317; Martini 1990, p. 116.

[3] Fuchs/Floren, p. 177 with n. 5; Martini 1990, pp. 116, 212.

[4] The kore's upper body has none of the musculature around the chest seen on kouroi, and on the back there is no indication of the spine as on Therian kouroi, for example nos. 307 (A) and 306 (B). For the kouroi, see N. Kontoleon, *AM* 73 (1958), appendix 82,2 and 85,2, 89,1–2; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 83, pl. 15–17.

[5] Kontoleon, loc. cit., p. 117. For a sepulchral statue, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 47, 53 with n. 80. For the presumed original location of display, the necropolis at Cape Exomyti: H. Dragendorff, *Thera* II (1903), pp. 271ff. The kouros NM8, which comes from Cape Exomyti, has been interpreted as a funerary kouros; see I. Trianti in Fos Kykladikon 1999, p. 194.

[6] Thera museum inv. no. 25. Surviving height 45 cm. Thera III, pp. 58ff., illus. 44a–c; N. Kontoleon, *AM* 73 (1958), p. 127 with n. 46; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 50.

[7] Thera III, p. 60.

[8] Richter 1960, p. 107, no. 116, illus. 356–58.

[9] Kokkorou-Alewras in Fos Kykladikon 1999, p. 260.

[10] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 50. According to N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1939–41, p. 21 with n. 5, Thera did not have a sculpture tradition of its own, but was instead dependent on Naxos. For an extensive discussion, see N. Kontoleon, *AM* 73 (1958), pp. 117ff.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 48ff., 70f., 88ff., cat. nos. K4–K9.

[11] This roughly 2.30-m-tall kore, provisionally dated to the middle of the 7th century, is quite well preserved. For additional fragments of kouroi from Sellada, see I. Trianti in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 190ff., illus. 1–9α δ, pl. 1. Trianti has also recognized that the right-leg fragment NM5295 belongs to the kouros NM8 in the National Museum in Athens, found on Thera in 1830.

[12] Thera III, pp. 58f. See also *RE* V A2 (1934), 2288ff., s.v. "Thera" (Hiller). For Thera and a new general map of the island including its necropolises and the ancient road up from the harbor, see W. Hoepfner, *Das dorische Thera* V (1997), pp. 9ff., esp. p. 13, map 1. For the agora, see Ch. Witschel, ibid., pp. 31ff.

Paros

Dating

The oldest of the korai discovered in Paros dates from the middle of the 6th century (table 7.1).[1] There are fewer korai than kouroi.[2]

In addition to the korai discovered on Paros, we need to add a second group from Delos that scholars are generally agreed are of Parian origin.[3] Only since the 1960s have we known of three korai belonging to the early phase shortly before or around the middle of the 6th century,[4] whereas the examples previously known were mostly produced somewhat later.[5] N. Zapheiropoulos places the older korai in the middle of the 6th century and assumes that one of them, the kore from Hagios Ioannis, no. 163, is older than the other two, one from Naoussa, no. 802, and the other from Antiparos, no. 791.[6] The small kore no. 163 (plate 77) is missing the head and is preserved only from the waist up. The arm, which has been broken off, presumably extended forward, while the left hand grasped the chiton to the side. The belted chiton forms a kolpos that exposes an opening in front and forms an arch in the back, showing the so-called little window. N. Zapheiropoulos compares this specific formation of the belt area (plate 77a) with the kore M2 from Miletus, Berlin no. 1898: (plate 37) dating from around 575–50. He thinks that the Parian kore presents greater movement in the rendering of her drapery.[7] Apparently the head was also turned slightly to the right, as evidenced by the unequal distances between the hair and the shoulders on the back.[8] The modeling of the hair, with deep grooves in a broad surface, is rarely met with, and can be compared with heads from the Heraion on Samos that were carved in roughly 530.[9] The kore from Hagios Ioannis must therefore date from no earlier than the middle of the 6th century.

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[1] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 194ff.; Richter 1968, p. 89, no. 150.

[2] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 93ff., nn. 1–5. Our knowledge of archaic Parian sculpture is based mainly on a group of kouroi found on Paros. This group is enriched by finds from Thasos, and together with a group from Delos that is now considered to be Parian, it pushes the chronology of Parian sculpture back to the first decade of the 6th century. See also Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 175, nn. 539–40, with a listing of the 12 kouroi found on Paros, of which only 3 have been published. Two of the unpublished ones (A157 from the third quarter of the 6th century and A1282 from the end of the 6th century) are reproduced for the first time in F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΠΑΡΟΣ* (1998), pp. 38ff., illus. 35–36. See also Y. Kourayos/S. Detoratou in *Discovering Archaeology* (July/August 1999), pp. 79f., illus. of the kouros A1282 and the base that probably belonged to it. In addition, there is another unfinished kouros that was given to the museum by residents and is now in its storerooms.

[3] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 94, 103, n. 7; E. Buschor, *AM* 54 (1929), p. 152. Delos inv. A4063, A4064, A4067, A4068, NM22, see table 6.3. In the older literature it was customary to assume that this group originated on Chios, as in H. Lechat, "La sculpture attique avant Phidias," *BEFAR* 92 (1904), p. 181. Pedley 1976, p. 44, also argues against a Parian origin, but does not suggest any other assignment. Of the Akropolis korai, no. 1360 is unanimously ascribed to Paros: Langlotz 1939, p. 71, no. 29, pl. 41; Payne/Young, pl. 45. For other examples of presumed Parian korai, see Langlotz 1939, p. 34, n. 31.

[4] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 93ff., no. 791 (from Antiparos), pl. 35; no. 802 (from Naoussa), pl. 36f.; no. 163 (from Hagios Ioannis), pl. 38; see also F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΠΑΡΟΣ* (1998), pp. 58f., illus. 59, 60, with color illustrations of the two Paros museum korai nos. 791 and 808.

[5] Kore NY 07.306. G. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures* (1954), p. 4, pl. VIII (with additional bibliography); Richter 1968, p. 89, no. 151, illus. 483–86.

[6] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 97ff.; Martini 1990, pp. 155, 214; for the "little window," see J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 82 (1982), p. 190.

[7] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 98. On kore 163 he notes flat folds of the chiton below the so-called little window. Curving center folds like these first appear on the korai of the Geneleos Group, c. 560/50. There they are not yet edged with deep grooves on either side, as on the kore M11 from Miletus (Berlin 175; pl. 46), c. 530, on which the center folds run down from the waist as a separate gathering. The same edged gathering of folds is seen on the Samos korai no. 20 (pl. 19; Samos XI, pl. 11), c. 540, and no. 16 (pl. 14; Samos XI, pl. 9), c. 550, and also on a relief from Miletus (Richter 1968, no. 166, illus. 531 [550–25]; Blümel 1964, no. 46, illus. 128 [c. 550]). N. Zapheiropoulos assumes an earlier dating for the kore M11, namely c. 550/40; however, in my opinion it was produced later, in roughly 530–500. Although it is my feeling that it is incorrect to use the curving center folds as a dating criterion for the kore no. 163, I agree with Zapheiropoulos's dating to the middle of the 6th century, for in addition there are the wavelike nubbly locks, which to judge from the Lyon kore, Akr. 269 (Richter 1968, no. 89, pp. 275–81), appear only after the middle of the 6th century. For the Lyon kore, see W. Darsow, *MdI* 1951, pp. 85ff., esp. pp. 96ff., pl. 21.

The Naoussa kore (plate 79), which is preserved down to the knees, is missing her head; her right arm, which hung down, is broken, and her left hand lies on her breast. She also wears a belted chiton whose kolpos, front and back, presents the so-called little window and forms a semicircular arch on either side. Zapheiropoulos places the Naoussa kore and the Antiparos kore (plate 78) in the same period as the Kyrene kore II (plates 98–99), namely around 560/50 or 550/40.[10] In his opinion the Naoussa kore gives the impression that it is slightly younger, for it has a more highly developed elasticity determined by the body itself, not the drapery. This is visible in the rounding of the back and buttocks (plate 79).[11] At the same time, the drapery is not subordinated to the forms of the body but remains independent, in that it enfolds the upper body with a certain softness and airiness but lies close to the lower body so that the legs remain visible beneath the thinner fabric. This is emphasized by the meander borders on either side (plates 79c–d). Overall, the function of the separate body parts is readily apparent.

The Antiparos kore (plate 78), of which again only the upper body survives, is missing the right arm, and she holds her left hand beneath her breast. According to Zapheiropoulos she is somewhat younger than the Naoussa kore because of her softer modeling. He assumes that both, along with the kore from Hagios Ioannis, were created in the decade 550/40. In my view, this later dating of the Antiparos kore is difficult to accept. If one looks at the rendering of the folds and the treatment of the hair, the Antiparos kore and the kore from Hagios Ioannis appear to go together and date from around the middle of the century, whereas the Naoussa kore displays a more highly developed style and must therefore have been created later.

In the subtle rendering of the rounded upper body and the slender lower body of this kore, I find a first step toward the later Parian korai, from around 530, in New York and Malibu (plates 80–83),[12] in which this contrast is most clearly shown. The unpublished korai fragments in the Paros museum (plate 84) would appear to date from the same period.[13]

Size

Based on the reconstructed dimensions of the Parian korai, we come up with the following scheme (table 7.2):[14]

larger than life-size	–
life-size	5
smaller than life-size	1
larger statuettes	–
smaller statuettes	1

One notes that the early korai, beginning around 550, are smaller than life-size and smaller statuettes. Later ones, beginning in 530, by contrast, are life-size; moreover, their garments are elaborately adorned.

We know that Lygdamis became the ruler of Naxos, with the help of the tyrant Peisistratos from Athens, around 540,[15] and that during his reign the island enjoyed great power and influence. It is very likely that he extended his power over the neighboring islands of Paros and Tinos as well.[16] G. Gruben has even suggested that the tyrant Lygdamis built monumental structures on Paros.[17]

If we consider the sizes of these korai in the light of this historical background, it appears that shortly before Lygdamis's reign on Naxos the first korai were still smaller than life-size, but in the later years of his reign they took on a life-size format.

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[8] According to N. Zapheiropoulos, all three korai reveal a slight movement, the Naoussa kore no. 802 and the Hagios Ioannis kore no. 163 to the right, the Antiparos kore no. 791 to the left; for hidden movement, see p. 25, n. 180.

[9] See p. 86 with n. 55.

[10] G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 45f., compares the Kyrene kore I with the Cheramyes kore, c. 570, the Kyrene kore II with the Philippe of Geneleos, c. 560/50. N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 98ff., n. 33, accepts these comparisons, but he proposes a later dating of c. 550/40 for the Naoussa and Kyrene korai because of the possibility of comparison with the kore M4 from Miletus (pl. 40–41; Berlin 1791), which he places in c. 550/40, but which I prefer to date to c. 570/50.

[11] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 95f. The Naoussa kore displays a similar three-dimensionality, with round, swelling forms, as the Parian kouroi. For the kouroi, see Martini 1990, pp. 214f.

[12] NY 07.306: Herdejürgen 1968, p. 54; Richter 1968, no. 151, illus. 483–86; Martini 1990, p. 156; *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 22 (1994), p. 59, no. 1: 93.AA.24.

[13] Paros Museum nos. 719 and 166. For kore no. 719: Fuchs/Floren, p. 167 with n. 49 (Athens Inst. Neg. Paros 331). I am indebted to F. Zapheiropoulou for the photograph of the second lower-body fragment and permission to reproduce it.

[14] After examining the lower-body fragments in the Paros museum, nos. 719 and 166, for which dimensions are lacking, I estimate that they were life-size.

[15] Herodotus I, 61 and 64; also Berve 1967, pp. 78f., 564f.; for agriculture and the export of marble as the foundations of the island's prosperity, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 38f.

[16] G. Gruben, *MüJb* 23 (1972), pp. 7f., 9ff.

[17] G. Gruben, *AA* 1972, p. 369; see also Kalpaxis 1986, p. 78. However, G. Gruben soon abandoned this thesis: idem, *AA* 1982, p. 229: "The suggestion based on these similarities offered in the third report (*AA* 1972), p. 369, that both temples (owing to the similar architectural details such as the ornaments on the door and in the structural area of the hill temple A in Paroikia on Paros and the Apollo temple of Naxos) are also to be attributed to this same builder Lygdamis of Naxos, loses all justification in view of the differences. And with it a point of reference for a historical dating is lost." Moreover, there is no proof in the literary sources that Lygdamis ruled over the island of Paros. See Rubensohn 1949, p. 1812.

Ornament

Because of the fragmentary condition of the Parian korai any conclusions about their ornament are based on indirect sources. Even though none of the korai was found with its head, there are indications that their hair was ornamented. On the back of the Antiparos kore there is a broad vertical band covering the strands of hair in the center (plate 78b). Perhaps this was a strip of fabric falling down, untied, from a stephane or the two ends of a taenia[18] lying one above the other, as on the kouros from Chaeronea,[19] or side by side as on the sphinx head in Mariemont.[20] A similar broad band adorns the hair of the kore in New York, 07.306 (plate 80b). This hair ornament could be a peculiarity of the Parian workshops. The korai surely wore earrings as well, as does the head no. 164 from a Parian sphinx that has drilled earlobes.[21] Only on the Antiparos kore can we see traces of a necklace (plate 78a).

The kore in Malibu has a special decoration on the chiton. The heavy vertical fold that falls from the right arm is adorned with five relief rosettes (plate 82a).[22] This motif also shows that Parian artists attempted to reproduce fabric and its designs as realistically as possible. The purpose of a row of drill holes on the lower-body fragment of kore no. 719 (plate 84b), along the waist at the back, cannot be explained with certainty until the figure is published.

Marble and Artists

"Parian and Naxian marbles were exported for architectural ornaments and sculptures as early as the 6th century."[23] Parian marble especially, owing to its superb quality, "snow-white and of great purity,"[24] was preferred by many Greek sculptors in antiquity.[25] Its ancient name "lychnites"[26] is said to derive from λύχνος, the name for the lamp by the light of which blocks of stone were brought up out of the underground quarries of the so-called Nymph Grottoes. These are found in the northeast part of the island, roughly 5.5 kilometers from the harbor of Paroikia, near the village of Hagioi Anargyroi, or Marathi. Other marble quarries can be seen halfway between Paroikia and Hagios Minas, also in the north in the area between Hagios Minas and the great bay of Naoussa, and near Pounda on the west side of the island.[27] White to light gray marble was also quarried on Mount Marpessa.[28]

G. Rösch[29] speaks of an enormous export of raw material and a resulting upswing in the retrieval of marble. In this context he also mentions the technique of piecing,[30] that is, carving portions of statues separately, the arms and braids of korai, for example. Such piecing is frequently seen in the Akropolis korai.[31] It appears that sculptors in Athens were particularly fond of using the expensive lychnites to emphasize the gleaming, almost ivory shade of the korai's arms, just as they are celebrated in the Homeric hymns.[32] Trade in these smaller pieces of marble brought the Parians additional profits.[33] Given the outstanding quality of Parian marble, it is not surprising that a large number of korai in a number of places were carved from this material.[34] Inscriptions tell us that Parian artists were active not only on the island itself but also in other centers,[35] where it seems they were able to adapt their sculptural skills to local artistic tastes.[36] The famous Parian Aristion,[37] for example, created the tomb statue of Phrasikleia in Attica, while Charopinos produced the votive statues dedicated by his sons in Delphi, and Kritonides worked on the Peloponnese.[38]

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[18] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 96. For a painted taenia that the Parian kouros head (c. 550) in the A. Iolas collection is said to have had, see Steuben 1980, p. 9, illus. 6–9. A similar taenia is worn by the Endoios Athena, Akr. 625: Langlotz 1939, p. 110, no. 60, pl. 85; for a general discussion of the hairstyles of the Parian korai, see Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 185ff.

[19] E. Buschor, *Frühgriechische Jünglinge* (1950), p. 140, illus. 160.

[20] G. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (1961), p. 18, illus. 61.

[21] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 105, pl. 39. Surviving height 0.16 m (c. 530/20).

[22] Whether this particular ornamentation of the garment has to do with a change in fashion is impossible to say. It could be that this decoration reflects an actual ornament on girls' clothing.

[23] G. Gruben, *MüJb* 23 (1972), p. 17 with n. 3; Kontoleon 1970, pp. 57ff.; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 202f., nn. 698f.; Steuben 1980, p. 32; Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, pp. 101ff., 121f. with nn. 9–13. See also A. Ohnesorg, *Inselionische Marmordächer* (1993), pp. 37ff., 135.

[24] G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien* (1890), p. 46.

[25] Lepsius, loc. cit., pp. 42ff.; G. Rösch, *Altertümliche Marmorwerke von Paros* (1914); G. Renfrew/J. S. Peacey, *BSA* 63 (1968), pp. 52, 65, illus. 1; A. Dworakowska, *QAG* 1975, p. 172; Fuchs/Floren, p. 161. For the history of Parian marble in general and its use in sculpture, see N. Aliprantis, *Το πάϱιο Μάϱμαϱο στην Ιστοϱία και στην Τέχνη* (1996). For the marble quarries, see also Y. Kourayos/S. Detoratou in *Discovering Archaeology* (July/August 1999), pp. 77ff. For parian marble in general, see *Paria Lithos: Parian Quarries, Marble and Workshops of Sculpture: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Paros 2–5 October 1997*, D. U. Schilardi and D. Katsonopoulou, eds. (Athens, 2000).

[26] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36, 14; Strabo X, 487; G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien* (1890), p. 45; J. P. Beazley, *JHS* 60 (1940), p. 37 with n. 21 proposes that the name comes from the archaic lamps made from this material. Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 121 with nn. 66–68, suggests that it was not the marble's transparency that gave it the name, but the lamps used in quarrying it. For a general discussion, see I. Papageorgakis, Τά εἰς τήν μαϱμαϱική Τέχνη χρήσιμα πετϱώματα τῆς 'Ελλάδος in *Annales géoloqiques des pays helléniques* 18 (1977), pp. 219ff.

[27] O. Rubensohn, *AM* 25 (1900), p. 364, n. 1, mentions, in addition to the marble quarries named above, one with very fine-grained white marble that he discovered himself near the village of Kostou.

[28] G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien* (1890), pp. 50f.; *RE* XVIII 4 (1949), 1781ff., s.v. "Paros" (Rubensohn) (1839 map of the city of Paros and vicinity; 1855f., Nymphs' Grotto); A. Phillipson, *Die griechischen Landschaften* IV (1959), p. 121; G. Renfrew/J. S. Peacey, *BSA* 63 (1968), p. 65, illus. 1 (map of Paros); Dworakowska 1971, pp. 83ff., n. 61, illus. 6, 16; Dworakowska 1977, p. 13, n. 130; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΠΑΡΟΣ* (1998), pp. 10ff. with illus. 7, 8.

[29] G. Rösch, *Altertümliche Marmorwerke von Paros* (1914), pp. 22ff.

[30] Rubensohn 1962, p. 55, n. 62, pl. 7. Even small sculptures on Paros show the use of piecing. The technique was also known in Miletus, not however on Samos: Samos XI, pp. 44, n. 153; 112, n. 31. For a full discussion, see A. Hermary, *BCH* 122 (1998), pp. 53ff.

[31] Rösch, loc. cit., pp. 22f., notes 31 korai with arms pieced on.

[32] In the *Odyssey* XVIII, 196, Penelope's beauty is especially praised with the words "whiter than sawn ivory." Discussed at length in Wickert-Micknat 1982, p. 121.

[33] Kontoleon 1970, p. 62, n. 9. Marble products not only on Paros but throughout the entire Greek world attest that trade in marble was

On the island itself there is an inscription preserved with the signature of the artist Klenis, which also gives the names of the donor Polyaretos and his father Xenodokos.[39] It is chiseled from top to bottom on two adjacent flutings of an Ionic column from the first half of the 6th century. The column had been removed to the church of Panagia Katapoliani[40] and used in building the basilica's cupola. According to A. Ohnesorg, the column had not supported a statue, even though, as she says, votive columns with an artist's signature but without sculpture are quite rare.[41]

On the front of a base from the Pythion above the Asklepieion the name Mikkiades appears in an inscription.[42] Mikkiades is also known from literature[43] as the father of the famous artist Archermos from Chios. The inscription was found in the Artemision on Delos, and was apparently carved on Paros.[44] It is not known why the Chian artist Mikkiades and his son Archermos went to Paros. It is possible that Mikkiades was banned from Chios and his son followed him into exile,[45] which would explain why the sculptors chose as their new home the island of marble.

Though it is true that no kore can be linked to either of these artists, their sojourn on Paros is an indication of the close connection between the art of the two islands.[46] A number of scholars have wondered to what degree artists from the two islands influenced one another.[47] Since very few korai have been discovered on Paros and Chios, our knowledge of the reciprocal influence between the two art centers remains only fragmentary.

Despite the absence of an artist's signature, I attempt to determine in the following whether on the basis of specific features of the korai discovered on Paros it is possible to identify a Parian sculptural style.[48]

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active from the 7th century on. See also Kontoleon 1963, p. 56; Gehrke 1986, pp. 164f.

[34] The korai made of Parian marble are: NY 07.286.110; NM 24, 25, 26; Akr. 584, 594, 595, 602, 611, 612, 613, 626, 628, 663, 645, 646, 648, 651, 652, 654, 656, 659, 660, 662, 664, 668, 669, 674, 675, 676, 678, 679, 685, 686, 1360, 1361. Amorgos museum inv. no. 305. See L. Marangou in Athens 1986, p. 121, pl. 52, 1–3; 53, 1.

[35] Langlotz 1927, p. 135, writes that Parian artists must have been "the most restless and widely traveled people of their day." See also L. Marangou in Athens 1986, pp. 119ff., pl. 52–54, on the korai and kouroi of Parian origin on the island of Amorgos. See also Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 199ff. (on the activities of Parian artists) with n. 539; also Karakatsanis 1986, p. 163 with n. 427.

[36] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 184 with nn. 593–95, 194; Martini 1990, pp. 215f.

[37] Fuchs/Floren, pp. 161, n. 3, 164, n. 37. See p. 126.

[38] Rubensohn 1949, pp. 1865ff. For Charopinos: Fuchs/Floren, p. 163 with n. 22; for Kritonidis: ibid., p. 161 with n. 5.

[39] *EAA* suppl. I (1970), p. 400; Kontoleon 1970, pp. 58f., illus. 1A, pl. 17, 2; 19, 1; A. Ohnesorg in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 227f., illus. 6.

[40] Rubensohn 1949, p. 1839 (map of the city of Paros and environs). For other finds near the Panagia Katapoliani: A. Orlandos, *AEphem* 1960, chron. 1ff.

[41] A. Ohnesorg in Fos Kykladikon 1999, p. 228.

[42] O. Rubensohn, *AM* 27 (1902), pp. 195ff., illus. 3; Rubensohn 1949, pp. 1865ff.; Jeffery 1961, p. 294, no. 29; J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 190.

[43] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36ff., 11–13 on the Chian sculptor family of Archermos with his sons Boupalos and Athenis. See also Lippold 1950, pp. 62f.; O. Rubensohn, *MdI* 1 (1948), pp. 21ff., 39 with n. 5, pl. 2; Kontoleon 1970, pp. 66f. Archermos produced the Nike for Delos around 550, and worked in Athens in the last quarter of the 6th century. For the Nike, see Isler-Kerényi 1969, pp. 77f., 114f.; Pedley, loc. cit., pp. 188f., n. 40; B. S. Ridgway in Chios 1986, pp. 259ff. For Archermos, see K. Schefold in *Festschrift H. Vetters* (1985), p. 59f.; Martini 1990, p. 219. For Athens: Raubitschek 1949, pp. 7f., no. 3, 14f., no. 9, 485ff.

[44] In the two inscriptions found on Delos and Paros and written in the Parian alphabet, Mikkiades appears as donor. His activity as an artist is nevertheless unquestioned. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36, 11; E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (1885), pp. 3ff.; J. Six, *AM* 13 (1888), pp. 142ff.; O. Rubensohn, *MdI* 1 (1948), pp. 39ff.; D. Lazaridis, *AEphem* 1976, p. 168. For the patronymics, see also Philipp 1968, p. 87, n. 342. For votive gifts of Mikkiades and Archermos: P. Scherrer, *ÖJh* 54 (1983), pp. 19ff.

[45] O. Rubensohn, *MdI* 1 (1948), pp. 39ff., n. 5, esp. p. 43. Rubensohn concludes, from inscriptions discovered on the Akropolis that identify the artist with the simple epithet "Chios," that Archermos voluntarily followed his father into exile. Jeffery 1961, p. 295, n. 1; Boardman 1981a, pp. 87f., 114; Martini 1990, p. 219. See also E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (1885), pp. 3ff.

[46] G. Rösch, *Altertümliche Marmorwerke von Paros* (1914), p. 58; O. Rubensohn, *MdI* 1 (1948), pp. 39ff., 42; Kontoleon 1963, pp. 63, 65; Kontoleon 1970, pp. 66ff.

[47] Rösch, loc. cit., pp. 56ff.; O. Rubensohn, *MdI* 1 (1948), pp. 21ff., esp. p. 43; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 175ff., esp. p. 180; N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 100, nn. 44–49. This question has been brought up particularly with respect to the Delos Nike, which is attributed to Archermos (plate 89), and the karyatids and architectural ornament on the Siphnian treasury in Delphi (Parian workshop). Some scholars have assumed that Paros had no workshops of its own. This view was last espoused by E. Pfuhl, *AM* 48 (1923), p. 165. It was E. Buschor, *AM* 54 (1929), p. 142, who first recognized that Paros in fact had important sculpture workshops. His view was supported by W. Deonna, *Dédale* II (1931), pp. 74f.; Rubensohn 1949, p. 1860; Gallet de Santerre 1958, p. 289, n. 6; L. Alscher, *Griechische Plastik* II (1961), p. 245, n. 47; B. Holtzmann, *BCH* suppl. IV (1977), p. 300, n. 9; Langlotz 1975, pp. 166f.; Kontoleon 1970, pp. 57ff.; and Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 175ff. Croissant 1983, pp. 95ff., only partially agrees.

[48] Martini 1990, p. 214, describes how difficult it is to identify any uniform style in the Parian korai from the first half of the 6th century.

The six known korai can be divided into two groups. According to Zapheiropoulos, three[49] date from the middle of the 6th century (plates 77–79). On one of these, which comes from Antiparos, the rendering of the upper body is unusual. Although it is preserved to the waist, it can no longer be determined just how the kolpos of the sleeved chiton ended. Beginning directly below the buttons of the chiton there are ripple-like grooves that run downward in rows of two and four across the sides of the kolpos (plate 78). A kore fragment from Metochi, on Chios, presents the same grooves (plate 94),[50] the only precise parallel for such a pattern. Since the Antiparos kore dates from the middle of the 6th century, while the one from Metochi is later, dating from the last third of the 6th century, it would appear that this unusual chiton detail originated on Paros. Yet it is not impossible that the Antiparos kore was carved by a Chian artist working on Paros.[51]

The kore from Hagios Ioannis represents the Ionian type translated into a Cycladic form: the chiton is not grasped to the side but rather forms a bundle of folds in front that is gathered vertically along the figure's center axis, replacing the meander border. A kore from Laurion in New York (plate 124), which E. Langlotz has grouped with the Parian korai, is another representative of this type.[52] The upper part of the chiton falls smoothly over the belt and ends in a curved line that provides a glimpse of the belt in front as though through a little window (plate 77a). As already mentioned, this rendering of the belt area is a feature of Ionic art; it is seen in Milesian and Samian korai as well as on the back of the kore from Erythrai (plate 54b).[53] B. Schmaltz points out that this drapery motif was also known in Attica in the early 6th century, as the Hagios Ioannis Rentis kore attests (plates 108–9, 230–33).[54] The treatment of the hair on the Hagios Ioannis kore is also Ionic, with the individual strands separated by incised zigzag lines.[55] The Ionic type is thus documented in Paros with this kore.

Zapheiropoulos assigns the kore from Naoussa to the group of the so-called Nesiotic korai.[56] One characteristic feature is the smoothed chiton, which generally falls down over the belt onto the hips on either side to form two kolpoi (plate 79). The garment is generally decorated with a panel showing meander designs in the center and on the side, some extending upward as far as the neckline (plates 64, 102a, 110a).[57]

From the three korai just described it seems clear that shortly before the middle of the 6th century, at the same time that the Samian korai were being produced, there was already an independent sculptural workshop on Paros that worked in a Cycladic style.[58] Parian artists of this period avoid adopting the diagonal himation,[59] preferring clear rounded lines and softer forms. They have a special way of rendering drapery with a spare modeling of the folds, avoiding the complicated surface details that characterize Ionic art.[60]

Just when Parian sculpture begins is difficult to determine.[61] In general, the korai with simple chitons attributed to Paros by B. S. Ridgway[62] are considered the earliest statues from Parian workshops, though they must have been preceded by older prototypes that we no longer have.[63] Zapheiropoulos sees one such prototype in a late Daedalic lower-body fragment from Aigina, no. S1, adorned with a vertical meander panel between the legs (plate 103).[64] In his view, this fragment from the end of the 7th century would mark the point after which one can truly speak of Parian korai. But since there are no other finds from this period, it is difficult to agree.

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[49] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 94ff., no. 791 (from Antiparos), p. 35; no. 802 (from Naoussa), pl. 36f.; no. 163 (from Hagios Ioannis), pl. 38.

[50] Boardman 1967, pp. 181f., 183 with n. 1, pl. 69, 7; 70, 7. Some of the Akropolis korai show a variation of this ripple pattern, namely nos. 602, 670, and 683, also the Delos kore A4068.

[51] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 103, nn. 77–81. At the same time, he rightly sees the difficulty of considering the Antiparos kore as an intermediate stage derived from the Chian torsos nos. 225 and 226, and possibly using it to fill the evident chronological gap until the Akropolis kore 675 (c. 510–500), which is recognized to be Chian work. For the Antiparos kore shows a more solid, deeper relief than the Chian korai nos. 225 and 226, in which the garment is subordinated to the forms of the body (see also Isler-Kerényi 1969, p. 80, n. 51), while it is the garment that determines the contours in the Antiparos kore. For that reason the three Parian korai cannot have been based on Chian precedents.

[52] NY 07.286.110, Langlotz 1939, p. 34, n. 31.

[53] See, for example, from Miletus: M2, M3; from Samos: Samos XI, no. 62 (Ornithe); from Erythrai: E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 5f., pl. 1,2. The literary sources speak of a relationship among Paros, Chios, and Erythrai and between Paros and Miletus (Herodotus I, 18). Rubensohn 1949, pp. 1808f.; Langlotz 1975, p. 121; see p. 59.

[54] Schmaltz 1998, pp. 10ff., esp. p. 12. See also pp. 59ff. with n. 11.

[55] Samos XI, 103, nn. 106–8. The kouros head Samos XI, no. 55, pl. 40, shows a similar modeling of the hair, also the bronze kouros from Samos in Berlin, Buschor 1934ff., IV (1960), pl. 298. Further examples are given by N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 97, n. 20. For the hairstyles of archaic sculptures in general, see V. Brinkmann, *Frisuren in Stein. Arbeitsweisen frühgriechischer Bildhauer* (1998); for a response, see B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Gnomon* 73 (2001), pp. 365ff.

[56] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 99f., nn. 36–42. The core of the group is formed by the korai from Aigina and Moschato, Athens NM73 and NM3859 (pl. 102, 110), which have been linked to the Chian korai nos. 225 and 226 (pl. 91–93). To these are added the Delian korai A4062 and A3996 (pl. 64–63, 214; 66, 215). Ridgeway 1977, p. 98, added to the group the Kyrene korai I and II (pl. 95–99), the Naoussa kore no. 802 (pl. 79), and the kore from Hagios Ioannis Rentis (pl. 108–9, 230–33), but excluded the Delos kore. Yet it is obvious that the Rentis kore does not belong in this group. See also J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 187 with n. 28. N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 100, nn. 44–47, assumes that the group originated on Paros. J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 83 (1979), p. 111, and *AJA* 86 (1982), pp. 183ff., esp. p. 188, on the other hand, who adds to it the Antiparos kore no. 791, suspects that they come from Chios. A listing of the suggested datings for this group is found in Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 187 with n. 24.

[57] For example on the korai NM37, NM3859: Fuchs/Floren, p. 165; Richter 1968, p. 39, nos. 39, 40; Delos A4062: N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pl. 40–41; J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), pl. 23–24, illus. 9–12.

[58] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 104, nn. 89–91; Martini 1990, p. 155.

[59] As on the Delos kore A4062, for example.

[60] Payne/Young, p. 57.

[61] Fuchs/Floren, p. 165, n. 44; J. Boardman, *AntPl* I (1943), pp. 43ff., pl. 38–44; Martini 1990, pp. 155, 214; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 180. See N. Kontoleon, *AM* 73 (1958), p. 138 with n. 97.

[62] Ridgway 1977, pp. 99f.

The later Parian korai from around 530 reveal a fundamental change in concept. They now wear a diagonal himation above the simple chiton, a garment Parian sculptors developed further from the himation of the Greek east[65] that soon became common throughout Greece.[66] In this context, a statuette from the middle of the 6th century from Chalkedon (plate 61), a Megarian colony on the Bosporus, has been proposed as a precursor for the form of the diagonal himation.[67] According to Schmaltz, the statuette fragment stands in the mainland tradition, based on the "distinctly raised simple waves" of her hair, which has "more parallels in the sphere of the motherland than in the east."[68] With this background, and in view of the low artistic quality of the small figure, in my opinion the statuette could not have played a decisive role in Parian artists' development of the diagonal himation.[69] As a further innovation, Parian artists provided the top edge of the himation with a broad band to carry the weight of the heavy fabric.[70] It is secured on the right shoulder and runs back under the left arm. From it fall multiple vertical overlapping folds that form a zigzag line on the side and a stepped hem in front (plates 80–83).[71]

Also, the stiff, self-contained pose of the earlier korai has been abandoned. The left leg is now placed forward, and the left hand gracefully grasps the chiton so that it enfolds the legs "in radial folds"[72] and falls down on the side in a broad paryphe. This convention produces a look that is characteristic of Parian korai, with the upper body virtually invisible beneath thick layers of fabric while the legs seem almost bare beneath the thin chiton.[73]

The korai in New York and Malibu (plates 80–83) show this new, insular Ionic costume and thereby differ markedly from the three korai from Paros already described.[74] The Malibu kore presents a drapery ornament heretofore unknown, in that the wide panel below the outstretched right arm is adorned with at least five three-dimensional rosettes (plate 82a). The two unpublished fragments in the Paros museum also belong to this group of korai with diagonal himatia, even though the garment in one case falls down in long folds on either side (plate 84a).

Thus it is possible to assert that, owing to their differing treatment, the Parian korai fall into two groups: the early korai produced in the period between the middle of the century and roughly 540, clothed in a simple sleeved chiton, and the later ones, with diagonal himatia and adopting a striding pose modeled after that of the kouroi. The second group is augmented by six korai found on Delos (plates 67–72),[75] which are likewise furnished with diagonal himatia. One can therefore assume that there were various active workshops on Paros[76] that also influenced sculptors working elsewhere.[77]

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[63] These prototypes are said to have been produced in the 7th century. See Kontoleon 1963, p. 65; Kontoleon 1970, p. 57.

[64] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 101. For the lower-body fragment: D. Ohly, *ADelt* 22 (1967), chron. 148, pl. 112c; Fuchs/Floren, p. 156, n. 45.

[65] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, 178f., 200, nn. 561–67, 678. The Samian kore, Samos XI, pp. 34ff., no. 13, n. 110, pl. 4 (pl. 13), wears a himation draped over the left shoulder, while on the Parian korai the himation runs from the right shoulder to the left side. Other examples of Samian diagonal himatia: Samos XI, nos. 7, 8, 25 (pl. 8–9, 10, 23). For further connections between Paros and Samos: Samos XI, p. 224, no. 153, pl. 92. For the connections between Paros and Miletus, see N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1952, pp. 82f.; idem, *AEphem* 1974, p. 15, n. 3. See also Herdejürgen 1968, pp. 37ff., esp. pp. 40f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 53 with n. 93.

[66] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 176ff., states that the karyatid from the Siphnian treasury (pl. 87, c. 525; Richter 1968, p. 66, no. 104, illus. 317–20) is to be attributed to a Parian workshop. Thus Paros played a decisive role in the introduction of the diagonal himation to the Greek mainland: Fuchs/Floren, p. 168. For the Attic use of the Ionic garment, see Schmaltz 1998, pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 13ff., 30ff.; see pp. 127ff.

[67] N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *IstMitt* 15 (1965), p. 29, n. 22. For the Berlin statuette no. 1651: Blümel 1964, pp. 37f., no. 27, illus. 74–76, surviving height from head to waist 29.5 cm (c. 550). He characterizes it as an unimportant work. For the circumstances of its discovery, see Boardman 1981b, p. 289: it was found by accident in the vicinity of a grave with a tombstone from the period around 500 that bore an inscription in the Ionic, not Megarian, alphabet.

[68] Schmaltz 1998, pp. 18ff., esp. p. 19, illus. 4; for its hairstyle, see Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 121ff.

[69] According to Schmaltz 1998, p. 20, the statuette fragment and the Lyon kore raise the question of the extent to which the diagonal himation, known in the Aegean in the second quarter of the 6th century, was taken up by the various art centers.

[70] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 178, n. 53; Herdejürgen 1968, pp. 47, 54ff.

[71] Langlotz 1927, p. 135. For the characteristics of the Parian korai, see Lippold 1950, p. 68; Payne/Young, p. 61.

[72] Martini 1990, p. 156.

[73] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 175ff., esp. p. 178, n. 560. Parian artists preferred round and clear lines, and they show a special feeling for the rendering of the drapery, which they depict as thick and heavy. Folds are sparingly modeled in broad, smooth panels. See also Ch. Karusos, *JdI* 52 (1937), p. 191, n. 1; Payne/Young, p. 57; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 95f.; N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 104, nn. 89–90.

[74] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 179, n. 564. The New York kore and the Antenor kore Akr. 681 (c. 530), which is somewhat older than the karyatid, are the first korai on Paros and the mainland to wear the diagonal himation. Furthermore, the similarity between the Malibu kore and the New York kore (of Parian marble) makes it probable that they were carved in a Parian workshop. For the dating of the kore in New York to c. 530 as well, see also U. Sinn, *AM* 98 (1983), p. 33, n. 44.

[75] Fuchs/Floren, pp. 95f., 166f.; the six korai are: Delos A4063, A4064, A4065, A4067, A4068, and NM22.

Find Spots

Table 7.3 lists the places where the Parian korai were found. Two of them had been used as building material. Kore no. 791 (plate 78) was discovered on Antiparos, an island southwest of Paros, walled up in the round central tower of the medieval kastro.[78] Other ancient fragments had also been incorporated into the structure, especially in making the doors and windows—as can be seen on the island even today. These pieces doubtless came from Paros,[79] as we have no knowledge of an ancient settlement on Antiparos.[80]

Kore no. 802 (plate 79) comes from Naoussa, a port in the north of the island. It had been incorporated into a field wall. Because it was reused in this way, it can no longer be determined whether it originally stood in a sanctuary or a necropolis.[81]

The third kore, no. 163 (plate 77), comes from the vicinity of the church of Hagios Ioannis Spiliotis in the southeast of the island.[82] From the same area comes the colossal seated statue of a goddess from the end of the 6th or beginning of the 5th century that represents either Artemis Parthenos or Demeter.[83] On the basis of this statue and an inscription walled up in the doorpost of the grotto church of Hagios Ioannis Spiliotis,[84] it has been assumed there was originally a sanctuary to Artemis Parthenos on this spot.[85] The inscription names the dedicator Telestodike[86] and her husband Demokydes as having presented offerings to Artemis παρθένος. A second inscription,[87] on a votive column, names a Telestodike as well, this time together with her mother and daughter, as the donor of an agalma for Artemis, and names the artist Kritonidis. It is not known whether this Telestodike is the same person mentioned in the first inscription, or whether the column comes from the same vicinity, and for which Artemision it was intended; the column, long considered lost, is now in the Pesaro museum.[88] According to G. Bakalakis, however, it is by no means certain that this cave sanctuary can be identified with the sanctuary of Artemis, for in his opinion the enthroned goddess that would indicate as much was not removed in ancient times but was set up originally at the spot where it was found, which is some distance from the church of Hagios Ioannis.[89] Furthermore, no additional architectural remains have been discovered that might suggest the existence of such a sanctuary.[90] The find of a small head in the same region that Zapheiropoulos claims belonged to a sphinx rather than a kore[91] does not help clarify the issue. The epithet Parthenos, however, nicely accords with the assumption that the kore from Hagios Ioannis was probably set up in one of the Artemis sanctuaries.[92]

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[76] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 180ff.; Martini 1990, pp. 214f. Also the two Parian kouroi from the same period, now in Paris, no. MNB888, and Copenhagen, no. 2030 (Pedley 1976, pp. 39f., nos. 24–25, pl. 16–19), both of Parian marble and found on Paros, document the different workshops on the island. While the Paris kouros is "characterized by swelling forms," these are absent in the Copenhagen statue. See also Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 162f., n. 427; Langlotz 1927, p. 135.

[77] The kore from Amorgos, for example, shows Parian influence. See the Amorgos chapter.

[78] W. Hoepfner/H. Schmidt, *JdI* 91 (1976), pp. 292f., illus. 1–2 (description of the island), 299, 304, illus. 4–5, 16 (tower); N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 96 with n. 14.

[79] Hoepfner/Schmidt, loc. cit., pp. 305ff. with n. 43. In the struggles between Venice and the Osman Turks (1371/72), Venice was able to maintain control over the island. It is known that in 1439 the Venetian governor of Paros, Giovanni Loredano, fortified and rebuilt Antiparos, which had been ravaged by wars, at his own expense, using building materials from Paros and, as an antiquarian, placing them in prominent spots (such as lintels). See also G. Gruben, *AA* 1982, pp. 169ff., esp. p. 174, with an extensive catalogue of the scattered and reused bits of architecture on the island and an attempt to associate them with ancient structures.

[80] *RE* XVII 2 (1937), 2474ff., s.v. "Oliaros" (Schmidt). See also Hoepfner/Schmidt, loc. cit., p. 297.

[81] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 94 with nn. 8, 9.

[82] Ibid., p. 97.

[83] Paros museum no. 162: G. Rösch, *Altertümliche Marmorwerke von Paros* (1914), pp. 15ff., no. 4, pl. 1–2; E. Berger, *Das Baseler Arztrelief* (1970), pp. 44ff., n. 95, pl. 47,8; Ridgway 1977, p. 134; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 127, n. 2, no. 12; N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1974, p. 22. See also Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 67, 169. G. Bakalakis argues for Demeter in *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ*, *Festschrift G. Mylonas* III (1989), pp. 108ff., esp. pp. 121ff., pl. 25–35.

[84] *IG* XII 5, 1, 215; O. Rubensohn, *AM* 26 (1901), p. 220, n. 1; Jeffery 1961, pp. 294, 305, no. 34, 412, pl. 56 (c. 500); Bakalakis, loc. cit., pp. 109ff., illus. 1, 4, pl. 25 (in illus. 1 the site of the church Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Σπηλαιώτης is marked with a Δ).

[85] O. Rubensohn, *AM* 26 (1901), p. 162. Christian churches were frequently erected on the sites of ancient sanctuaries (see, for example, ibid., pp. 215f., the church Prophitis Ilias on Mount Kunados as successor to the Zeus Hypatos sanctuary). In Rubensohn's opinion it is difficult to determine with certainty whether the church Ioannis Spiliotis, built into a cave, occupies the exact spot of the Artemis sanctuary that must have been in the near vicinity. For a Zeus sanctuary on Mount Kunados: A. Hübner, *AA* 1994, pp. 335ff.

[86] B. S. Ridgway, *AJA* 91 (1987), p. 403; G. Bakalakis in *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ*, *Festschrift G. Mylonas* III (1989), pp.115ff.; U. Kron in Uppsala 1996, pp. 158f., illus. 12.

[87] *IG* XII 5, 1, 216; Jeffery 1961, p. 295; Bakalakis, loc. cit., pp. 117ff., illus. 6; Kron, loc. cit., pp. 157ff., illus. 11; A. Ohnesorg in Fos Kykladikon 1999, pp. 228f., illus. 8.

[88] Bakalakis, loc. cit., p. 117 with n. 21.

[89] The original placement site of the enthroned goddess is "τό χωράφι τοῦ Δράκου": G. Bakalakis in *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ*, *Festschrift G. Mylonas* III (1989), pp. 110ff.

[90] For an extensive discussion, see Bakalakis, loc. cit., pp. 115ff. esp. pp. 120ff.

[91] Paros museum no. 164: N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 105, pl. 39 (c. 530/20). The small head, roughly 16 cm tall, is poorly preserved. Drill holes in the earlobes indicate the addition of earrings. The distinct turning of the head to the left leads Zapheiropoulos to ascribe the head to a sphinx, and for that reason the piece is not included in the tables.

[92] There is a listing of the Artemis sanctuaries on Paros and of the goddess's epithets in Rubensohn 1962, pp. 38ff., 43ff.

In the Delion, the most thoroughly researched of the island's sanctuaries,[93] no korai have yet come to light. It is certain that the siblings Apollo and Artemis were venerated here, for an inscription on the base of a female figure dating from around 360 designates the work as a votive gift to Artemis Delie.[94] Also, two fragments of colossal female statues from the beginning of the 5th century are known, one of which Kostoglou-Despoini interprets as the cult image of Artemis.[95] If we assume that the other statue was a votive offering,[96] it could be said that female figures were continuously dedicated in the Delion from archaic times onward.

The exact sites where three additional korai of a later date (plates 83–84) were discovered are unknown, but the kore that was presented as a gift to the Metropolitan Museum in New York by J. Marshall in 1907 (plates 80–81) surely came from Paros. Michaelis had seen it in the "House of Damias" as early as 1864.[97] The Parian origin of the two korai (plate 84) of which only the lower bodies survive[98] and which are now preserved in the Paros museum is also assured. However, it is only a matter of conjecture that the well-preserved kore now in Malibu was found on Paros (plates 82–83).

To summarize, the circumstances relating to the discovery of the Parian korai do not tell us anything about their original locations, though it can be assumed that some of them may have stood in the Delion.

Interpretation

The small number of korai found on Paros, their lack of attributes, and the scant information about their original locations make it difficult to determine whom the statues represented and what their function may have been.

A number of cults are documented on Paros. After Athena, it was mainly Artemis who was venerated—amongst other places in the Delion, together with her brother Apollo. Because the kore from Hagios Ioannis was found in an area where there was presumably a sanctuary to Artemis and not in a nearby necropolis, it seems probable that these korai were votive offerings.[99]

As for religious rites in the various sanctuaries—the Delion for example, or on Mount Kunados,[100] where Apollo was venerated along with the goddesses Eileithyia and Aphrodite—one cannot but agree with O. Rubensohn that festivals on Paros must have been much the same as those on Delos or in other Delia, for example in Athens.[101]

Rubensohn suggests that the open, paved square around the stone altar to Apollo in the Paros Delion[102] served the same purpose as the ones on Delos and in Athens, where celebrants danced around the temple. It is easy to imagine that as on Delos and in Athens so-called ὀϱχησταί (dancers) in especially festive costumes were featured in addition to choric performances by men and women.[103]

Our korai, with their jewelry, their richly draped chitons, and their heavy himatia with wide borders and vertical folds, would have presented a festive appearance, especially when adorned with necklaces and flowers (plates 78, 80–83).

G. Wickert-Micknat[104] points out that in both the Homeric epics descriptions of women performing dances in the cult of Artemis blur with those of the goddess herself, as both represent the quintessence of femininity. Jewelry, most notably necklaces, was discovered in a pit beneath the temple in the Delion,[105] and Rubensohn thinks these must have belonged to the cult image, another assertion of her feminine aspect and by extension that of her korai.

Presumably, choric singers and female dancers were chosen from the best families, as in the Κοῦϱαι Δηλιάδες on Delos. Such performances were standard components of cult festivals that also included banquets.[106] Numerous marble tables and smaller finds, such as plates and cups, from south of the temple indicate the presence of a dining room.[107]

Festivals in which numbers of upper-class women took part[108] were surely occasions for the dedication of korai, which suggests that such statues were intended to represent these very women.

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[93] Rubensohn 1962. See also N. Kontoleon, *Gnomon* 38 (1966), pp. 202–11, with new dating; M. Schuller, *AA* 1982, pp. 231ff., illus. 2–3; idem, *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros* (1991); A. Ohnesorg, *Inselionische Marmordächer* (1993), pp. 26ff.; F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΠΑΡΟΣ* (1998), pp. 22ff., illus. 18–20. There are also other sanctuaries on Paros where one could expect to find korai, though none have come to light—for example the sanctuary of Athena Poliouchos, which is documented by an inscription (*IG* XII 5, 134). O. Rubensohn, *AM* 26 (1901), p. 197, assigns to the goddess the hill temple of the Paroikia kastro; likewise G. Gruben, *AA* 1982, pp. 174ff.; idem, *MüJb* 23 (1972), p. 9. Another inscription on a *horos* (boundary stone) from the end of the 4th century that was originally a marble kalypta calls Athena ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗΣ ΠΟΝΤΙΗΣ, in this case patroness of artists, that is, the makers of marble roof tiles on Paros. See G. Bakalakis, *AA* 1978, pp. 342f.

[94] Rubensohn 1962, pp. 37f., 54ff., pl. 7–8, found in front of the temple's southeast corner. For a full report, see I. Kleemann, *AM* 77 (1962), pp. 207ff., 225, appendix 56–63.

[95] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 3ff., esp. pp. 26ff., pl. 1–6.

[96] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 63ff., 73ff., pl. 26–28. She leaves it open whether these were votive statues or cult images. For further votive statues, see her list on pp. 123ff.; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 169, n. 453.

[97] G. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures* (1954), p. 4, pl. 8.

[98] Fuchs/Floren, p. 167, n. 49.

[99] For the sanctuaries on Paros, see O. Rubensohn, *AA* 1924, pp. 278ff. The small kouros from the Paros Asklepieion was also a votive gift: Steuben 1980, p. 46, illus. 10–13.

[100] Rubensohn 1962, pp. 39ff., esp. p. 45 with n. 41, 172. For the sanctuaries of Eileithyia and Aphrodite on Mount Kunados, see F. Zapheiropoulou, *ΠΑΡΟΣ* (1998), pp. 24ff., illus. 21.

[101] Rubensohn 1962, pp. 39f., 46ff.

[102] Ibid., pp. 36f., 49ff., foldout 1, no. 4.

[103] Ibid., p. 50, nn. 53, 54.

[104] Wickert-Micknat 1982, R16, n. 86.

[105] Rubensohn 1962, pp. 71ff., pl. 11; M. Schuller, *AA* 1982, pp. 231ff., illus. 3.

[106] Wickert-Micknat 1982, R16, n. 88, R23, n. 106.

[107] Rubensohn 1962, pp. 32ff., 51, n. 58, 58ff., pl. 10.

[108] For the appearance of upper-class women and girls at festival gatherings, see Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 107f.

Amorgos

From Amorgos[1] we have only the badly weathered upper-body fragment, without a head, of a smaller than life-size kore (plate 85) dressed in a chiton and himation.[2] On the back, above the wide border of the himation, one can still see the pointed ends of her head covering. L. Marangou suggests that this was either a kind of mitra or a taenia.[3] The Amorgos kore is made of Parian marble and, with these portions of the head covering visible on the back, shows great similarity to a kore from Delos that is attributed to a Parian workshop, A4063 (plates 67b, 217). This appears to confirm the view expressed above[4] that Parian artists were also influential elsewhere. The Amorgos kore is dated to the last quarter of the 6th century; more precise placement is scarcely possible given its poor state of preservation.

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[1] For Amorgos in general, see L. Marangou in E. Mela (ed.), *Griechische Inseln* (1973), pp. 119f. Amorgos was settled by Naxos and Samos and was under the artistic influence of those islands and of neighboring Paros. See L. Marangou in *Stele, Festschrift N. Kontoleon* (1980), pp. 413ff., pl. 196–201; idem, in Athens 1986, pp. 126ff., pl. 51,1–2; 56,1. Minoa was settled by Samians, for example, Aegiali by the Milesians, and Arkesini by the Naxians; L. Marangou in Athens 1986, p. 126 with nn. 60–62. In addition to the kore, other works of sculpture, including numerous anthemia (L. Marangou in Athens 1986, pp. 124ff., pl. 49,1, 3; 50,2–3) that are identical to anthemia found on Paros, attest to the long relationship between Amorgos and Paros. See Kontoleon 1970, p. 45; idem, *AEphem* 1952, p. 83; idem, *AEphem* 1963, pp. 1ff.; O. Rubensohn, *JdI* 50 (1935), p. 53, no. 3, n. 3, p. 58.

[2] Amorgos museum no. 305. L. Marangou in Athens 1986, pp. 122ff., pl. 52,1–3; 53,1. The kore fragment was found during the summer of 1984 in the west of the island near the city of Minoa, on the south slope of Mountoulia. It was walled up in a field wall running through the southwest portion of a Hellenistic temple (for a detailed account, ibid., n. 25). Virtually nothing is known about its original location. It is probable, however, that the kore was a votive gift and not a funerary kore, as the geometric- and archaic-era necropolis lies outside the city of Minoa. To date, only accidental or surface finds are known; no systematic excavation of the necropolis on the southeast portion of the slope has been carried out.

[3] L. Marangou in Athens 1986, p. 123, nn. 31–33.

[4] See pp. 85 with n. 35, 95.

The Cyclades

Chronological Distribution of the Korai in Light of Historical Developments

In the Cyclades the only known tyranny was that of the aristocrat Lygdamis on Naxos.[1] With assistance from Peisistratos, Lygdamis managed to subjugate the island around 540.[2] In need of funds with which to finance his political program[3] and ambitious building plans,[4] he attempted to sell the goods confiscated from aristocratic families. Ancient sources tell us he even offered to sell back to their original owners finished or unfinished statues he had impounded, as he had difficulty finding other buyers for them.[5] These were probably the unfinished colossal kouroi discovered on Naxos.[6]

During the early archaic period, when Naxos was flourishing, political power lay in the hands of the nobility,[7] the παχέες.[8] Wealthy Naxian dedicators commemorated themselves in the most important Panhellenic sanctuaries with votive gifts of colossal size. The majority of votive offerings from Naxos were destined for Delos,[9] but some are also found in the sanctuary to Apollo at Delphi[10] and on the Akropolis in Athens.[11]

The dedication of the Nikandre statue on Delos marks the beginning of private Naxian dedications. It is also the first indication that votive gifts served more than a purely religious function. Well-to-do Naxians of the period recognized that donating large-format, expensive statues was an excellent way to display their dignity and their hold on power.[12] A place like the Apollo sanctuary on Delos was particularly well suited for such dedications, inasmuch as it was the most important religious and political center in the Aegean.[13]

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[1] Herodotus I, 61; *RE* XVI 2 (1935), 2088f., s.v. "Naxos" (Herbst); Berve 1967, pp. 78f., 564.

[2] Herodotus I, 64. When Peisistratos returned to Athens after his second exile, Lygdamis supported him in the battle at Pallene, and Peisistratos entrusted him with the sons of aristocratic Athenians held as hostages, who were taken to Naxos. After Peisistratos had subjugated the island of Naxos, he handed it over to Lygdamis as a return favor. See G. L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians* (1966), pp. 123ff.

[3] Herodotus V, 30, 4, reports that Lygdamis had an 8,000-man army of mercenaries and numerous ships. In 538 he sent troops to help Polykrates seize power on Samos. By holding together the three tyrants—Lygdamis in the center, Peisistratos in the west, and Polykrates in the east—managed to maintain power over the Aegean for nearly two decades. Polyainos 1, 23, 2; Gallet de Santerre 1958, p. 306; Huxley, loc. cit., p. 125; Berve 1967, pp. 78ff. For Lygdamis's relations with Peisistratos and Polykrates, see W. Lambrinudakis, *AAA* 1976, pp. 273ff.

[4] To demonstrate his power over the Cyclades, Lygdamis wished to build a gigantic temple to Apollo that would be nine times the size of Peisistratos's Porinos Naos on Delos: G. Gruben, *AA* 1972, p. 364 with n. 98. His model was Polykrates' colossal temple of Hera on Samos. See Gruben 1986, pp. 344ff. For the Apollo temple in Naxos: idem, *AA* 1972, pp. 361ff., illus. 23; idem, *MüJb* 23 (1972), pp. 7f., illus. 3; idem, *AA* 1982, pp. 160ff.; Kalpaxis 1986, pp. 76ff. See also W. Lambrinudakis in Athens 1986, p. 108 with n. 4.

[5] Aristotle, *Oeconomica.* 1346 b; Steuben 1980, p. 29; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 177. See also Homann-Wedeking 1950, p. 65; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 38 with n. 11.

[6] B. Sauer, *AM* 17 (1892), pp. 73ff.; Steuben 1980, p. 29 with n. 59; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 63f., K17 (from Pharangi), K18 (from Flerio), K19 (from Komiaki), 177ff. For the kouroi, see also Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 25ff., 92ff., K16 (from Melanes), K17 (from Pharangi), K18 (from Flerio); Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, K20, K21, K23, pp. 38f., 90ff. with n. 11, which she believes predate the tyranny of Lygdamis (540–24).

[7] Kontoleon 1963, p. 71.

[8] Herodotus V, 30, calls them παχέες, which also means fat, powerful, rich, and aristocratic. See also Steuben 1980, p. 44; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 48; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 38ff., 50ff. They became rich from land holdings and cattle, and probably owned marble quarries as well.

[9] The majority of votive gifts on Delos from the end of the 7th to the middle of the 6th century are from Naxos: G. Gruben, *MüJb* 23 (1972), pp. 7f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 48; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 46f. with n. 76, counts up to 25 archaic Naxian works in marble on Delos, most of them kouroi. See Steuben 1980, pp. 29, 34; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 176f.

[10] For example the offering of the sphinx, Delphi museum no. 365: Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 29f., 40ff., K55; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 57ff., 118, K87, pl. 54, 55, illus. 88; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 65, K8, 176.

[11] Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 54, 56, K43, K44 (Akr. 619, 677). For the dedications of the korai 619 and 677 and other Naxian korai fragments or fragments of perirrhanteria on the Akropolis, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 47ff. with n. 78, 108ff., K69, K70, K71–K73, K74–K76. For the Naxian dedications, see also Payne/Young, p. 13; Bengtson 1960, p. 126, n. 7.

[12] In addition to Nikandre's votive gift, that of Euthykartides is another assuredly private donation on Delos. For the inscription: Jeffery 1961, pp. 291, no. 3, 304, 412, pl. 55. By contrast, the "Apollo" colossus on Delos and the sphinx in Delphi were communal donations from Naxos: Jeffery 1961, pp. 292, no. 10, 304, 412, pl. 55; Steuben 1980, pp. 29f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 47f.

From the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 6th century two Naxian korai on Delos and nine Naxian kouroi of various sizes (tables 5.1 and 6.5) have so far been identified. While the korai begin with the larger than life-size format of the Nikandre statue, the later one is only life-size. Among the kouroi the trend runs the other way: from a slightly larger than life-size format they increase to colossal size.[14] Larger than life-size to colossal formats are also in the majority among the kouroi discovered on Naxos itself that date from the beginning to the middle of the 6th century;[15] it is only in the middle of the century that a few smaller than life-size kouroi make their appearance.[16]

Further, it is clear that, although the dedications from Naxos on Delos begin with a kore, they were, with the one exception,[17] followed by kouroi. This is remarkable, but cannot be so easily explained as on Samos, where there is a similar trend. Probably it was simply that the Naxians thought that for the dominant male deity on Delos, Apollo, kouroi[18] were more appropriate votive gifts than their female counterparts.[19] As Kokkorou-Alewras notes, the Naxians were not only landowners but θαλασσοϰράτοϱες (rulers of the sea) in possession of a powerful fleet[20] employed in the export of the precious Naxian marble and Naxian emery, an indispensable product for polishing the surfaces of sculptures.[21]

Naxian votive gifts come to an end in the second half of the 6th century. They are replaced by gifts from Paros, of which ten korai[22] and six kouroi[23] are known. For want of epigraphic evidence, we do not know whether the Parian korai were in fact dedicated by donors from Paros, who came to the fore after Naxos's decline. However, it seems likely that Parian artists worked for patrons from Naxos and elsewhere as well. In this context one has to wonder whether there was the same motivation behind the Parian korai on Delos as that described in relation to Naxos. G. Gruben mentions that around the middle of the 6th century "two roughly 5-meters-tall sphinx columns were erected, probably donated by Paros, as mythic guardians" next to the southern entrance to the harbor.[24] It thus appears that the Parians also hoped to stake their claim on the sacred island with votive gifts of considerable prominence.

On the island of Naxos itself two korai[25] and several kouroi[26] were found, most of them dating from the last quarter of the 6th century. These works are cited in the most recent scholarship as evidence that Naxian workshops continued to function even during the Lygdamis period (540–24).[27] However, the kouroi so far known are quite small; they attain only smaller than life-size format or the size of larger statuettes.[28] That the size of votive gifts was considerably reduced for the duration of the tyranny accords with the results of analyses from Samos and Attica. There, too, the aristocracy, either banished by the tyrant or stripped of power, was in no position to commission large-format, votive gifts to represent themselves.

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[13] G. Gruben, *AA* 1972, p. 361; Gruben 1997, pp. 261ff.; also Gehrke 1986, pp. 168f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 47 with n. 76.

[14] Kouroi A4085: height of the upper body 56 cm; A334: height of the upper body with head 70 cm (both 650–25); A333: height of the lower body to the knee 85 cm; A4052: height of the lower body to the knee 85 cm (both 625–600); A4094 "Apollo" colossus. Steuben 1980, p. 29, comments: "On Delos there thus appears to have been a gradual transition from life-size to colossal kouroi in the later 7th century, while on Samos and in Didyma kouroi first appear in the 6th century, and from the start in colossal size."

[15] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, kouroi K17, from Melanes (half-finished, height head to knees 1.74 m), K20 from Pharangi (height 3.85 m), K23 from Flerio (height 5.55 m), K60 from Komiaki-Apollona (height 10.45 m), K21 (half-finished, height head to feet 1.20 m), K22 (height of head 0.41 m), K30 (the so-called Runner, height head to knees 0.99 m), K36 (height neck to knees 1.12 m).

[16] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, K24 (unfinished kouros, height 0.53 m), K25 (head of a smaller than life-size kouros), K26 (head, height 0.17 m), K29 (head), K31 (height neck to buttocks 0.72 m, life-size), K32–K35 (calf fragments from smaller than life-size kouroi).

[17] This view is all the more credible if one concedes that the kore A4062 came from Paros, not Naxos, as has previously been assumed: Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 46f. with n. 149, K38; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 108, K68; see pp. 68, 71 with n. 66. It is difficult to decide whether the upper body of the kore 3996 is Naxian or not, owing to its poor condition. Because the way her chiton is belted matches that of the Naxian kouroi A334 and A333, the kore has been considered to be Naxian as well; see Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 47 with n. 144. As yet there is not a single known kore dedication on Naxos from this time: the lower-body fragment of the kore from Kaminaki, Naxos museum inv. no. 62, and the head of a kore, Naxos museum no. 78, date from the close of the 6th century.

[18] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 50ff., points out that the Naxian aristocracy, which was made up of owners of large estates who also engaged in business and trade, preferred for prestige reasons as votive gifts or funerary figures the type of the kouros, because they saw it "either as a representation of the god Apollo or the embodiment of the 'noble' ideal of the ϰαλὸς ϰἀγαθός"; for the concept of *kalokagathia*, see Ch. Ulf in *Gab es das griechische Wunder? Tagungsbeiträge des 16. Fachsymposiums der A. von Humboldt-Stiftung vom 5.–9.8.1999 in Freiburg* (2001), pp. 173ff.

[19] Steuben 1980, p. 31; Martini 1990, p. 136. To judge from the circumstances of the korai's discovery, it appears that they were mainly dedicated to goddesses.

[20] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 39 with nn. 28, 53: "Naxos's sea power through the archaic epoch led to the prosperity of other classes as well—craftsmen, dealers, seamen—who sought to gain acceptance at the expense of the nobility" and held to the traditional type of the kouros.

[21] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 38ff., 50ff.

[22] A2386, A4063, A4064, A4065, A4067, A4068, A100, and NM12.

[23] A4045, A4047, A3990, A3917, A1741, and A4084. A complete listing of the Parian kouroi, some of which have not been properly published, is in Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, n. 539. For the works on Delos ascribed to Parian workshops, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, n. 149; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 163 with n. 427.

[24] Gruben 1997, p. 413 with n. 401.

[25] The surviving height of the lower-leg fragment of the kore, Naxos museum no. 62, is 39.5 cm. The statue would thus have been just barely life-size. The unpublished head of a kore, Naxos museum no. 78, is also smaller than life-size: Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 99f., K53, K55.

[26] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 37ff., esp. pp. 66ff. with n. 222, counts 17 larger than life-size and 17 smaller than life-size statues that have survived from the first half of the 6th century. From the second half of the 6th century she counts 11 larger than life-size and 16 smaller than life-size works. To these one might also add a kouros head that is now in Frankfurt am Main, which Steuben 1980, pp. 7ff., illus. 1–4, places within the Naxian art sphere. See table 6.5.

W. Lambrinudakis considers the life-size figure from the year 530 called the Runner to have been a funerary statue, owing to the fact that it was found in the Grotta fill layer near the archaic necropolis.[29] According to Kokkorou-Alewras, the other eleven kouroi from this fill layer could also be assumed to be funerary kouroi.[30] However, it is not altogether clear whether aristocrats on Naxos at some distance from the tyrant's residence perceived the erection of funerary kouroi as a way to represent themselves. Of course, a necropolis was a more private space and cannot be compared to the erection of votive gifts in a religious sanctuary. The small format of the grotta kouroi also makes it more difficult to interpret them as tomb kouroi.[31]

It is certain that beginning in the middle of the 6th century, and subsequently under Lygdamis, Naxian votive offerings on Delos completely disappear, while on Naxos itself they take on more modest size.[32] Such gifts were now dedicated in more remote sanctuaries.[33] The kore no. 62, for example, which dates from the period of Lygdamis's rule, was set up in a temple or Delion outside the city of Naxos,[34] as Lygdamis's Apollo temple was meant to wholly dominate the capital.[35] Kokkorou-Alewras's suggestion that the colossal Dionysos of Apollona was meant to be set up in the Dionysos sanctuary at Yria[36] seems correct, but its uncertain dating, ranging from the first half of the 6th century down to the years around 500,[37] makes it difficult to identify the donor of this statue, which stands some 10 meters tall. If we were to accept a date in the 520s for the Dionysos, it could have been commissioned either by repatriated aristocrats after the expulsion of Lygdamis in around 524 or, as Gruben assumes,[38] an "untimely undertaking of the megalomaniac" Lygdamis himself.

The funerary kouroi and the other votives from the Demeter sanctuary at Sangri[39] led Lambrinudakis[40] to surmise that Naxian workshops continued to produce despite the tyranny of Lygdamis. On the other hand, he is forced to concede that the exiling of aristocrats[41] "could in fact have reduced artistic activity on the island."[42] If one considers the number of Naxian works created before the tyranny of Lygdamis for Naxos itself and for export to Delos, one has to presume a large colony of artists on the island.[43] It is obvious that these artists would have continued to try to find work;[44] if major commissions were lacking, they had to make do with smaller ones.

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[27] W. Lambrinudakis in Athens 1986, pp. 107ff., esp. pp. 114ff.

[28] According to Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, n. 222, the following smaller than life-size kouroi come from the last quarter of the 6th century: K37, K40, K41, K46–K49, K51, K52, K54, K79.

[29] Naxos museum inv. no. 6000, the so-called runner; W. Lambrinudakis in Athens 1986, pp. 109ff., pl. 42, 43, 44,2 (plinth with right foot). For the find spot, ibid., p. 111 with n. 12. The kouros was found with other fragments in a grotta layer that contained "rich material from the adjacent cemetery of the ancient city"; see also N. Kontoleon, *Prakt* 1972, p. 144, pl. 124, 125; idem, *Ergon* 1972, pp. 97ff., illus. 22; W. Lambrinudakis, *Prakt* 1978, p. 214, pl. 144b. There is also a relief kouros, probably a funerary stele, judging from where it was found: Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, K32, Naxos museum inv. no. 5521 (height from below the pelvis to above the knees 0.58 m), c. 525–500. See also N. Kontoleon, *Prakt* 1960, p. 261, pl. 199 a–b; idem, *Ergon* 1987, illus. 213, 214; Kontoleon 1970, p. 52, pl. 22,1–2.

[30] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 46f. with n. 75: the majority, however, are smaller than life-size.

[31] Kokkorou-Alewras, loc. cit., remarks that small-format figures of the deceased do not project the heroism implicit in large ones. In another spot she mentions that no archaic necropolis has been discovered and excavated on Naxos. For this and for the single certain funerary stele K99 and the round capital from a funerary monument K106: Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 57, 124ff.

[32] Steuben 1980, pp. 29ff., 32, 46; Karakatsanis 1986, p. 177 with n. 485. Kokkorou-Alewras 1992, p. 104, observes that Lygdamis's ban on the erection of votive gifts by aristocrats meant that Naxian marble was no longer quarried for sculpture. Parian marble was preferred in the Ionic world, not because of its superior quality, as Pedley 1976, pp. 18f., assumes, but because of the altered political situation on the island of Naxos: Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 37f.

[33] The head of the kouros statuette, Naxos museum inv. no. 79, for example, was dedicated in the sanctuary that lies south of the village of Sangri. For the find spot of the head: N. Kontoleon, *Prakt* 1954, p. 336, illus. 7. For the Sangri sanctuary, see W. Lambrinudakis, *Prakt* 1976, pp. 299ff.; idem, *Ergon* 1977, pp. 156ff., illus. 100, 103; M. E. Caskey, *AJA* 83 (1979), p. 328, illus. 3, pl. 53,5. See also Kalpaxis 1986, p. 78, pl. 12,2, who dates the Sangri temple to 530/20 at the earliest. See also Gruben 1986, pp. 342f., illus. 286.

[34] For the spot where the kore was discovered: Ch. Karusos/N. Kontoleon, *Prakt* 1937, pp. 119ff.; see p. 79, n. 3.

[35] For the Apollo temple on the Palatia peninsula: G. Gruben/W. Koenigs, *AA* 1968, pp. 693ff.; idem, *AA* 1970, pp. 135ff. The temple was left unfinished after the fall of Lygdamis in 524. See G. Gruben, *AA* 1972, pp. 319ff., 360, 365; idem, *AA* 1982, pp. 159ff.; Gruben 1997, pp. 261ff. with nn. 6–7; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 177f.

[36] Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 54, 102. For the Yria temple, see also Gruben 1997, pp. 261ff., illus. 2 a-b.

[37] For dating, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 94f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 102f. Regarding the type of the long-robed male, represented by no archaic statue from Naxos other than the Dionysos figure, she comments, ibid., p. 55: "this type served to portray the well-to-do citizens of the Greek colonies of eastern Ionia with their early advances in trading and polis organization."

[38] Gruben 1997, pp. 298ff., 416.

[39] The head of the kore no. 78 was found in the Demeter sanctuary at Sangri on Naxos. For other statues from the Demeter sanctuary, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 46 with n. 73; she also provides a listing of finds from Sangri. For the Sangri Demeter sanctuary, the Yria Dionysos temple, and the Apollo temple: Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 37, n. 4 (with earlier bibliography); Gruben 1997, pp. 261ff. with n. 8, illus. 1.

[40] W. Lambrinudakis in Athens 1986, p. 107 with n. 1.

[41] Herodotus V, 28–34.

[42] W. Lambrinudakis in Athens 1986, p. 108, n. 6.

To understand the development of works in marble on Naxos it is important to consider both the relationship between Naxos and the neighboring island of Paros and historical events in the middle of the 6th century, or before the time of Lygdamis. From the ancient sources we learn that at this time the two islands were caught up in a dispute having to do with their overall policy of colonization[45] and economic expansion. This was the so-called Lelantine War (c. 720–660) involving the two Euboean cities of Chalkis and Eretria.[46] The Naxians fought on the side of Chalkis, while the Parians, along with the Milesians, lent their assistance to Eretria.[47] Eretria and its allies ultimately prevailed, so that Paros found itself on the winning side.[48] The new political situation fundamentally altered the relationship between the two islands; for Naxos especially, as the loser, it had far-reaching consequences. In addition to its loss of influence in the region and its reduction of colonial activity to the north,[49] Naxos was suddenly the scene of a civil war between the nobility and the people.[50] With their defeat in the Lelantine War the nobles had so lost prestige[51] that a relatively trivial event was all the people needed to wage war against them.[52] It was in this politically unstable climate that the nobleman Lygdamis attempted to gain the people's confidence with grand promises. Ultimately, however, he managed to seize power only with the help of Peisistratos.[53]

After Lygdamis was driven out in 524, the aristocrats, the so-called παχέες, reasserted themselves, but they were unable to exercise their former influence for long. In 500 exiled nobles went to Miletus seeking help from

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[43] Table 6.5: roughly 45 kouroi are known on Naxos and Delos.

[44] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 189f. with nn. 627–29, feels that most Naxian artists in the waning 6th century were required to work elsewhere, and that many were taken in by the Parian workshops then in full flower. Two Parian kouroi, museum inv. nos. 311 and 167, could confirm such a view, since they display a blend of Naxian and Parian styles: Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 123, cat. no. 1, illus. 35a–b, 36a–c. For a full discussion of the Naxian style, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 66ff.

[45] Bilabel 1921, pp. 3ff., 217ff.; Bengtson 1960, pp. 86ff., 105f.; Kontoleon 1967, pp. 186ff.

[46] Thucydides I, 15, 2; N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1952, p. 43, E$_2$ I1–10, pp. 82ff. with nn. 10–11; idem, *AEphem* 1963, pp. 1ff., esp. p. 17 with n. 2 (with extensive bibliography); Bengtson 1960, p. 91 with n. 7. The date of around 570 for the beginning of the Lelantine War given by Beloch 1912ff., I, 2, 1, pp. 338, is inaccurate. It falls in the time of Archilochos, who reports on the enmity between Naxos and Paros in his Koiranos story (Herodotus I, 52; H. von Gaertringen, *AM* 25 [1900], pp. 1ff., 6ff.). For Lelante, the plain between Chalkis and Eretria on the island of Euboea, see *RE* XII 2 (1925), 1889f., s.v. "Lelante" (Bürchner); Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 39 with n. 32; see also V. Parker, "Untersuchungen zum lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte," *Historia Einzelschriften* 109 (1997), pp. 46ff., 59ff.

[47] Chalcis and Naxos had already enjoyed a friendship in earlier times. The two founded the colony of Naxos in Sicily together (Bengtson 1960, pp. 88ff., esp. p. 91 with n. 4; N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1963, pp. 1ff.; Kontoleon 1963, p. 72 with n. 1; Kontoleon 1967, pp. 181ff., esp. p. 184). On the other hand, the Chalkidians and the Naxians were at odds with the Milesians. From the story of Polykrite we learn of a siege of the island of Naxos by the Milesians and Erythraians that must have taken place around the turn from the 7th to the 6th century: Plutarch, *Gyn.* 254b; *RE* XVI 2 (1935), 2088, s.v. "Naxos" (Herbst); N. Kontoleon/Ch. Karusos, *Prakt* 1937, p. 122; N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1952, p. 83 with n. 4; G. Gruben, *AA* 1972, pp. 361f. The enmity between Miletus and Naxos continued down into the time of Aristagoras: Herodotus V, 28; Kontoleon 1963, p. 57. The alliance between Eretria and Miletus was doubtless based on an ancient friendship. As late as the Ionian uprising, the Eretrians were the only ones, aside from Athens, to support Miletus with five triremes in gratitude for Milesian assistance during their war with Chalkis: Herodotus V, 99; see also Kontoleon 1963, p. 71 with nn. 1–2. As long-time allies of the Milesians, the Parians could not simply remain bystanders in this quarrel: Rubensohn 1949, p. 1804; N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1963, pp. 2ff.; Kontoleon 1963, p. 70.

[48] Archilochos fell in this war: Plutarch: "πεϱί βϱαδ'. τιμωϱ." 560 d: Aristeidis II, 297. See N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1952, p. 82 with n. 2; D. Lazaridis, *AEphem* 1976, p. 173 with n. 3.

[49] Its adversary Miletus was heavily invested in this region, with some 90 colonies: Bengtson 1960, p. 94; Bilabel 1921, pp. 13ff. Even the allies of Naxos, Chalkis, and Corinth were unable to compete with Miletus: Kontoleon 1963, pp. 69f. See also Bengtson 1960, p. 94. Paros, on the other hand, as an ally of Miletus, was able to establish colonies in this region—Thasos, for example. Moreover, the Parians spread across the Thracian mainland opposite Thasos; even in Amphipolis a Parian votive inscription from the last quarter of the 6th century came to light that documents their formerly unrecognized influence in this area: Lazaridis, loc. cit., pp. 164ff., esp. pp. 173ff. Together with Miletus and Erythrai, the Parians founded the colony of Parium: Bilabel 1921, p. 184; Ehrhardt 1983, pp. 36f.; see also N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1952, p. 84.

[50] *RE* XVI 2 (1935), 2088, s.v. "Naxos" (Herbst). See also Karakatsanis 1986, p. 177.

[51] On the aristocracy's loss of prestige in general, see Steuben 1980, pp. 32ff.

[52] N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1963, p. 16 with n. 3, analyzes the Lelantine War as a struggle between the old world of the ἔθνη and the new world of the polis, or between the aristocracy and the people. See also Kontoleon 1967, p. 189. Apparently the trigger was that a group of young aristocrats had "misbehaved" toward Telestagoras, who was very popular among the people, and his daughter: *RE* XVI 2 (1935), 2088, s.v. "Naxos" (Herbst).

[53] Berve 1967, p. 79.

Aristagoras.[54] An expedition of Milesians and Naxians was then put together that attempted to reconquer the island of Naxos with the help of the Persians.[55]

The situation on the island of Paros was different, both socially and politically.[56] From his close reading of the poems of Archilochos, N. Kontoleon concludes that the island had neither a powerful and influential aristocracy nor a tyranny.[57] Archilochos speaks of the "σύκα and the θαλάσσιος βίος as the chief aspects of life on Paros," which can only mean that "the population was made up primarily of small farmers and seamen . . . they were free citizens in charge of their city's fate."[58] Perhaps the absence of wealthy aristocrats and therefore potential dedicators of colossal works explains why Paros's artists were among the most widely traveled of the time, seeking their commissions abroad.

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[54] Herodotus V, 28ff.; *RE* XVI 2 (1935), 2089, s.v. "Naxos" (Herbst); Kontoleon 1963, p. 57. They there hoped to secure assistance in winning back their homeland, for "it was wholly consistent with Greek conditions that whenever someone was banished he headed straight for the city that was his homeland's bitterest foe."

[55] According to W. Lambrinudakis in Athens 1986, p. 115, the art of Naxos became provincial after the catastrophic attack of the Persians around 490.

[56] Paros is more oriented toward the east, and tyranny had never played such a major role in Ionia as it had in the motherland. Naxos, however, had closer ties to the west. See Kontoleon 1963, p. 56; Kontoleon 1961, p. 268; idem, *AM* 73 (1958), p. 138.

[57] Kontoleon 1963, p. 52; idem, *AEphem* 1952, pp. 79ff. According to Gehrke 1986, p. 165, a moderate oligarchy ruled on Paros in the 6th century. The suspicion, expressed in the literature, that the tyrant Lygdamis had gained influence on Paros and erected monumental buildings there was promptly refuted: G. Gruben, *AA* 1982, p. 299. The large number of Parian korai dedicated on Delos and those discovered on the island of Paros itself also argue against any influence on the part of Lygdamis.

[58] Kontoleon 1963, p. 72.

Thasos

From Thasos,[1] founded as a Parian colony around 680, comes a slightly larger than life-size kore head that is now in the Antiquities Museum in Basel (plate 86).[2] It was carved from white Thasian marble.[3] Despite its poor state of preservation, it is still possible to see how elegantly adorned it once was: the locks are artfully styled, traces of pigment suggest that it was once painted, and a number of drill holes attest to the addition of metal jewelry. Bronze rosettes were presumably set across her forehead; her stephane had four ornaments, possibly bronze buds, and in addition it was probably painted with a palmette or meander border. The remains of a bronze pin in the part of her hair indicates that a meniskos was attached, and large holes in the earlobes apparently secured earrings of bronze or marble.[4] Even the eyes were made separately of some other metal and were inset.[5]

The kore's hairstyle is elaborate. The hair over her forehead is in two layers beginning from a center part. The upper layer consists of flat, ribbonlike strands, the ends of which are curled, while the lower one runs in broader flat strands that form a wavy edge across the forehead. On the sides, up to ten strands run downward before being drawn back in a curve behind the ear. Depressions on the temples suggest that this curve was carved separately and attached.[6] The back of the head is covered by flat, wavy, ribbonlike strands; the two in the center form a wider strip separated by a fine groove between them.[7] It is assumed that the head was created in the decade between 530 and 520.[8]

D. Boschung[9] attributes this so-called Bulgaridis head, despite its clearly recognizable Parian and Chian elements, to an independent Thasian workshop.[10] I will briefly consider the merits of such an attribution.

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[1] Herodotus VI, 46–47; VII, 108–18; Thucydides IV, 104; J. Baker-Penoyre, *JHS* 29 (1909), 202ff., pl. 13–22; Bilabel 1921, pp. 179ff.; Rubensohn 1949, pp. 1806ff.; Boardman 1981b, pp. 270ff. For a general overview, see D. Lazarides, *Griechische Inseln,* ed. M. Mela (1973), pp. 242ff. See also N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1952, p. 84.

[2] BS245, surviving height 31.6 cm. The head was first mentioned in 1912 by Ch. Picard, in his report on the excavations on Thasos (Ch. Picard, *CRAI* [1913], p. 378, illus. 7). Two years before the beginning of the dig, the head was already in the collection of the vice consul P. Bulgaridis in Kavala (Ch. Picard, *MonPiot* 20 [1913], p. 67). It is unknown where it was found, but the Bulgaridis collection included numerous other antiquities from Thasos (Boschung 1985, p. 146, n. 4). Langlotz saw the head in 1937 in Thessaloníki, where the Bulgaridis family had resettled (Langlotz, *Die Archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* 35, illus. 3–4). Bakalakis 1990, p. 1232, was told in 1957 that P. K. Bulgaridis's nephew and heir had sold the head to a foreigner in Thessaloníki. H. Jucker discovered it in a private collection in Bern in 1973. The Antiquities Museum in Basel managed to acquire it in 1976 (Bakalakis 1990, p. 1231, illus. 3–4; Boschung 1985, p. 146). See also W. Darsow, *MdI* 1950, pp. 127f., 129 with n. 45, pl. 3,1; 6, 4; Fuchs/Floren, p. 324, n. 9.

[3] Bakalakis 1990, p. 1232. One can still see ancient stone quarries today, for example near Aliki in the southwest of the island: Baker-Penoyre, loc. cit., pp. 236ff., pl. 16, 21; Daux 1967, pp. 84ff., illus. 31–32; Dworakowska 1975, p. 177; idem, *AWarsz* 27 (1975), pp. 70ff.; G. Daux, *BCH* 93 (1969), p. 948; J. Servais, *Aliki* I 1, *Études Thasiennes* 9 (1980), pp. 79ff., illus. 5–7, 16ff. (marble quarries); Kalpaxis 1986, pp. 74ff.; J. J. Herrmann in Marble 1990, pp. 73ff. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36, 6, 64, praises the marble from Thasos; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 122ff.

[4] Boschung 1985, pp. 149f., drawings 5–6.

[5] W. Darsow, *MdI* 1950, pp. 130f.: "All heads with this type of inset eyes [the complete eye, presumably with lashes] date from the last quarter of the 6th century at the earliest. The oldest example might well be the Antenor kore [Akr. 681]." See Boschung 1985, p. 147 with nn. 11 and 29 (listing of works with inset eyes). According to P. Laubscher, *IstMitt* 16 (1966), pp. 97ff. with nn. 9–18, this technique had long been used in the east, in Sumeria as early as the 3rd millennium. A small, veiled kore head from eastern Ionia, c. 540, formerly in a private collection in Switzerland and now in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of Missouri, also has inset eyes. Here, moreover, the eyebrows were also formed of another material and inset. Ibid., pp. 95ff., pl. 11,1–2; 12,1; Ridgway 1977, pp. 97f., illus. 22.

[6] Boschung 1985, pp. 147ff., drawings 1–4, 6. The Nike Akr. 693 also presents such a hairstyle, Langlotz 1939, pp. 118f., no. 68, pl. 88, as does the kore Akr. 660, Richter 1968, pp. 72f., no. 114, illus. 356–57; Langlotz 1939, pp. 128f., no. 87, pl. 95; fragm. inv. 305, ibid., p. 133, no. 101, pl. 104.

[7] This arrangement of the stepped strands with a center groove is seen on a number of later Akropolis korai from the last quarter of the 6th century: Akr. 598, 672, 673, 676, 682, 683 (pl. 156–57, 150–51, 164–65, 188, 146–47, 167).

[8] Boschung 1985, pp. 151f.

[9] Ibid., 152ff.

[10] But compare Bakalakis 1990, p. 1233. To his thinking, the head was carved under Parian and Chian influence.

The connections between this head and the "ex-Knidian" karyatid (plates 87a–b)[11] and the karyatid from the Siphnian treasury in Delphi (plates 87c–d)[12] are generally acknowledged.[13] Yet in addition to their similarities there are distinct differences among the three heads. The broad, fleshy face of the Siphnian kore more closely resembles the Bulgaridis head[14] than the more oval face of the ex-Knidian karyatid, in which—as E. Langlotz comments—"the supporting bone structure becomes visible through the near smirk of her smile."[15] Also, the hair along the forehead follows the shape of the face; while it almost traces a semicircle in the Bulgaridis kore and the Siphnian karyatid, it is more pointed, roughly triangular, on the ex-Knidian karyatid. This angularity in the ex-Knidian karyatid's face is underscored by her pointed chin and distinctly slanted eyes. Because both have inset eyes,[16] one might have expected a greater resemblance between the ex-Knidian karyatid and the Bulgaridis head.

On the other hand, the arrangement of the hair at the back of the Bulgaridis head (plate 86b) is more like that of the ex-Knidian karyatid (plate 88a) than of the Siphnian kore (plate 88b). Whereas the first two have the same narrow, stepped strands with clear horizontal divisions and the same center path with a dividing groove, in the Siphnian kore the rendering of the strands of hair is flatter; it flows down in snakelike, interlocking waves and without a clearly visible part.[17]

On the Bulgaridis head the thin strands of the first layer of hair on the forehead turn inward in snail-like curls, quite like the tips of the hair at the nape of the neck on a kouros found on Paros and now in Copenhagen.[18] On the other hand, the arrangement of the hair on the forehead in two layers and the number of waves running across the forehead is similar to that of the ex-Knidian karyatid. The latter, in turn, has been related to the Akropolis Nike 693 (plates 88, 89a–b),[19] whose link to the Nike by the Chian sculptor Archermos on Delos (plate 89a–b)[20] has long been recognized, as has the relationship between the heads of the Nike 693 and the kore Akr. 675 (plate 88).

The hairstyle on the Bulgaridis head thus forms a link with the heads of the ex-Knidian karyatid and the Akropolis Nike 693 (plates 87, 88–89), while its facial form and especially its fleshier cheeks correspond to those of the Siphnian karyatid (plate 87). Also worth noting are certain unusual techniques employed in the last-named heads, namely the "attached temple hair, the separately carved shoulder locks, and the doweled rosettes across the forehead."[21] According to the most recent research, the Siphnian karyatids are accordingly attributed, quite rightly, to the sphere of Parian art.[22]

The Bulgaridis head also shows certain similarities to the Wix head (plates 86d, 90).[23] Both have the same semicircular framing of the forehead, as on the karyatids of the Siphnian treasury (plate 87a). The Wix head, in turn, is closely related to the Phrasikleia (plate 90).[24] Both have a strong chin and similarly "protruding" eyes. Their mouths are almost identical in form, and they have the same wavy hair above the forehead that frames the face in the familiar semicircle (plate 90). G. Bakalakis does not exaggerate in the least when he claims that the Wix head finds a sister in the Phrasikleia.[25]

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[11] Richter 1968, p. 57, no. 86, illus. 270–74.

[12] Richter 1968, pp. 66f., no. 104, illus. 317–20. For the Siphnian kore's hairstyle, see Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 218ff.

[13] W. Darsow, *MdI* 1950, pp. 129f.; Boschung 1985, pp. 150ff.

[14] Langlotz 1975, p. 141, goes so far as to characterize the head as "full-blooded."

[15] Ibid., p. 62.

[16] Boschung 1985, p. 150. For a general discussion of applied metals in archaic marble statues and the inset eyes of the ex-Knidian karyatid, see B. S. Ridgway in Marble 1990, pp. 187ff., n. 6.

[17] W. Darsow, *MdI* 1950, p. 126.

[18] Richter 1960 (2nd ed.), p. 107, no. 117, illus. 348; Pedley 1976, p. 40, no. 25, pl. 18b; Johansen 1994, p. 52, no. 12, inv. no. 2030. A similar hairstyle, with a row of twisted locks above the wavy hair across the brow, is seen on the head Akr. 659, of Parian marble: Langlotz 1939, p. 131, no. 95, pl. 100.

[19] Payne/Young, p. 31, pl. 50,4. According to Isler-Kerényi 1969, p. 79, the Nike Akr. 693 is related to the kore Akr. 675 (pl. 88); Boschung 1985, p. 153 with n. 50.

[20] A. Rumpf, *La critica d'arte* 3 (1938), pp. 46f.; Isler-Kerényi 1969, p. 78.

[21] Boschung 1985, p. 153 with n. 51.

[22] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 175ff.; Kontoleon 1963, p. 59; G. Gruben, *MüJb* 23 (1972), pp. 9ff., 16ff., 28ff., who convincingly attributes the architecture of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi to Parian workshops.

[23] Boschung 1985, p. 155. For the Wix head, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. no. 2823: Richter 1960, p. 105, no. 105, illus. 328–29, 334; B. Holtzmann, *BCH* suppl. 4 (1977), pp. 295ff.; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 323f., n. 4, pl. 28,6. B. Holtzmann, *BCH* 115 (1991), pp. 125ff., illus. 1ff., manages to show that the head belonged not to a kouros but to a sphinx; see also Johansen 1994, p. 46, no. 8.

[24] A number of scholars have remarked on this relationship: Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 184 with n. 597; Bakalakis 1990, p. 1230. The Wix head is generally held to be Parian work; see also Langlotz 1927, p. 132, no. 8, pl. 71a. Thanks to its inscription, the Phrasikleia is known to have been carved by the Parian sculptor Aristion. F. Croissant in *Stele, Festschrift N. Kontoleon* (1980), pp. 48ff. with n. 22, pl. 6–7, compares the Wix head especially with the profile view of terracotta idols 12730 and 12762 from the Akropolis in Athens and with the Dioscuri heads of the Psiax amphora in Brescia, and suspects that the artist of the Wix head either came from Thasos but maintained close ties with Attic workshops or was himself an Athenian. With this he presumably means, as Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, n. 597, states, that the creator of the Wix head had close contacts with Aristion, who worked in Attica, even though Croissant does not explicitly say this, for the Wix head compares with nothing so much as the Phrasikleia. On the other hand, B. Holtzmann, *BCH* 115 (1991), pp. 139ff., argues that the artist of the Wix sphinx head was a Thasian, to be sure, but that the face displays a Parian structure, while the execution of the hair at the back is reminiscent of the Chian kore 226. Holtzmann dates the sphinx to c. 560/40. Contradicting Croissant is the fact that during the period in which the sphinx and the Phrasikleia were produced, artists from the islands tended to migrate to Athens, whereas we know of no Attic sculptors who left to work elsewhere.

[25] Bakalakis 1990, p. 1233.

In closing, it can be said that the Bulgaridis head displays Chian features in addition to its predominantly Parian ones. It was probably carved by a native artist, but one whose repertoire of forms was indebted to the mother city of Paros.[26]

Despite the large number of archaic works found on Thasos, there is no compelling proof of a specifically Thasian workshop tradition.[27]

A second life-size kore head found on Thasos (plates 90a–c)[28] shows great similarity to the Bulgaridis head. Unfortunately, it is badly preserved: the back of the head, the nose, and the chin have been broken, the surface has been battered and abraded. Here, too, the hair above the forehead lies in two layers, one above the other, and forms the same wavy line above the forehead, though the curves are distinctly deeper than on the Bulgaridis head. The strands on top of them are rendered in a manner similar to that of the Thasian head already discussed, with serpentine locks curled at the ends. A row of small beads runs along the stephane. This additional ornament, together with the earrings, which to judge from the drill holes were probably inset metal, gave the head an especially rich appearance. The head is dated to around 515/10.[29] For its artistic classification, one should use the same criteria as for the Bulgaridis head.

Since we do not know where the Bulgaridis head was found, we can only guess where it originally stood. Because of its larger than life-size format and elaborate ornamentation, one could assume with some assurance that the kore was intended as a votive offering to Athena, whose temple stood on the akropolis of the city of Thasos.[30] The meniskos[31] suggests that the figure stood out in the open. To the west of the Athena temple stood the temple of Apollo Pythios,[32] as inscriptions found there tell us.[33] The well-known colossal Kriophoros,[34] discovered in the medieval east wall of the akropolis, must have been dedicated to him.[35]

Since the second kore head was found in a porticus northwest of the agora,[36] we can assume that the kore was set up in the nearby temple of Artemis,[37] the Artemision.[38]

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[26] Rubensohn 1949, p. 1817; for the political relations between the two islands, see also O. Rubensohn, *AM* 1902, p. 198; J. Pouilloux, "Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos I," *Études thasiennes* 3 (1954), pp. 32ff.; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 199ff., esp. p. 201; idem, *ADelt* 31 (1976), p. 176 with n. 78.

[27] According to H. Hiller, "Ionische Grabreliefs der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *IstMitt* suppl. 12 (1975), pp. 97ff., a Thasian style influenced by Paros and Athens is first evident in the first half of the 5th century, while the sculptures of the 6th century do not display such uniformity; in this she agrees with E. Pfuhl, *JdI* 41 (1926), pp. 131ff. Sixth-century sculptures from Thasos are so very much indebted to foreign art modes, Hiller claims, that it is difficult to see common elements in them, and a local school in the 6th century can by no means be assumed. Langlotz 1975, pp. 120ff., and Bakalakis 1990, p. 1233, concur. According to Boschung 1985, p. 155, however, there is indeed a close conformity among the Thasian works, which leads him to the conclusion that Thasos's sculptors had already developed a style of their own beginning in the middle of 6th century, incorporating strong influences from Parian and Chian workshops.

[28] Thasos museum inv. no. 678, surviving height 23 cm. F. Chamoux, *BCH* 73 (1949), p. 547; Daux 1967, p. 117, no. 3, illus. 55; B. Holtzmann, *BCH* suppl. 4 (1977), pp. 295ff., illus. 1,3; Boschung 1985, pp. 152f. with n. 42, no. 2, pl. 37,1–3.

[29] Daux 1967, p. 117; Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 295.

[30] Daux 1967, pp. 54ff., illus. 20, no. 15. At the beginning of the 5th century the large marble temple of Athena Polias replaced an older temple from the first half of the 6th century.

[31] See pp. 118f. for a thorough discussion.

[32] Daux 1967, illus. 20, no. 14.

[33] Ch. Picard, *BCH* 45 (1921), pp. 151ff.

[34] Daux 1967, pp. 115f., illus. 51–53; Richter 1960, p. 51, no. 14, illus. 84–86; Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 66, 168. Including the plinth, the kouros is 3.60 m tall, and is dated c. 600.

[35] Ch. Picard, *BCH* 45 (1921), pp. 88, 113ff., illus. 10.

[36] B. Holtzmann, *BCH* suppl. 4 (1977), p. 295 with n. 4.

[37] Daux 1967, pp. 21ff., 39f., no. 5, illus. 4, 5. For the Artemision: N. Weil, *Études thasiennes* XI (1985), pp. 2ff., illus. 4,6. For the agora: U. Kenzler, *Studien zur Entwicklung und Struktur der griechischen Agora in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (1999), p. 119 with n. 99.

[38] Identified as an Artemision in Hippokrates, *Epidemiae* III, c 17, 102.

Chios

Only three korai are known from the island of Chios, two torsos, no. 225 (plates 91–92) and no. 226 (plate 93),[1] and a fragment of the middle part of the body (plate 94).[2]

The two upper-body fragments are one-and-a-half times life-size and are now in the Chios museum. They were discovered on Atsiki Street in the island's capital city of Chora, near the church of Hagios Ioannis.[3] Herodotus[4] mentions an Athena Polias sanctuary[5] on the akropolis in Chora, which is probably the present-day Palaiokastro.[6] It would therefore seem likely that both korai were votive gifts to Athena.[7]

The third fragment was discovered in the masonry of a wall on the Metochi Hill, which lies two kilometers north of the trading port of Emporio in the south of the island.[8] This kore also appears to have been dedicated in an Athena sanctuary, for not far from the spot where it was found rises the hill Prophetes Elias, the old akropolis, on which stood a temple of Athena.[9] In the cella, behind altar A, additional finds came to light, among them fragments of two smaller korai statuettes.[10] All three Chian korai were carved of white island marble.[11]

The two torsos, which are generally dated to the years 580/70,[12] are distinguished by their delicate bodies. The surfaces are softly modeled, and the sleeved chiton lies close to the body and allows the delicate contours of the body to show through beneath the ornamental arrangement of the fabric. Especially on the back (plates 92b, 93b) one can clearly see the indentation of the spine and the shoulderblades beneath the transparent chiton.

The thin garment swathes the entire torso in such a masterly way that not only are the body forms visible but the body itself becomes the focus of the composition.[13] Wavelike grooves running diagonally from both sides to the middle of the back render the garment in a graphic, ornamental manner characteristic of Chios and unknown in all other korai. Along the upper arms the edges of the chiton are secured by buttons at regular intervals (plates 92c–e, 93c–d).

The kore no. 225 shows a gesture of adoration[14] that is unique among korai (plates 91–92d–e): her arms are bent and her hands, resting on her breasts, are covered by single braids. The strands of hair in their present condition appear to be less three-dimensional, thin, and not very long. The side view (plates 92d–e) nevertheless provides a sense of their original fullness, especially in the upper part.[15]

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[1] J. Boardman, *AntPl* I (1962), pp. 43ff., pl. 38–44; Richter 1968, pp. 38f., nos. 37, 38, illus. 122–28.

[2] Boardman 1967, pp. 181f., pl. 69,7; 70,7; H. Kyrieleis in Chios 1986, pp. 199ff., illus. 13; Fuchs/Floren, p. 338, n. 39.

[3] F. Studniczka, *AM* 13 (1888), p. 165, no. 3; A. Conze, *AM* 23 (1898), pp. 156f.; J. Boardman, *BSA* 49 (1954), p. 125, illus. 1 (city map of Chora; the find was near no. 3); *RE* III 2 (1899), 2229, s.v. "Chios" (Bürchner).

[4] Herodotus I, 160.

[5] Strabo XLII, 601, mentions a seated image of Athena on Chios.

[6] *RE* III 2 (1899), 2298, s.v. "Chios" (Bürchner).

[7] According to Kyrieleis 1995, p. 32, they were intended to demonstrate, in their "not yet truly colossal dimensions but a size clearly exceeding human scale, the social and political stature of their aristocratic donors."

[8] Boardman 1967, pp. 86, 253ff., illus. 1 (map showing Metochi, the location of the find); Kalouris in Chios 1986, pp. 141ff. (on the temple in general), 152ff. (Metochi).

[9] Boardman 1967, pp. 5ff., illus. 2, 4, 5, 7, 13b, pl. 5e, 6a, from the middle of the 6th century. For a detailed discussion of the Athena sanctuary with a suggested new dating to the first half of the 6th century, see W. Held, *AA* 1998, pp. 347ff.

[10] Boardman 1967, pp. 5ff., 181ff., pl. 68,5; 69,6.

[11] According to Strabo XIV, 645, the island of Chios also had a marble quarry, but as yet no Chian marble has been identified with certainty. See A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften* (1959), p. 256 with n. 1. Pliny mentions in *Nat. Hist.* 36, 14 and 36, 46, that Chian artists used marble from Paros; see also Boardman 1967, pp. 86ff. For the island's marble types, see Langlotz 1975, p. 168, n. 41.

[12] J. Boardman, *AntPl* I (1962), p. 45; Richter 1968, pp. 38f.

[13] Isler-Kerényi 1969, p. 80.

[14] J. Boardman, *AntPl* I (1962), p. 44. A similar gesture is seen on a number of terracotta figures from the late 7th century from the Heraion in Argos; see Ch. Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum* II (1905), p. 33, illus. 64, pl. 46,1. For a general discussion, see G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (1965); F. Braun, *Gnomon* 41 (1969), pp. 73ff. Additional votive gifts from the Aphaea sanctuary at Aigina depict seminude standing women holding their breasts with both hands: U. Sinn in Athens 1988, pp. 149ff., esp. pp. 152ff., 158, illus. 4. He connects these votive types with the veneration of the goddess Aphaea as Kourotrophos and patroness of women in childbirth and the healthy growth of their children.

[15] For the korai's hairstyles, see Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 128ff.

In its three-dimensional modeling, kore no. 226 is similar to no. 225. The right hand hangs down motionless at the side—unless it grasps the chiton in the usual way—while the left hand lies between the breasts and held some attribute that is no longer present (plate 93a). A lozenge-shaped depression and at least nine holes drilled in a circle around it suggest an especially prominent and imposing attribute attached separately. Unfortunately, nothing certain can be said about the type of votive gift it might have been. To my thinking, the most likely object would have been a large marble flower with petals made of some other material, perhaps metal.

The chiton presents an unusual detail in the belting at the back: the recess in which the belt is visible is rectangular, with sharp edges and corners (plate 93b). One might suspect that the kore wore a metal belt.[16] This view is supported by comparison with other korai, for example those from Moschato (plates 110a–b),[17] Kyrene (plates 95–99),[18] Paros (plate 79),[19] and Erythrai (plate 54b),[20] which present a similar kind of belt. While in the examples named the recess is deeper and not so sharp edged, owing to the draping of the kolpoi, the much shallower recess on the Chian kore gives the impression that it was cut with a sharp knife. A metal belt would have matched the elaborate attribute with its presumed metal ornaments.

The fragment from Metochi (plate 94)[21] comes from a kore that was probably smaller than life-size, and includes the section between the breast and thighs.[22] Boardman dates it to the last third of the 6th century or somewhat earlier.[23] The kore wears a chiton without a himation. Folds in the overfold of the chiton are suggested by wavelike grooves. These are arranged in groups of five or six parallel lines, between which are separate, diagonal wavy lines.[24] The right arm probably lay close to the body, while the left one, to judge from the wider paryphe, was held at some distance. On the back, which is in poor condition, one can still see small, flat folds that in their diagonal course suggest the garment was grasped on the left side. The arm hung at the side, and the hand grasped the garment at a somewhat lower level than on later korai, roughly at the thigh. Boardman explains the deeply projecting kolpos by suggesting that the belt was especially tight.

These observations suggest that the figure was somewhat unusual in form. To get an idea of the kore's original appearance, Boardman compares the fragment with Akr. 683[25] and related kore statues from the last third of the 6th century (plates 167, 264).[26] These also wear a chiton but no himation, and the kolpos forms a straight line, whereas on the Chios fragment it apparently forms a curve resembling a "little window." Characteristic of the Attic korai used as comparisons, moreover, is a broad, bulging center panel between the legs with a smooth surface. On the Metochi kore, by contrast, one can still see the beginning of uniformly narrow vertical folds beneath the kolpos (plates 94a–b).[27]

Chian artists are known only from written sources,[28] and the few finds from the island do not permit any conclusions about Chiotic Archaic sculpture.[29] On the basis of the two torsos and the Nike from Delos (plates 89a–b), which is recognized as the work of the Chian artist Archermos,[30] scholars have repeatedly attempted to ascribe other sculptures to a Chian workshop.[31] J. Pedley, for example, recently sought to derive the korai of the so-called Nesiotic group[32] from a Chian artistic tradition.[33] The only features that the Chian kore fragments have in common with the other korai of the group are the rectangular chiton cutouts above the belt, the so-called little window, and the hairstyle. In fact, the little window first appears on the Chian kore no. 226, so that it can be assumed that this motif originated on the island of Chios.[34] The two elements, the typical cutout at the belt and the characteristic rendering of the hair, are in my opinion insular Ionic characteristics. Yet the two Chian torsos and the fragment from Metochi stand out among the so-called Cycladic korai on account of the uniquely graphic rendering of their drapery, the lifelike shapes of their bodies, and their unusual gestures.[35] One might even conclude that Chian elements were taken up into Parian art, especially since Chian artists are known to have worked on Paros. The remaining korai of the group nevertheless share features that clearly set them apart from the Chian korai, especially in the rendering of the drapery.[36] The chiton, for example, is ornamented with a vertical meander border, which presupposes a considerably thicker fabric than that worn by the Chian korai, whose chitons are very finely woven.

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[16] There are examples of metal belts on Chios from Periods III–VI (630–500); see Boardman 1967, pp. 101f. (chronology), 214ff. (description of the belts), pl. 88–90. For the origin of the belt: C. Dawaras, *Die Statue aus Astritsi* (1972), pp. 28f. with nn. 125–26. Moreover, Chios is the home of the famous artist Glaukos—Herodotus I, 25, 2, knows the εὑϱήματα by Glaukos of Chios—who is said to have produced outstanding works in metal (for example, a silver krater for Alyattes as a votive gift for Delphi, c. 580) and to have been the inventor of new metalworking techniques (such as soldering bronze and welding iron). Pausanias X, 16, 1, precisely describes the process of σιδήϱου ϰόλληση. See E. Pernice, *JdI* 16 (1901), pp. 64 ff.; Fuchs/Floren, p. 336 with n. 23. See also J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 188. Metal belt buckles presented as votive gifts also come from other sanctuaries, like that of Aphrodite on the Zeytintepe in Miletus; see R. Senf, *IstMitt* 42 (1992), p. 107 with n. 11. For the πϱῶτος εὑϱετής: A. Kleingünther, *Philologus* suppl. 26, I (1933), pp. 24f., 50f.

[17] NM3859. Richter 1968, p. 39, no. 40, illus. 132–34.

[18] J. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 75ff., pl. 6,5–8; 7,9–12; 8,13–14; idem, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 86, pl. 22,1–4.

[19] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 94f. Naoussa kore no. 802, pl. 36–37.

[20] E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 1ff., pl. 1–2.

[21] Boardman 1967, pp. 181ff., pl. 69,7; 70,7. See also H. Kyrieleis in Chios 1986, pp. 199ff., illus. 13.

[22] In the photographs the thighs cannot be seen, only the beginning of the skirt, which falls in straight folds.

[23] Boardman 1967, p. 183.

[24] Ibid., p. 183, illus. 128. There is a comparative example for this lone ornamentation of the garment in the Antiparos kore no. 791.

[25] Richter 1968, p. 77, no. 121, illus. 385–88.

[26] Akr. 602: Langlotz 1939, no. 7, pl. 13; Akr. 670: Richter 1968, p. 76, no. 119, illus. 377–80.

[27] Since the condition and photographic reproduction of the fragment as well as Boardman's descriptions present no solution to the problem, to clarify the remaining questions one would have to study the original.

[28] Fuchs/Floren, pp. 335f. with nn. 1–22; See also J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 188.

[29] Langlotz 1975, pp. 168f.; Ducat 1971, p. 263. For other finds from Chios, see K. Kourouniotis, *ADelt* 2 (1916), pp. 190ff., esp. pp. 212f., illus. 37; Boardman 1967, pp. 181ff., pl. 68–69; A. Furtwängler, *Gnomon* 51 (1979), p. 476. Quoted from N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 100. Croissant 1983, pp. 72ff., attempts to define the Chian workshops more fully; idem, *BCH* suppl. IV (1977), pp. 361ff. For comparison, he bases his conclusions on a series of female clay protomai that were not, however, discovered on Chios. In general, the art situation on Chios in the later 6th century is as described by Langlotz 1927, pp. 137ff.; Langlotz 1975, pp. 168f.; Langlotz 1939, pp. 35, 77ff.; and Isler-Kerényi 1969, pp. 77ff. For the Chian school of sculpture, see Fuchs/Floren, pp. 335ff.

[30] Kontoleon 1963, p. 65; Kontoleon 1970, pp. 66ff.

[31] See Isler-Kerényi 1969, pp. 77ff. See also D. Boschung, *AntK* 1985, pp. 152f., nn. 47–48.

Chian workshops are more likely to have had an influence on the slender korai on the round base from Kyzikos (plate 94)[37] and related works,[38] as was recently suggested by Zapheiropoulos.[39] The Erythrai kore[40] could also have been carved under the influence of Chian art.

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[32] The core of the group is formed by: NM73 from Aigina, NM3859 from Moschato (these korai have been particularly linked to the two Chian torsos), A4062, A3996 from Delos, Kyrene I and II, Paros no. 802 from Naoussa, and no. 791 from Antiparos; see p. 86 with n. 56.

[33] J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), pp. 183ff., esp. pp. 186ff.; idem, *AJA* 83 (1979), p. 111.

[34] See also N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, n. 65. Langlotz 1975, p. 121, linked the Erythrai kore to Chios. The historical sources (Rubensohn 1949, pp. 1808ff.) attest to ties among Paros, Miletus, Chios, and Erythrai. Chios's geographical position opposite Erythrai leaves no doubt about the influence on its artistic style. For that reason one can assume that the Erythrai kore, which is dated c. 550, was produced by a native artist who knew Chian works (c. 580). See E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 6ff.

[35] See also J. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 190.

[36] Isler-Kerényi 1969, pp. 79f., convincingly describes the differences between the Chian torsos and the Aiginian (as well as Samian) korai, which differences also apply to the remaining korai of the group. Martini 1990, pp. 140f., 202. See also J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 44f.

[37] E. Akurgal, *AntK* 8 (1965), pp. 99ff., pl. 28, 2; Akurgal 1961, p. 234, illus. 200.

[38] Akurgal 1961, p. 262.

[39] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 103.

[40] For the relationships among Paros, Chios, and Miletus, see also Herodotus I, 18; for the political history of the Aegean in the archaic period: N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1963, pp. 1ff.; see pp. 59ff.

Kyrene

From Kyrene, the colony established by Thera[1] on the north coast of Africa, there are five known korai (illus. 14).

Two of these, Kyrene I and II (plates 95–99), were discovered together with a kouros, a sphinx, an Ionic capital, and a column southeast of the temple of Zeus Lykios in the eastern section of the ancient city, probably outside its walls (illus. 15, 16; tables 8.1, 8.2).[2] The two life-size korai[3] are very similar in sculptural concept and are distinguished by their solid, slender figures. Kore I has been broken into three pieces, the head is missing, and the right forearm and hand are half splintered off. Kore II is almost completely preserved; all that is missing are the head and the tip of the right foot with a portion of the plinth. Both korai are clothed in a heavy sleeved chiton adorned in front with a meander design on a panel down the center of the chiton. On the sides of the waist the chiton forms two kolpoi that permit a view of the belt through the familiar "little window." The drapery on the lower body of kore II consists of vertical, slightly convex folds separated by grooves.[4] The chitons of both korai are secured along their upper arms by a row of buttons much like those of the korai 225 and 226 from Chios and the kore NM 3859 from Moschato (plates 97, 99, 92–93, 110).

On both statues the hair is arranged in front in four relatively short braids reaching down to the level of the breast (plates 95–96, 98). On the back the hair ends in an almost straight line, though the center strands, especially on kore II, are somewhat longer (plates 96b, 98b). Their short hair, especially on the back, is reminiscent of that of certain kouroi—for example no. 8 from Thera, no. 11 from the Ptoion, and the kouros from Volomandra.[5]

On both korai the right hand is clenched into a fist and hangs down at the side, while the left one is placed between the breasts. Nearly all the korai of the so-called Nesiotic group present the same pose.[6]

J. G. Pedley has compared the two Kyrenian korai with examples from Samos, kore I with the Chermayes kore in the Louvre[7] and kore II with the Philippe of the Geneleos Group,[8] dating them to roughly 560/50. He thinks that kore I could possibly have been created somewhat earlier.[9] In fact, the korai do show similarities to the Cheramyes korai in the position of the arms and especially in the solid, *"vegetabilischen"*[10] shape of their bodies, which is particularly evident in side views. Also, the chiton spreads out onto the plinth and envelops the feet projecting beneath it in a similar way. The same grooved folds can be seen on Samian works (plates 4, 8, 12, 14).[11] Yet if we compare these korai with the Philippe from the Geneleos Group, the differences are evident. The Philippe seems altogether plumper and broader, especially her lower body as seen from the side (plates 24–25). The garment of Kyrene II falls down in a curved line from the slender waist, across the prominent hips and buttocks, then envelops the lower legs more closely (plates 98–99). In addition, the grooved folds here run vertically around the entire lower body. On the Philippe they form only the center panel as a result of the grasping of the chiton; the rest of the fabric is smooth (plates 24–25, 28).

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[1] Despite its associations with Egypt, Kyrene remained wholly Greek, Herodotus II, 182. Amasis dedicated to Kyrene a gilt Athena, most probably a Greek work. For a general discussion of the Therian colony, see Boardman 1981b, pp. 183ff.; idem, in "The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation," *Festschrift J. Boardman* (1994), pp. 137ff., esp. pp. 142ff.

[2] R. G. Goodchild/J. G. Pedley/D. White, *LibyaAnt* 3/4 (1966/67), pp. 179ff., illus. 1–2, pl. 65ff.; J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 39ff., illus. 1–2, pl. 5–9; D. White, *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 54. See also Goodchild 1971, map 1.

[3] J. G. Pedley, *LibyaAnt* 3/4 (1966/67), pp. 186ff., nos. 2–3, pl. 67–69; Richter 1986, p. 46, nos. 56a–b; J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 42ff., pl. 6–8, 13–14; idem, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 184, pl. 22. See also *EAA* suppl. II 2 (1994), p. 864, s.v. "Kyrene," illus. 1000; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 183ff. with nn. 10–11; Rolley 1994, p. 255, illus. 254.

[4] Much like the Naoussa kore 802 (from Paros); N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pl. 36–37.

[5] A listing of additional kouroi is found in J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 187 with n. 30.

[6] A4062, A3996, NM3859, Antiparos 791, Naoussa 802.

[7] Samos XI, p. 21, no. 6, pl. 5–6.

[8] Samos XI, p. 113, no. 61, pl. 49, 53.

[9] J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 42ff., esp. p. 46; N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 99 with n. 33, dates the korai to the middle of the 6th century or the decade between 550 and 540.

[10] Samos XI, p. 21; see also Martini 1990, pp. 140f.

[11] Samos XI, p. 38, no. 16, pl. 9; Richter 1968, no. 69, illus. 225–27.

The vertical folds on Kyrene II are more reminiscent of Parian works. A good comparison is provided by the Naoussa kore 802 (plate 79).[12] After the discovery of the colossal seated goddess on Paros, it was said that her similar drapery, with "a series of folds separated by flat furrows,"[13] was a typically Parian feature.[14] Also common to the Naoussa kore and Kyrene I and II are the meander border on the chiton and the rectangular window formed by the kolpoi. The rendering of the hair and the carving of the back, with a clearly visible furrow of the spine, are also comparable (plates 79b, 96b, 99b).

The Kyrene korai and the kore from Naoussa follow the tradition of kore A4062 from Delos (plates 64, 214).[15] The chronological gap between them is filled by the torsos from Moschato (plate 110) and Aigina (plate 102). The Moschato torso not only shows a great similarity to the korai from Kyrene in the back area, with the close-fitting garment and beadlike hair, but also presents the same rectangular chiton cutout ("little window") above the belt (plates 110b, 96b, 98b).

In connecting the Kyrene korai with works from Paros there is also the Phrasikleia to consider, which was carved by the Parian artist Aristion and thus counts as a Parian work despite its Attic influences.[16] The impression of texture in the Phrasikleia's clothing (plates 114–15, 235), which is also seen in the later Delian korai (plates 67–72, 216–27),[17] is foreign to the more "spiritualized" works of Attica, as N. Zapheiropoulos recently remarked.[18] Yet the Phrasikleia's facial expression seems unusual, quite similar to that of the kore from Keratea[19] but unlike that of Parian works (plates 111–12a, 114–15).[20] In the conception of the face, the Parian artist apparently adapted to the wishes of his Attic patron. In the Phrasikleia, Aristion distanced himself from the vitality of Parian art and followed the Attic tradition.

In the following I will briefly consider the question of whether the Kyrene korai I and II can be attributed to a specific workshop. The existence of a local sculpture workshop is difficult to prove, especially since scholars assume that the kouros discovered together with the korai[21] was imported in a finished state, possibly even from Paros.[22] After comparing the Kyrenian korai with those from Chios and Samos, Pedley[23] comes to the conclusion that the two were probably produced in a Kyrenian workshop.[24] Herodotus[25] reports that in the 6th century Kyrene was open to influences from Greece and maintained close ties with Samos, among other cities. It would therefore appear that its artists were familiar with the style of Samos as well as the styles of Chios, Paros, and the motherland, and it is my contention that they preferred the art tradition of the so-called Nesiotic Group, with its distinctly Parian elements. B. S. Ridgway mentions that in Kyrene, where there is no marble, the korai show various stylistic trends that could suggest they were produced by different workshops.[26]

The smaller than life-size kore from the Demeter sanctuary (Wadi Bel Gadir) is made up of two pieces discovered at different times (plate 100).[27] According to E. Paribeni, she was carved from grayish-white Naxian marble and is a distinctly mediocre work, but one that stands out because of the rendering of its drapery. The position of the arms is also unusual, antithetical to the customary pose. She has placed her right hand on her breast, while the left hand, holding a wreath, hangs at her side.[28]

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[12] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 102f., illus. 36–37. For this comparison, see also Schmaltz 1998, pp. 10ff.

[13] G. Rösch, *Altertümliche Marmorwerke von Paros* (1914), pp. 15f., pl. 1–3, 5. For the enthroned goddess, Paros museum 162, see also Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 47, 127, no. 12. For an extensive analysis, see G. Bakalakis in *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ. Festschrift G. Mylonas* (1989), pp. 108ff., esp. pp. 130ff.

[14] Herdejürgen 1968, pp. 20f. The vertical drapery folds of the so-called seated goddess, which is considerably younger than the Naoussa kore and is dated to the end of the 6th century, are also found on older works from the island. See G. Rodenwald, *AM* 46 (1921), p. 33; Payne/Young, p. 58; Rubensohn 1962, p. 56; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 47.

[15] See pp. 68, 71ff. J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 186, pl. 25, illus. 16. For this problem, see also Schmaltz 1998, pp. 10ff.

[16] Pedley 1976, pp. 14, 45; idem, *AJA* 83 (1979), p. 111; Ridgway 1977, p. 104; F. Croissant, *BCH* suppl. IV (1977), p. 343; idem, in *Stele, Festschrift N. Kontoleon* (1980), p. 48; Croissant 1983, p. 101; Martini 1990, p. 201.

[17] G. Rodenwald, *AM* 46 (1921), p. 33. For the identification of this garment with Parian works, see Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 75.

[18] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 102f.; K. Karakasi, *AW* 7 (1997), p. 511.

[19] E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5 (1972), p. 308; Langlotz 1975, p. 166; A. Stewart, *AAA* 9 (1976), pp. 257ff.; Ridgway 1977, p. 298; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 184, 245 with n. 598. For the kore from Keratea, see Blümel 1964, pp. 7ff.; Richter 1968, p. 39, no. 42, illus. 139–46.

[20] Hers is not the facial expression typical of Parian works, which one might have expected on the Phrasikleia. See Croissant 1983, p. 101.

[21] Other kouroi from Kyrene are considered to have been imported as well: Langlotz 1975, p. 169.

[22] Ridgway 1977, pp. 66, 81. Also the kouros head no. 5, Paribeni 1959, pl. 8–9, is ascribed to the Parian artistic sphere, since his face, despite its squarish shape, has softer, fleshier features than those usually found on Ionic kouroi. The same is true of the Parian kouros from Delos, A3997, Richter 1960, no. 47, and the kouros A4143, W. Déonna, *Les "Apollons archaiques"* (1909), pp. 213f., no. 100, illus. 139–40. The hairstyle of the kouros head no. 5, which fringes the forehead as though separately formed, is also found on the Parian kouros in the Louvre, Pedley 1976, no. 24, pl. 16–17, and there are also parallels to the Rolley head, which is certain to be Parian, Steuben 1980, pp. 8ff., pl. 6–9. Chamoux 1953, p. 345, emphasizes the relationship between the Kyrene head and the kouros from Thera, E. Buschor, *Frühgriechische Jünglinge* (1950), 71, 123, illus. 79–80, which is attributed to the Parian workshop.

[23] J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 42ff., esp. p. 45. He is more inclined to suspect that the korai are from Chios.

[24] See also F. Eckstein, *Gnomon* 33 (1961), p. 403; W. Schuchhardt, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), p. 507. Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 62, suggests that the two korai, although carved locally, are Cycladic in style.

[25] Herodotus VI, 160ff.

[26] Ridgway 1977, p. 90.

[27] Paribeni 1959, pp. 8f., no. 6, inv. no. 14411, pl. 10–11; S. Kane Trimble, *LibyaAnt* 13/14 (1976/77), pp. 327f., no. 12, inv. no. 76810, pl. 96a–b; idem, *AJA* 84 (1980), pp. 182f., pl. 27–28.

The young woman is dressed in a chiton whose kolpoi, both front and back, end in loops of equal length. These are uncommonly long, reaching down to the level of the hanging hand. Between the kolpoi are the familiar "little windows" in which the belt is visible. Unlike those of korai I and II, these are arched rather than angular at the top.[29] Up to three major folds emphasize the hem of the himation, following its course all the way around the statue. On her breast these combine with broad, swelling vertical folds separated by deep furrows. Above the upper arms the garment is stretched into four separate areas of narrow horizontal folds separated by deeper concave ones. On the back, wider vertical folds continue the lines of the vertical, beadlike strands of hair; identical vertical folds also encircle the entire lower body (plate 100).

Paribeni,[30] who knew only the top part of the figure, considered the kore the work of a Samian artist.[31] In his opinion, Samian sculptors had difficulties combining the various directions of folds in an "organic" way, as can be seen in the transition from vertical to horizontal folds on the Cheramyes kore (plates 4–7), for example, and even more clearly on a bronze kore from Olympia.[32] Yet Paribeni concedes that these "difficulties," which I fail to discern, are ultimately immaterial in view of the rendering of the drapery on the kore from the Demeter sanctuary, on which the folds running in different directions are abruptly juxtaposed.

S. Kane[33] would like to see a Samian influence and also influences from the Greek east, and presents as comparisons works from Miletus,[34] Theangela, Caria,[35] and even Sardis.[36] These influences, he feels, are evident in the convex folds of the cutout over the belt. Such wide, high-relief folds are in fact more typical of examples from this region than of works from Samos.[37] The most convincing parallels for the unusual draping and its high-relief forms are nevertheless provided by the kore M10 (plate 45), currently on the art market, which is likely from the Milesian realm.

The massive form of the kore from the Demeter sanctuary and the crudeness with which the drapery is rendered betray its provincial character. Kane rightly sees it as a local product, as do W. Fuchs and J. Floren.[38] Kane feels that the unusual treatment of the drapery is not the only indication; she also notes its assimilation of various styles from eastern Greece. Thus the korai appear to answer the question of whether complete statues were shipped to Kyrene, or only uncut marble.[39]

Paribeni dates the korai to the second quarter of the 6th century,[40] which means they were created at a time when a large second wave of colonists came to Kyrene and formed a third city tribe, in addition to the Thereans and Cretans, in the constitution of Demonax from Mantinea.[41] Among these new settlers, Herodotus tells us,[42] there were also emigrants from eastern Greece. The kore from the Demeter sanctuary was thus probably one of the earliest works of art from this second phase of settlement.[43]

The two korai from the Apollo sanctuary (plate 101) are clearly very similar, and were conceived as mirror images of each other.[44] The one has placed her left foot forward, the other her right, and accordingly the one grasps her chiton with her left hand, the other with her right. The long row of drill holes along their upper left and right arms, respectively, shows that the chitons of both korai were originally secured with metal buttons. Also their himatia are draped at opposing angles across their breasts, running from the right shoulder under the left arm and vice versa. Scholars assume that the korai were carved as a pair, perhaps even meant to be used as karyatids.[45]

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[28] S. Kane, *AJA* 84 (1980), pp. 182f. with n. 7, holds that because of its small size (68.5 cm) and the asymmetry created by the higher left shoulder and breast, also the unequal length of the arms, the kore could be a perirrhanterion. It is not uncommon to find a wreath as a kore attribute, as we see from the Akropolis kore 693, for example (pl. 129, 238): Richter 1968, p. 40, no. 43, illus. 147–50.

[29] The rectangular cutout applies to the korai of the so-called Nesiotic group.

[30] Paribeni 1959, p. 9.

[31] Paribeni 1959, pp. 8f., no. 6. The arch-shaped cutout above the belt derives from the Samian-Ionic sphere: Samos IX, no. 16, pl. 9; no. 62, pl. 50 (Ornithe); for additional examples: ibid., pl. 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 49. This motif spreads beyond Naxos as far as the Akropolis in Athens, as is shown by the Naxian Akropolis korai 619 and 677: Richter 1968, no. 58, illus. 194–95; no. 59, illus. 198–200. See also Steuben 1980, p. 13 with n. 15, illus. 18–19; J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 45. Paribeni feels that the kore from the Demeter sanctuary shows the Samian influence on artists of Naxos better than the Akropolis korai mentioned.

[32] Buschor 1934ff., I–III, p. 33, illus. 118.

[33] S. Kane, *AJA* 84 (1980), p. 183; idem, *LibyaAnt* 13/14 (1976/77), p. 328 with n. 53–54; Fuchs/Floren, p. 184 with n. 11. Based upon her hairstyle, Rohner/Dvorsky 1993, pp. 138f., prefer to note a Samian influence, specifically the style of the Cheramyes korai.

[34] See, for example, the relief of a standing kore, probably from Miletus, Berlin museum no. 1900: Blümel 1964, p. 50, no. 46, illus. 128; Richter 1968, p. 93, no. 166, illus. 531.

[35] Theangela kore, British Museum B319: Richter 1968, p. 93, no. 167, illus. 532–35. See pp. 54f.

[36] Cybele sanctuary, Manisa museum 4029: Richter 1968, pp. 92f., no. 164, illus. 524–27.

[37] The Ornithe from the Geneleos Group: Samos XI, p. 115, no. 65, pl. 50, 53.

[38] See note 33, above.

[39] J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 45 with n. 54; D. White, *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 55 with n. 69; S. Kane, *AJA* 84 (1980), p. 182.

[40] S. Kane Trimble, *LibyaAnt* 13/14 (1976/77), p. 327, dates the kore to c. 550.

[41] Paribeni 1959, p. 9; Chamoux 1953, pp. 128ff., 210.

[42] Herodotus IV, 159–61.

[43] S. Kane, *AJA* 84 (1980), p. 183 with n. 13. See also J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 45 with n. 50.

[44] E. Pfuhl, *AM* 48 (1923), pp. 139ff., illus. 5; Lippold 1950, p. 90 with n. 4; Chamoux 1953, pp. 355ff., no. 7–8, pl. 23,1–4; Paribeni 1959, no. 8, inv. no. 14008, and no. 9, inv. no. 14009, pl. 12–15; *EAA* II (1959), p. 668, illus. 906; W. H. Schuchhardt, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), p. 508; Richter 1968, pp. 93ff., nos. 168–69, illus. 536–39.

[45] W. Darsow, *MdI* 1951, p. 88 with n. 28; Samos XI, pp. 127f. with n. 116; Fuchs/Floren, p. 184; Ridgway 1977, p. 101, n. 19. For karyatids in general, see A. Schmidt-Colinet, *Antike Stützfiguren* (1977), pp. 150ff.

Both figures are modeled with little plasticity; they wear chitons with diagonal himatia ending in long points with zigzag hems. It is evident that kore no. 9 is somewhat more compact and has fewer ornamental folds than kore no. 8 (plate 101), especially on the unusually long overfold of the mantle.[46] Each has three long locks of hair falling down across her breast, while that main mass of hair, spread across the back, hangs down nearly to the belt. The strands are arranged in several layers, one above the other, so that narrower strands can be seen in the gaps between the broader ones. The separate locks are indicated in kore no. 8 with vertical and horizontal notches, and therefore seem more angular than those of kore no. 9, whose strands fall in waves and are more precisely ordered. Because of the lavish modeling of the hair, both korai are considered to reflect the Samian style.[47] Yet comparison with the Nesiotic korai suggests that they belong to that artistic sphere. The two korai show, in the broad course of the mantle overfold, the dull, unnatural transition from chiton to himation, and the isolation of the individual forms of the whole figure a great similarity to the Andros kore (plates 75, 228–29).

Paribeni dates the two korai to around 520/10,[48] F. Chamoux[49] somewhat later, to 490/80. Because of their great similarity to examples from the Nesiotic group, I find the earlier dating by Paribeni is preferable.

Find Spots

Korai I and II were found in 1966 in a cache inside a quarry southeast of the temple of Zeus Lykios (illus. 14–16). They had been carefully buried, apparently as part of a religious rite, together with a kouros, a sphinx, a capital, and a column.[50] They were probably buried there after an enemy attack—perhaps that of the Persians in the year 514.[51] It is difficult to tell to which sanctuary they originally belonged. It is even more difficult to determine in what sort of structure the statues might have stood. The excavators suspected they could have come from some other temple in the precinct of the temple to Zeus Lykios, or from the precursor of the Zeus Lykios temple itself.[52] The dating of this temple has not been clearly established: based on the shapes of its Doric capitals, scholars assume that it was built around 540/30,[53] but a later date has also been suggested,[54] placing it in the reign of Battos IV (515–470). The kore from the Demeter sanctuary (illus. 14) was registered in the museum before 1959, with no information about where it was discovered. Thanks to the discovery of the matching lower-body fragment during an excavation in Wadi Bel Gadir in 1976, it is possible to provide some information about it. The fragment was found at the end of Terrace 3 (illus. 17) of the Demeter sanctuary outside the city walls, and is said to have lain there undisturbed from antiquity until the time it was uncovered, though the excavators cannot say with certainty that the fragment lay in situ.[55] One can thus assume that the kore was set up in the Demeter sanctuary as a votive gift, especially since offerings of korai were particularly appropriate to this goddess, as we see from the finds at Eleusis in Attica. Moreover, we know that in the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros and her daughter, the festival of the Thesmophoria was celebrated solely by women.[56] S. Kane mentions that during these cult festivities, which appear to have been of great importance in Kyrene,[57] a procession began at the Demeter temple on the Agora[58] and ended at her sanctuary outside the walls. As Kallimachos reports in his hymn to Demeter, female participants carried sacred objects to the temple in open baskets.[59] The kore's attribute, probably a wreath, fits in well with the goddess Demeter as patroness of crops and protectress of the fertility of the soil.

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[46] Some scholars see in the unusual dress of the two korai an early example of the later classical form of this type of mantle: E. Pfuhl, *AM* 48 (1923), p. 142.

[47] Paribeni 1959, pp. 10f.; Fuchs/Floren, p. 184.

[48] Paribeni 1959, pp. 11f.

[49] Chamoux 1953, p. 358. For the later dating, see also W. H. Schuchhardt, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), p. 508, nos. 8–9.

[50] R. G. Goodchild/J. G. Pedley/D. White, *LibyaAnt* 3/4 (1966/67), pp. 179ff., illus. 1–2, pl. 65ff.; J. G. Pedley/D. White, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 39ff., illus. 1–2, pl. 5–10; M. Donderer, *ÖJh* 61 (1991/92), appendix 234, no. 5.

[51] Herodotus IV, 203. See also Chamoux 1953, p. 165; J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 40f., illus. 1–2. See also D. White, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 54f.

[52] J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 39ff., 46; D. White, *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 54 with n. 66. During excavation of the temple of Zeus Lykios no direct indications of a precursor building came to light. The excavators assume that an earlier temple could have stood on some other spot within the sacred precinct.

[53] D. Buttle, *Cyrenaican Expedition* (1956), pp. 31ff., map. XIII; Goodchild 1971, pp. 149f., map 1, no. 39, illus. 112–15.

[54] Chamoux 1953, p. 329.

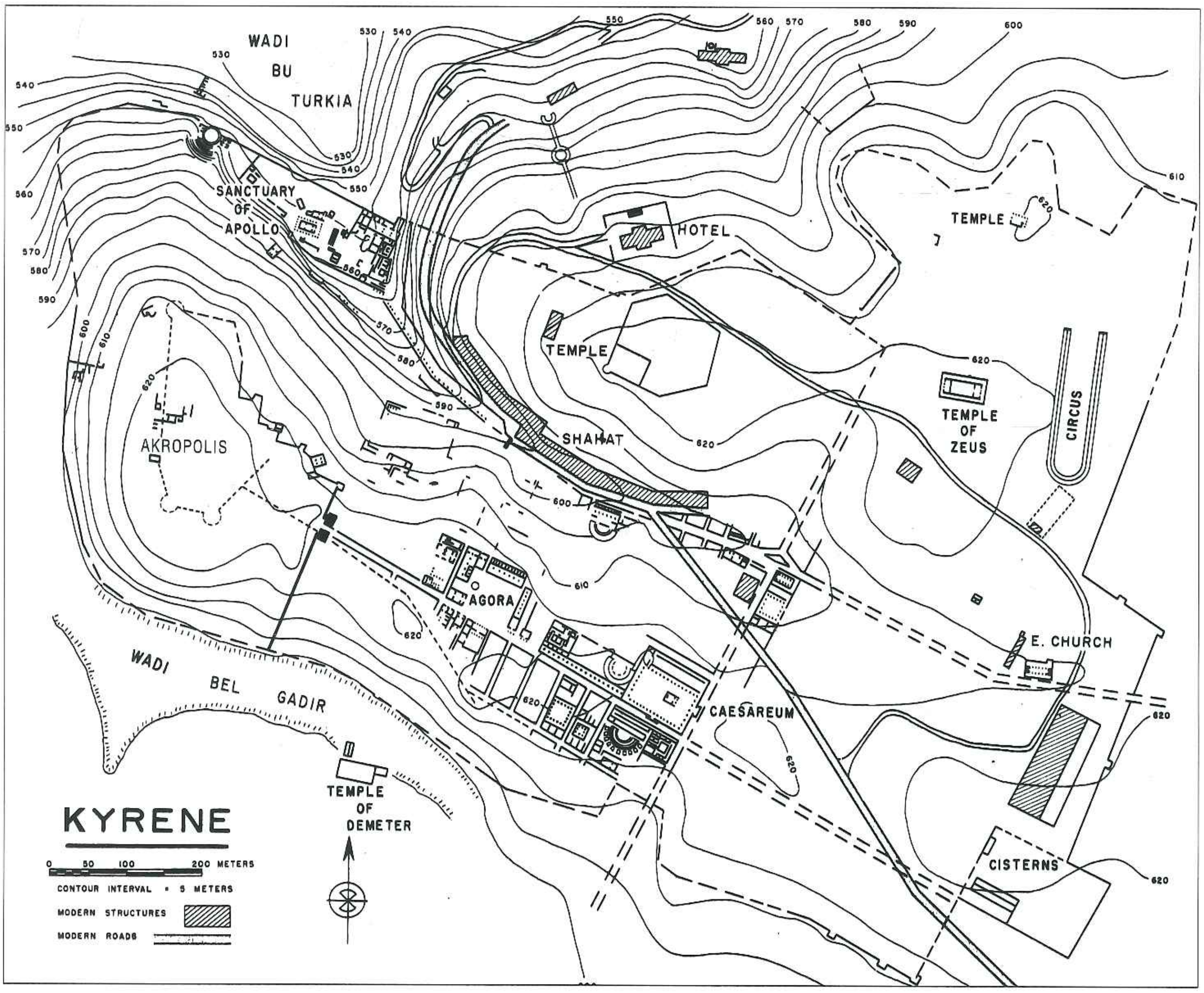
[55] D. White, LibyaAnt 13/14 (1976/77), pp. 289ff., esp. p. 303, illus. 1 (F13/G13, Terrace 3); S. Kane Trimble, LibyaAnt 13/14 (1976/77), p. 327, no. 12, pl. 96a–b; idem, AJA 84 (1980), pp. 182f., pl 27–28. For the Demeter shrine in general, see Goodchild 1971, pp. 156ff., illus. 22, pp. 116–21, map 1, no. 44. Extensive reports on the excavation: D. White, LibyaAnt 8 (1971), pp. 85ff., illus. 1, esp. pp. 89f.; idem, LibyaAnt 9/10 (1972/73), pp. 171ff., esp. p. 176, illus. 1–2, pl. 76a–b.

[56] E. Simon, "Mann und Frau – Frau und Mann. Hintergründe, Ursachen und Problematik der Geschlechterrollen," in *Fünftes Würzburger Symposium der Universität Würzburg* (1992), pp. 266ff. For the Thesmophoria, see also Burkert 1977, pp. 365ff.; Nilsson 1955, p. 461.

[57] S. Kane in *Στέφανος, Studies in Honor of B. S. Ridgway* (1998), pp. 145ff. The discovery of two seated statues from the first half of the 1st century A.D., possibly Demeter and Persephone, attests to the continuity of the cult: ibid., illus. 1–10.

[58] For the agora, see S. Stucchi, *L'Agorà di Cirene* I (1965), pp. 11ff.; L. Bacchielli, *L'Agorà di Cirene* II, 1 (1981). See also Goodchild 1971, pp. 67f.; U. Kenzler, *Studien zur Entwicklung und Struktur der griechischen Agora in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (1999), pp. 118f.

[59] Kallimachos, Hymn to Demeter 1–23 and 118–38; see E. Howald, Der Dichter Kallimachos von Kyrene (1943), pp. 50ff.


WADI BU TURKIA
SANCTUARY OF APOLLO
HOTEL
TEMPLE
TEMPLE
TEMPLE OF ZEUS
CIRCUS
SHAHAT
AKROPOLIS
AGORA
E. CHURCH
CAESAREUM
WADI BEL GADIR
TEMPLE OF DEMETER
CISTERNS
KYRENE
0 50 100 200 METERS
CONTOUR INTERVAL = 5 METERS
MODERN STRUCTURES
MODERN ROADS

Illus. 14. Kyrene: map of the city with the temples of Artemis and Apollo and the Demeter sanctuary.

The two later korai come from the sanctuary to Apollo, where they were discovered in 1913 (illus. 14).[60] Unfortunately, there are no notes regarding the precise spot, so that they could have been dedicated to either Apollo or Artemis in her nearby sanctuary.[61] According to the literary sources,[62] an important festival, the Karnea,[63] was celebrated in Kyrene in honor of Apollo. From Kallimachos's hymn to Apollo[64] we learn certain details about the nine-day festivities, which included the sacrifice of a bull, a warriors' dance, and processions including wagons and horses. The poet expands especially on the blond Libyan women[65] who took part in the festival. This causes us to suspect that the korai and the kouros in fact stood at the spot where they were found. There they would have been visible to all who took part in Kyrene's most important festival.

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[60] S. N. Deane, AJA 26 (1922), pp. 113f., illus. 1. For the Apollo temple in general, see L. Pernier, Il Tempio e l'altare di Apollo a Cirene (1935), map 1; Goodchild 1971, pp. 109ff., illus. 48–49, map 1, nos. 24–25; see also D. White, AJA 75 (1971), p. 54 with n. 62.

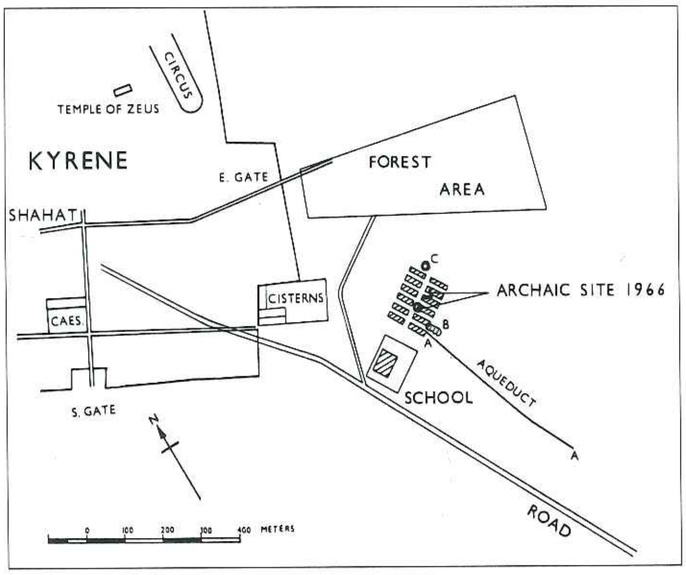
[61] A kouros head was also discovered in the vicinity of the Artemis altar: Chamoux 1953, p. 349, pl. 21,5.

[62] Listed in Nilsson 1906, pp. 118ff., esp. pp. 126ff. (for Kyrene). See also Chamoux 1953, pp. 301ff.

[63] The Karnea takes its name from the month of Karneios (July-August), and appears to have been a specifically Dorian festival. It is thought that Apollo suppressed an old Doric deity called Karnos or Karneios.

[64] Kallimachos, *Hymn to Apollo* 77ff. See also Pindar, *Pythian* 5, 72ff.

[65] Kallimachos, *Hymn to Apollo* 86.


TEMPLE OF ZEUS
CIRCUS
KYRENE
E. GATE
FOREST
AREA
SHAHAT
CISTERNS
ARCHAIC SITE 1966
C
B
A
CAES.
S. GATE
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SCHOOL
AQUEDUCT
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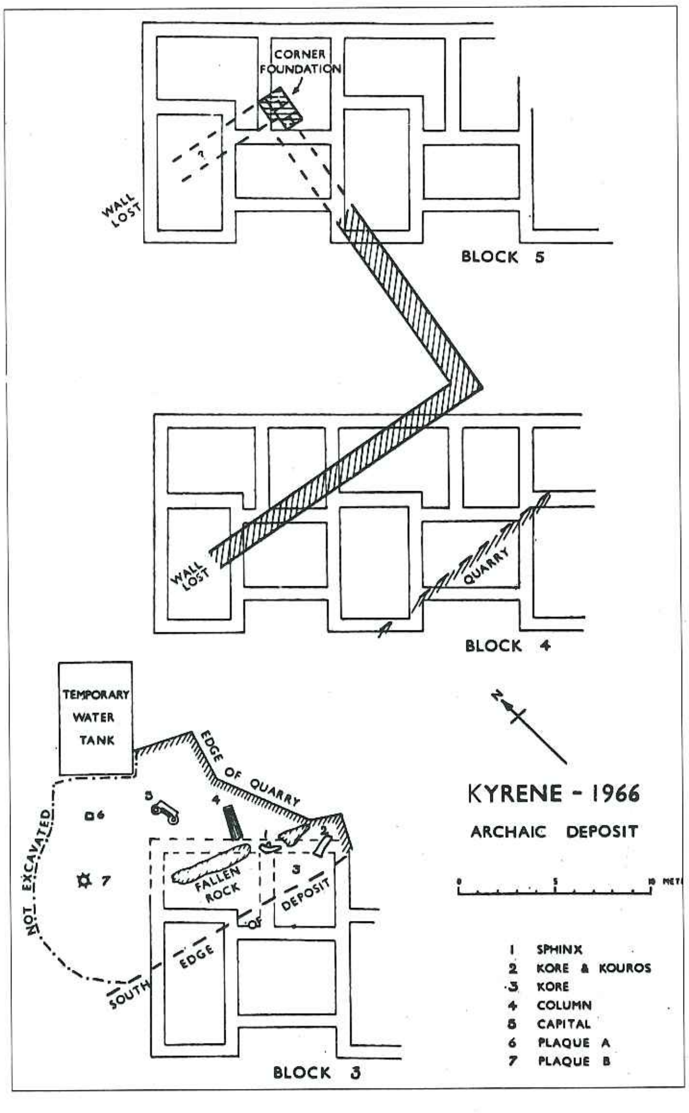
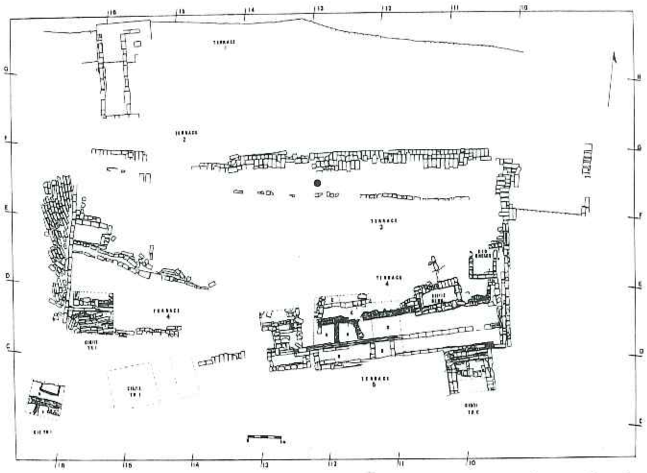
ROAD
0 100 200 300 400 METERS

Illus. 15. Kyrene: area of the modern city of Shahat in the archaic period.


CORNER FOUNDATION
?
WALL LOST
BLOCK 5
WALL LOST
QUARRY
BLOCK 4
TEMPORARY WATER TANK
EDGE OF QUARRY
N
KYRENE - 1966
ARCHAIC DEPOSIT
6
7
5
4
1
2
3
FALLEN ROCK
DEPOSIT
NOT EXCAVATED
SOUTH
EDGE
1 SPHINX
2 KORE & KOUROS
3 KORE
4 COLUMN
5 CAPITAL
6 PLAQUE A
7 PLAQUE B
BLOCK 3

Illus. 16. Kyrene: archaic precinct with sites where korai I and II were found.



Illus. 17. Kyrene: Demeter sanctuary with the site where the kore was found (Wadi Bel Gadir).

History

Kyrene's history was influenced by the Battiadae, the family that furnished its kings from the time of its founding by the island of Thera around 631.[66] Although some members of the family managed to serve as legitimate monarchs, after the middle of the 6th century there are signs suggesting a shift from monarchy toward tyranny. Several of the family's eight generations must accordingly be considered tyrants, among them Arkesilaos II, who with the help of foreign troops was able to defend his rule against the aristocrats and altered the constitution.[67]

After a forty-year reign, Battos I[68] was succeeded by his son Arkesilaos I, who ruled for roughly 16 years. His son Battos II, whose reign is assumed to have extended from roughly 583 to 560, acquired the epithet "the gentle," owing to his just exercise of power. During his rule, new immigrants came to Kyrene from all over Greece[69] and were given land by the king. Battos II foresaw difficulties with Egypt, and therefore enlarged and strengthened the Greek colony. At this time the city flourished, and surely its art production as well, as the first dedications of korai[70] and kouroi[71] attest. The various influences on Kyrenian sculpture that we have demonstrated with regard to the korai I and II can certainly be traced to the new arrivals from a number of Greek regions. The internal policies of Battos II, who apparently got along well with the aristocracy and provided them the opportunity to extol themselves in public in the form of votive gifts, also appear to accord with the finds from this period.

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[66] Herodotus IV, 150–67; Chamoux 1953, pp. 35ff., 144ff., 210; Berve 124ff. 591f., with extensive listing of sources.

[67] Berve 1967, p. 124; Chamoux 1953, pp. 129ff.

[68] Herodotus IV, 159; *RE* XII 1 (1963), 156ff., s.v. "Kyrene" (Broholm); Beloch 1912ff., I 2, p. 263. See also Goodchild 1971, pp. 17ff.

[69] Herodotus IV, 160; *RE* V A2 (1934), 2293ff., s.v. "Thera" (Hiller).

[70] Korai I and II.

[71] Kouros: J. G. Pedley, *LibyaAnt* 3/4 (1966/67), pp. 184ff., pl. 66.

In contrast to Battos II, his successor Arkesilaos II was so cruel that he was called "the violent."[72] His reign, around the middle of the century (c. 560–550), was marked by war and internal unrest. After a bitter struggle, his brother Learchos ultimately fled with a portion of the Kyrenian populace and founded the city of Barka to the west of Kyrene. Intent on maintaining his rule over the entire region and subjugating the deserters, Arkesilaos attempted to conquer Barka—an undertaking that backfired and cost 7,000 Kyrenians their lives. In this struggle for power both brothers were killed within a short time.[73] Subsequently, Arkesilaos's son, Battos III, called "the lame," assumed the throne.[74] Clearly, the nobles still had sufficient influence under his rule that they were able to summon an outside regulator to Kyrene to deal with the chaotic conditions resulting from such continued unrest. They brought Demonax from Mantinea, who divided the populace into three tribes and limited the king's authority.[75] Battos III accepted these somewhat drastic reforms,[76] thereby giving the city an opportunity to regenerate itself. In this period of calm it appears that in their renewed self-confidence, thanks to the reforms of Demonax, people once again began dedicating votive gifts, possibly including the kore from the Demeter sanctuary.[77]

On the death of Battos III, his son Arkesilaos III took over the government (before 525). He tried to reverse the reforms of Demonax but was unsuccessful, and was forced to take refuge with Polykrates on Samos (c. 518).[78] While his mother Pheretime in Cyprus sought in vain to win the support of the king of Salamis, Euelthon, Arkesilaos III succeeded in putting together a large force on Samos[79] by promising the soldiers land in Kyrene at the expense of the former landowners. And he actually managed to regain control of Kyrene and exact a cruel revenge on his opponents (c. 517). But he soon felt increasingly unsafe in Kyrene and moved to his father-in-law's place in Barka, where he was murdered by Barkians joined by men forced to flee from Kyrene.[80] His mother[81] thereupon sought the aid of the Persian king Cambyses, whose supremacy Arkesilaos had recognized following the Persian's conquest of Egypt.[82] With his support she conquered the city of Barka and again took gruesome revenge.[83]

On their way back to Egypt, the Persian troops camped on the hill of Zeus Lykios outside Kyrene, planning to attack the city from there. But since the Persian general Amasis apparently received no orders to wage war on Kyrene, he withdrew his army. Even so, the Persians managed to desecrate several temples in the environs of the city. Excavators discovered the korai together with the remains of an apparently wantonly destroyed temple and other objects in an abandoned quarry. To judge from the composition of the deposit, it must have been placed there in the 6th century, probably in the wake of the Persians' destruction.[84] After Pheretime's death, the son of Arkesilaos III, Battos IV "the magnificent," became king of Kyrene (c. 514–470).[85] Under his rule Kyrene apparently flourished. It is highly likely that the later two korai from the Apollo sanctuary[86] can be considered votive gifts from this time.

The following picture results: dedications of korai and kouroi in the sanctuaries of Kyrene always coincide with periods in which the rulers from the race of Battos maintained friendly relations with the aristocracy or even accepted reforms in favor of the populace. In these periods of political calm, donors dedicated statues to the gods and in so doing represented themselves in public sanctuaries.

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[72] Herodotus IV, 160; Chamoux 1953, pp. 136ff.

[73] According to Herodotus IV, 160, Plutarch, *Mul. virt.* 25, and Polyainos VIII, 41, Learchos killed Arkesilaos and married his widow Eryxo, who killed him in turn.

[74] Herodotus IV, 161; Beloch 1912ff., I 2, pp. 215, 217; Chamoux 1953, pp. 330ff.

[75] Herodotus IV, 161; Beloch 1912ff., II 1, p. 137. The first of the three groups was made up of Thereans and Perioikoi, the second of Peloponnesians and Cretans, and the third of inhabitants of the other islands. For the Perioikoi, see Chamoux 1953, pp. 221f.

[76] The king retained only the original royal lands and various priestly incomes; see *RE* XII 1 (1963), 156ff., s.v. "Kyrene" (Broholm).

[77] Presumably the kouroi were also votive gifts from this period. For the kouroi, see Paribeni 1959, no. 2, pl. 2,4–5; no. 3, pl. 3,4–5; no. 4, pl. 6, 7; Chamoux 1953, pp. 346ff., nos. 3–4, pl. 21,4–5; p. 346, no. 2, pl. 21,3; Fuchs/Floren, p. 184 with nn. 4–5.

[78] Herodotus IV, 162. The opposition of the aristocracy was apparently strong enough to banish the king and his mother from the city. See also Chamoux 1953, p. 151 with n. 2; Berve 1967, p. 125.

[79] Still during the time of Maiandrios, Polykrates' successor; see Berve 1967, pp. 114f.

[80] Herodotus IV, 164.

[81] Pheretime had stayed in Kyrene as regent, and fled to the Persian king in Egypt after her son's murder; see Berve 1967, p. 125.

[82] Herodotus III, 13.

[83] Herodotus IV, 200ff.; Beloch 1912ff., I, 2, p. 218; Goodchild 1971, pp. 22ff.

[84] J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 75 (1971), pp. 39ff., illus. 1–2; D. White, *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 54 with nn. 64–65. See also Chamoux 1853, p. 329. The quarry held korai I and II, a kouros, a sphinx, a capital, and a column.

[85] Battos IV was succeeded by Arkesilaos IV, and with him the rule of the Battiadae came to an end. The Delphic oracle was thus confirmed as having predicted a reign of eight generations.

[86] The kouroi also fit into this period: Paribeni 1959, no. 11, pl. 17; no. 13, pl. 18–19.

Aigina

Of the four korai discovered on Aigina, the torso in the National Museum in Athens, NM73, is the best known (tables 9.1, 9.2).[1] The upper body of the life-size kore, carved of Parian marble (plate 102), comes from the Apollo sanctuary on the present-day Kolonna Hill. The headless kore wears a sleeved chiton or peplos decorated with a vertical meander border down the center and a crenellation-like pattern around the neckline. On the neck there are faint traces of reworking that E. Walter-Karydi interprets as a punched ornamental chain. Beneath the thin garment one can clearly see the swellings of the breasts, the broad shoulders, and the muscular arms. Her hair falls down in strands, in the front four on each side, in the back fourteen in all.[2] The Aiginetan kore NM73 is related to the kore from Moschato (plate 110),[3] which has the same ornamentation (meander border)[4] on the clothing and similarities in the rendering of the hair and the flat modeling of the shoulderblades (plates 102c–d, 110c–d). Most scholars consider these two korai as the core of the so-called Nesiotic group.[5]

Walter-Karydi, however, would prefer to assign both korai, "owing to their robust and solid [*gerüsthaften*] figures," to the northeast-Peloponnesian style;[6] she argues against linking them to the Cycladic korai, discounting the argument that their garments are identical. Since no korai have yet been found on the Peloponnese to compare them to, Walter-Karydi cites in support of her thesis a number of small bronzes and terracottas from the region.[7] In her opinion, the austere form of these small bronze figures, which is "determined by a system of coordinates,"[8] compares favorably with the structure of the torso NM73, as does the straight neckline, which differs from the rounded ones of Attic korai (for example, the Moschato kore). However, the examples she uses for comparison also have a rounded neckline, as we clearly see in the small bronze from Maxi, for example,[9] and for that reason her argument for ascribing the korai to the northeast-Peloponnesian sphere remains unconvincing.

To support her argument, Walter-Karydi also invites comparison with the kore from Lindos (plates 105–6),[10] an "eastern Doric work" from circa 560. With what she considers its austere construction and the rendering of the belt visible in its whole width, it too is to be aligned with works from the Peloponnese and the torso NM73.[11] But this comparison is also dubious, for the Aiginetan torso is not so well preserved that we can make out the modeling of the belt area. It is altogether conceivable that the Aigina kore had a so-called little window above the belt, much like the kore from Moschato, korai I and II from Kyrene, and the Parian kore from Naoussa, no. 802. This motif, typical of Parian korai, has been identified above as a characteristic feature of the drapery treatment in the so-called Nesiotic group. For all these reasons it seems preferable to include torso NM73 with works from the Cyclades.

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[1] The inventory numbers for Aiginetan korai preceded by an "S" refer to finds from the Aphaia excavation under D. Ohly; the others are the inventory numbers from the various museums. G. Welter, *AA* 1938, pp. 529f., illus. 44–47; Richter 1968, p. 39, no. 39, illus. 129–31; Walter-Karydi 1986, pp. 51, no. 10; 60, 62f., pl. 12–13. Walter-Karydi 1986, p. 60, reconstructs the figure as a seated statue, since she has not placed her hand before her breast, as was the convention with standing korai from the first half of the 6th century. Nevertheless, there are standing korai, like the statue of Nikandre, with both arms hanging at the sides. Just how the hands were placed on seated figures from this period cannot be determined, for most of the upper bodies of the figures no longer survive (see Martini 1990, pp. 107ff.). For that reason I choose to include the figure among the standing korai.

[2] For the kore's hairstyle, see also Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 133f.

[3] NM3859: N. J. Kyparissis/E. Homann-Wedeking, *AM* 63/64 (1938/39), p. 160, pl. 62–64; Richter 1968, p. 39, no. 40, illus. 132–34.

[4] The meander border indicated by two incised lines was probably originally painted. Kyparissis/Homann-Wedeking, loc. cit., p. 160; Martini 1990, p. 140; Ridgway 1977, pp. 98f.

[5] Fuchs/Floren, p. 310 with n. 11, see it as an import from Paros. See Isler-Kerényi 1969, pp. 79f.; Martini 1990, p. 202. See p. 86 with n. 56.

[6] Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 64.

[7] Ibid., pp. 61ff., nos. 1–11; 64f. with n. 208, illus. 75–85.

[8] Ibid., p. 65.

[9] Ibid., p. 65, illus. 81–83.

[10] Richter 1968, nos. 76f., illus. 244–48. The head is in the National Museum in Copenhagen (NM12199), the body in the Istanbul museum (2357).

[11] Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 64.

The Aiginetan kore has been variously dated; the suggestions reach from the first quarter to the middle of the 6th century.[12] Because of its similarity to the Moschato kore, which N. J. Kyparissis convincingly dates to around 560, and which is thought to be somewhat older than the Aiginetan kore, a dating to the late second quarter of the 6th century seems most probable.

The upper body of a smaller than life-size kore, inv. no. S59 (plate 103),[13] carved of Naxian or Cycladic marble, comes from the Aphaia sanctuary. It was found below the eastern terrace in the masonry of a post-antique field wall.[14] The small kore wears a close-fitting chiton, whose overfold in front probably formed the so-called little window providing a view of the belt. Her hair falls onto her breast in three strands on either side. These are quite flat and separated only by incised lines; on the back the locks are particularly long.

Also from the Aphaia sanctuary comes the lower portion of another smaller than life-size kore of Naxian marble, inv. no. S1 (plate 103).[15] This fragment was found on the northeast slope outside the temenos.[16] The kore wears a tight chiton ornamented with a vertical meander border down the center between the legs.[17]

Walter-Karydi considers the two torsos NM73 and S59, owing to their clothing, the "little window," and the meander border, which is also seen on kore from Hagios Ioannis Rentis (plates 108–9, 230–32),[18] to be Attic-Peloponnesian.[19] M. Ohly-Dumm and M. Robertson, however, see the torso and the fragment, along with kore NM73, as Aiginetan works.[20] As has been shown, the "little window" and the meander border are characteristic features of the Nesiotic korai. One can therefore assign the two torsos, which appear to date from the first quarter of the 6th century,[21] to this same group.[22] Moreover, the korai are made of insular Ionic marble[23] that had to be imported from the Cyclades,[24] since there is no marble on Aigina.

In the precinct of the Aphaia temple a small statuette only 30 cm tall, inv. no. S151 (plate 104),[25] was also discovered in the excavation rubble outside the sanctuary's east terrace wall. It is made up of three segments[26] and was carved from Parian[27] or Cycladic[28] marble. The figure wears a belted, smooth-lying chiton that envelops the feet in such a way that the tips of the shoes are exposed, as we have seen in korai from Miletus.[29] The bunched hem is set off from both the garment and the plinth by an incised line. On the left side the overfold ends in an angled point different in shape from the standard kolpoi (plate 104d); here, too, the hem is clearly marked by an incised line, as it is at the neck. The small kore's hairstyle is also unusual. Solid beadlike locks fall onto the back from beneath a taenia, while the top of the head is smooth. In front the strands of hair, also emerging from beneath the taenia, form broad, wavy lines down to the ears, which are adorned with flat, round disks. The kore could have worn a cap instead of the taenia, its hem indicated by an incised line. Traces of red pigment survive on the whole of the chiton,[30] and probably the crown of the hair was originally painted as well.

This small statuette appears to date from the second quarter of the 6th century[31] and should also be aligned with the korai of the Nesiotic group.[32]

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[12] All dating suggestions are discussed in detail in Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 51, no. 10. She places it around 580; ibid., p. 62.

[13] Ibid., no. 12; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 156 with n. 44, 310 with n. 10; M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, p. 413, no. 4, illus. 14–16.

[14] Aigina map, pl. 2; D. Ohly, *ADelt* 24 (1969), Chron 93. According to Ohly, the kore was made of Naxian marble. Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 51, considers the marble Cycladic, which is to say that it could come from either Paros or Naxos.

[15] Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 51, no. 11; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 156, n. 45, 310, n. 9; Ohly-Dumm/Robertson, loc. cit., pp. 413f., no. 5, illus. 17–18.

[16] D. Ohly, *ADelt* 22 (1967), Chron 148, pl. 112c. Discovered in the rubble of the Furtwängler dig from 1901; see also idem, *AA* 1970, p. 49, n. 7, illus. 1.

[17] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 101, sees this fragment from the late Daedalic period as a prototype, following which one can expect ornamentation with the meander pattern of the "Parian" korai. See p. 86f in the Marble and Artists section of the Paros chapter.

[18] Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 63. Nothing survives of a meander decoration on the Rentis kore, and the rendering of the lower body suggests it never had one; the "little window" is nevertheless present.

[19] Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 63.

[20] M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, pp. 418ff., esp. pp. 420f.

[21] Fuchs/Floren, p. 156 with nn. 44f.; Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 63, dates it to the later second quarter of the 6th century; Ohly-Dumm/Robertson, loc. cit., pp. 413f.

[22] Moreover, there had been relations between the Cyclades and Aigina since the 8th century, as is shown in the overview map of imported ceramics in Welter 1938, p. 129.

[23] Fuchs/Floren, p. 310, n. 10; N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 101, n. 56, "Naxian kore imported from the Cyclades."

[24] The quarries that have been investigated on the west side of the north coast yielded a soft to hard limestone (W. Wurster, *AA* 1969, pp. 16ff.) that was also sought after beyond the island, but that was used more for architecture and architectural sculpture: Walter-Karydi 1987, pp. 49f. with n. 168.

[25] Aegina 1906, p. 359, no. 168, illus. 285; G. Welter, *AA* 1938, p. 530; Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 51, no. 13, pl. 14; M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, p. 415, no. 7, illus. 22–26.

[26] a. head and neck; b. body down to the knees; c. lower section with feet and plinth. Ohly-Dumm/Robertson, loc. cit., p. 415.

[27] Aegina 1906, p. 359; Ohly-Dumm/Robertson, loc. cit., p. 415.

[28] Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 51.

[29] The Cheramyes kore (pl. 4–7), the korai of the Geneleos Group (pl. 24–28), and the korai I and II from Kyrene (pl. 95–99) have a similar drapery arrangement.

[30] Aegina 1906, p. 359; Ohly-Dumm/Robertson, loc. cit., p. 415.

[31] Walter-Karydi 1987, p. 64 (middle of the 6th century); Ohly-Dumm/Robertson, loc. cit., p. 418.

[32] Other works from Aigina, like the sphinx from the Aphrodite sanctuary, are closely related to Cycladic art; see G. Gruben, *AM* 80 (1965), p. 207, appendix 71/2. According to N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 95, n. 11, there are similarities between the hairstyles of the Parian kouros in the Paros museum, inv. 742 (N. Zapheiropoulos, *ADelt* 20 [1965], Chron 508), and the sphinx head from the Aphaia sanctuary (Richter 1986, p. 49, no. 66, illus. 214–16).

The kore's gestures are striking in that she grasps her robe in the center with her right hand "at the level of her genitals,"[33] so that the fabric falls in a swelling fold between her legs.[34] Her left forearm lies horizontally in front of her body and her left hand holds her right breast. An eastern Ionic small bronze from Olympia presents a similar gesture, and E. Buschor[35] interprets the holding of the breast as an ancient eastern fertility symbol. Similarly, it would be possible to link the small statuette from the Aphaia temple with fertility rites,[36] for from Mycenaean times[37] down to the early classical period the goddess Aphaia was venerated as a patroness of childbirth and the care of small children, virtually a Kourotrophos.[38] At cult festivals, which are documented by the great quantity of simple ceramics found in the sanctuary, women with votive gifts—like this statuette—doubtless prayed for an easy birth and the survival of the newborn. Other votive gifts found there, among them pieces depicting a semi-nude standing female holding her breasts with both hands, support such a view.[39] Among the cult activities relating to a Kourotrophos are initiation rites, which were also surely performed for the goddess Aphaia.[40] These are suggested by the discovery of rolls of ribbon used to secure the offerings of hair on such occasions.[41] Other finds, including male clay figures, votive shields, gifts of weapons, and cult ceramics—those with donor inscriptions all bear men's names[42]—attest that men also participated in cult ceremonies.[43] For example, in the middle of the 6th century the wealthy Aiginetan Aristophantos donated a large quantity of cult utensils to the Aphaia sanctuary, though it was in the city that he set up a more imposing offering visible to all.[44] As Sinn suspects, the Aphaia sanctuary was not the island's central religious site but rather the sanctuary of the Hyllean phyle,[45] a more "private" cult location. This would explain why scarcely any large-format votive gifts were found there and why documents, decrees, and the like are lacking. The sanctuary was not a place for "state display" like the Apollo sanctuary, in which the upper-body fragment of a life-size kore, NM73,[46] was discovered. It was therefore not an appropriate setting for monumental votive gifts intended to demonstrate a donor's wealth and influence beyond the phyle. The religious aspect was the driving motive, so donors made do with dedications of small-format korai and of kouroi, of which no fewer than seven were found.

Among these seven votive figures there is a smaller than life-size head that cannot be definitely identified as belonging to a kore, a kouros, or a sphinx.[47] It has been known since the excavation by Furtwängler, and displays in the modeling of the hair, especially of the shoulder-length locks in the back, similarities to a kouros also found in the Aphaia sanctuary.[48] The taenia securing the hair is nearly identical on the two heads, so that Ohly-Dumm and Robertson see them as works by the same artist.[49] Since it is more likely that the head belonged to a kouros rather than a kore, I do not discuss it further in the present context.[50]

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[33] Aegina 1906, p. 359.

[34] In this respect she resembles the korai Akr. 602 (Langlotz 1939, p. 50, no. 7, pl. 13), Akr. 670 (Richter 1968, no. 119, illus. 177–179), and the kore from Erythrai (E. Akurgal in Athens 1986, pp. 1ff., pl. 1–5).

[35] Buschor 1934ff., p. 33, illus. 118–20, 126–27.

[36] Similarly, U. Sinn in Athens 1988, p. 152 with nn. 21–22.

[37] From the Mycenaean period there are clay figures showing women with one or two children. See Aegina 1906, pp. 373ff., 470ff.; Welter 1938, pp. 70ff. See also U. Sinn, *AM* 102 (1987), p. 137 with nn. 28, 31–33; idem, in Athens 1988, pp. 149ff., esp. pp. 151f., 153f., illus. 6 a–b.

[38] For the Kourotrophos in general, see Th. Hatzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (1978).

[39] U. Sinn in Athens 1988, pp. 152f., illus. 4.

[40] Ibid., pp. 138, 158ff. Written sources on the cult and history of the Aphaia sanctuary are limited to late-antique texts. For the sources, see *LIMC* I (1981), pp. 876f., s.v. "Aphaia" (Williams). See also U. Sinn in Athens 1988, pp. 152ff.

[41] Aegina 1906, p. 417, cat. nos. 132, 135, pl. 116, 53–54; U. Sinn, *AM* 102 (1987), pp. 138f. with n. 42, illus. 2–3; idem, in Athens 1988, pp. 158f., illus. 13. See also Nilsson 1955, p. 381; Wickert-Micknat 1982, R27ff.

[42] For the finds: Aegina 1906, p. 368, no. 10, pl. 25,2 (base with the name [Sos]tratos); 384, no. 109, pl. 110, 16, color pl. 48; E. Pfuhl, *GGA* 1907, pp. 691f.; M. Maass, *AA* 1984, pp. 263ff.; D. Williams, *AA* 1983, pp. 155ff.; U. Sinn, *AM* 102 (1987), p. 138 with nn. 35–38; idem, in Athens 1988, pp. 157f.

[43] In addition to the Kourotrophos's responsibility in the female sphere for childbirth and the survival of newborn infants, she has another aspect not restricted to women, namely an interest in the growth of children and the development of their character. Possibly this was extended to the well-being of the family and even of the clan: U. Sinn, *AM* 102 (1987), p. 138; similarly, idem, in Athens 1988, p. 58: "In mythology this notion is most impressively symbolized in the figure and fate of Herakles. Fathered by Zeus, but borne by a mortal, Herakles attains his divine identity only because he once had a divine Kourotrophos, Hera."

[44] D. Williams, *AA* 1983, pp. 184ff. with nn. 52–54, illus. 22–23. The base, from the third quarter of the 6th century, was found next to Aigina's harbor: U. Sinn, *AM* 102 (1987), p. 141; see also E. Walter-Karydi, *AA* 1994, pp. 136ff. It is known that the Aiginetans had a powerful fleet (Herodotus V, 83, 2), became quite wealthy from trade (Herodotus IV, 152, 3; H. Winterscheidt, *Aigina. Eine Untersuchung über seine Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft* [1938], pp. 32ff., 51ff.), and founded their own trading settlement in Naukratis (Herodotus II, 178) and the colony Kydonia on Crete (Herodotus III, 59; G. Gruben, *AM* 80 [1965], pp. 199ff.; U. Sinn, *AM* 102 [1987], pp. 158ff.).

[45] U. Sinn, *AM* 102 (1987), pp. 140ff., 158ff. For the Hyllean phyle, see Winterscheidt, loc. cit., pp. 42ff.

[46] E. Walter-Karydi, *AA* 1994, pp. 125ff., 128ff., illus. 2.

[47] NM1939. Aegina 1906, p. 359, no. 169, pl. 82; Richter 1968, no. 66, illus. 214–16; Walter-Karydi 1987, pp. 51, 59, 67, no. 15, pl. 16; M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, pp. 410f., no. 2, illus. 9–12.

[48] Inv. no. S208. Aegina 1906, p. 360, nos. 170–73, illus. 286, pl. 92, 14–15; M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AAA* 14,2 (1981), pp. 157ff., illus. 1–5; idem, *AA* 1988, pp. 405ff., no. 1, illus. 1–8.

[49] Ibid., *AAA* 14,2 (1981), p. 161; idem, *AA* 1988, pp. 418ff.

[50] As kore: Aegina 1906, p. 359. As kore or sphinx: Richter 1968, p. 49. As kouros: M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, p. 410.

Find Spots

Finds indicate that the two large Aigina sanctuaries—the Aphaia sanctuary outside and the Apollo sanctuary inside the city—were both adorned with votive statues of korai and kouroi.

Three korai statuettes[51] come from the Aphaia shrine, while only one has as yet come to light in the Apollo shrine.[52] The varied locations of finds in the vicinity of the Aphaia temple make it difficult to determine where they might have stood originally. The three parts of the small statuette S151 were found strewn across the eastern section of the precinct. The head and the lower legs with the feet and plinth came from the late-archaic terrace filling in front of the propylon, while the body, discovered in 1901, was found during excavations outside the east terrace wall.[53] The concentration of find spots[54] in the northeast section of the sanctuary suggests that the votive gifts were originally set up in the vicinity of the altar that stood there.[55] Sinn[56] mentions that at least in the east between the propylon and the "southeast buildings," the so-called Amphilopeion, there was a smoothed rock surface that served as a stage for the performance of round dances. The hall[57] of the Amphilopeion and the projecting columned porch of the propylon not only were suitable as honorary seating areas for priests and other distinguished festival participants but also would have provided display space for votive gifts. Given the modest size of the three korai statuettes so far discovered, which would hardly have required bases,[58] I nevertheless consider it more probable that they were set up in the interior of the temple. The red paint on the statuette S151 could also suggest as much, as it matches the red floor of the cella.[59]

The Aphaia sanctuary is known to have been rebuilt in several phases.[60] Three distinct periods of building can be seen:[61] a first around 600, a second in 570/60, and a third in the period between 510 and 490. When the second, "older" temple was almost completely destroyed after the roof timbers caught fire, it was decided to undertake a major redesign of the sanctuary.[62] A large number of structural elements from the older temple and even a few votive gifts were buried in the course of extensive grading to build up a terrace for the new temple.[63]

The Apollo sanctuary had a similar history. Because of the considerable grading and terracing required in connection with its three building phases,[64] it can no longer be determined where the kore NM73 was originally placed, but because the excavation note reads "from the Kolonna Hill," it must in any case have come from the Apollo sanctuary,[65] in which a temple to Artemis stood to the east of the Apollo temple.[66] In analogy with finds on Delos, one can assume that the kore was dedicated to Artemis, not Apollo. The situation in Klaros is also quite similar.

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[51] Inv. nos. S1, S59, S151. M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, pp. 413ff., nos. 4–5, 7.

[52] NM73.

[53] M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, p. 415; see also Aegina 1906, p. 359.

[54] In addition to the three korai mentioned above, the following works: NM1939 (head of a kouros or a sphinx) from the cistern in the northeast section; inv. no. S208 (kouros) strewn about in the northeast section; S209 (kouros) in the northern section, see D. Ohly, *AA* 1971, pp. 519f., illus. 8. For a thorough discussion, see M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, pp. 405ff.

[55] Aegina 1906, pp. 155, 481ff., 489, illus. 401, pl. 2. The column with the sphinx is also said to have been found near the cistern in the vicinity of the altar; see Aegina 1906, p. 156, pl. 64; G. Gruben, *AM* 80 (1965), pp. 170ff., 204f., illus. 1–2, appendix 65–75, pl. 1–4.

[56] U. Sinn in Athens 1988, pp. 154ff., illus. 8–9.

[57] For the function of the halls, see G. Kuhn, *JdI* 100 (1985), pp. 25ff.

[58] Since only the upper bodies of the other two statuettes survive, it can be said with certainty only that the statuette S151 was not set on a base: M. Ohly-Dumm/M. Robertson, *AA* 1988, p. 415.

[59] Ohly 1977, pp. 16ff. For the painting of the sculptures on the Aphaia temple, see also Aegina 1906, pp. 300ff.

[60] Aegina 1906, pp. 1ff., 116ff., 470ff., 480ff., 485, illus. 401–2, 404; Welter 1938, pp. 69ff., illus. 59–60; D. Ohly/E. L. Schwandner, *AA* 1970, pp. 49ff.; H. Walter, *Ägina* (1993), pp. 65ff., illus. 54–56.

[61] G. Gruben, *AM* 80 (1965), pp. 190ff., 201ff., illus. 6–7.

[62] D. Ohly, *AA* 1971, pp. 505ff. See also Aegina 1906, pp. 116f., 129, 132f., 149, 487.

[63] Aegina 1906, pp. 481ff., 492f.; D. Ohly, *AA* 1971, pp. 517ff., 520f. with n. 40, illus. 8 (fragment of a kouros). Idem, *AA* 1970, pp. 49ff., illus. 1, 17. G. Gruben, *AM* 80 (1965), p. 205, has determined that the sphinx column was moved to the eastern part of the precinct together with the other installations as part of the redesign of the sanctuary around 510.

[64] For the Apollo temple in general: W. Wurster, "Der Apollontempel," *Alt-Ägina* I 1 (1974); Welter 1938, pp. 50ff.; Walter-Karydi 1987, pp. 129ff.; idem, *AA* 1994, pp. 125ff., illus. 2, with the three building phases: the first around 600, the second around 570/60, and the third around 520.

[65] G. Welter, *AA* 1938, p. 520.

[66] H. Walter, *Ägina* (1993), pp. 54ff., illus. 24, 48, no. 3. Pausanias II, 30, 1, mentions Apollo and Artemis temples "not far from each other."

Rhodes

Five korai are known from Rhodes,[1] of which only one is relatively complete (table 5). This figure, from Lindos (plates 105–6),[2] may also be the oldest, dating from the second quarter of the 6th century.[3]

It was carved of white marble. The torso is now in the archaeological museum in Istanbul, while the matching head is in the National Museum in Copenhagen.[4] The kore wears a sleeved chiton that clings smoothly to the body. A wide belt cinches the waist, accentuating the curve of the buttocks.

In the very smooth lines of its lower body, the Lindos kore resembles the Parian kore from Delos, A4062 (plates 106, 64), except that on the Lindos kore both arms hang down at the sides, while the Delos kore has placed her left hand over her breast. In addition, the three beadlike strands of hair falling down onto the breast on either side of the Lindos kore are similar those of the Moschato kore (plates 106a, 110a).[5] The way the chiton is buttoned at regular intervals along the upper arms is similarly rendered on both korai. This costume detail can also be seen on other korai from the so-called Nesiotic group. The execution of the Lindos figure's belt can be compared with that seen on Naxian kouroi, for example the kouros from Delos A334.[6]

The hair on the forehead of the related head (plate 105) is parted in the middle and falls in generous waves behind the ears, which are adorned with disk-shaped earrings. A taenia, tied at the back with a Hercules knot, separates the hair above the brow from the beadlike strands behind it.[7] The solid modeling of these strands is closely related to that on the head of a kouros, also from Rhodes,[8] that was discovered on the akropolis in Kamiros. This treatment of the hair, with square to longish "beads," is considered a characteristic of sculpture from eastern Ionia.[9] The Lindos kore is therefore more closely related to the insular, i.e., eastern Ionic, sphere,[10] despite the island's Dorian ties, than to the art of the Peloponnese.[11] Since it blends elements of eastern Ionic areas in equal measure, the artist was probably a native who was influenced by the sculpture of the islands and eastern Ionia.

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[1] Aside from the two korai discussed below, there are three other known works from Lindos. They are the leg fragment from a kore from the period of the karyatids of the Knidian treasury in Delphi (according to Fuchs/Floren, p. 329) and two heavily damaged korai heads that are now in London and Istanbul. For the leg fragment: Lindos III, p. 556, no. I13, illus. 29–30. For the London head: Pryce 1928, no. B326; I. Kleemann, *Frühe Bewegung* (1984), p. 17, pl. 3. For the Istanbul head: Lindos III, p. 541, no. I2, illus. 8–9. For all three pieces, see Fuchs/Floren, p. 329 with nn. 6–7.

[2] For the major cities of archaic Rhodes: *RE* suppl. V (1931), 746ff., s.v. "Rhodos" (Hiller von Gaertringen); G. Kokkorou-Alewras in Athens 1986, pp. 79ff. with nn. 1–2.

[3] Inv. no. 2357, Istanbul museum, surviving height 0.62 m. Lindos III 2, pp. 539ff., no. I, 1, illus. 1–7; Richter 1968, p. 76, illus. 249–52; Fuchs/Floren, p. 329, n. 5.

[4] Inv. no. 12199, Copenhagen, National Museum, surviving height 0.20 m. Lindos III 2, pp. 558ff., no. II 1, illus. 33–37; Richter 1968, p. 53, no. 77, illus. 244– 47; Croissant 1983, p. 184; Fuchs/Floren, p. 329, n. 5. J. P. Kondis, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), p. 404, argues that the head and torso are not related. There is a reconstruction of the kore in the National Museum, Copenhagen (pl. 106).

[5] Athens, NM3859. Richter 1968, p. 39, no. 40, illus. 132–34.

[6] Richter 1960, p. 27, illus. 22–24; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, K11; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, K6. One of the two kouroi discovered in Kamiros is thought to have been imported from Naxos; see Fuchs/Floren, p. 329 with n. 11. Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 68, K52, assumes that the artist who created this kouros worked with the one who produced the Naxian kouros in Berlin, inv. no. 1555 (her cat. no. K25; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, K36). According to Fuchs/Floren, p. 329, n. 12, the second kouros from Kamiros was imported from Paros; they include extensive bibliographies for both kouroi. For the circumstances of the find, see *ClRh* VI/VII (1932/33), p. 256, illus. 44; M. Donderer, *ÖJh* 61, suppl. (1991/92), pp. 192ff., esp. p. 236, no. I9, illus. 8.

[7] See Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 137f.

[8] *ClRh* V 1 (1931), pp. 78ff., illus. 50; F. Eckstein, *AntPl* I (1962), p. 51, illus. 2–3; Richter 1960, no. 126, illus. 376; Özgan 1978, p. 36, pl. 10b.

[9] Eckstein, loc. cit., p. 51; Özgan 1978, p. 36. The hairstyle of the Kamiros kouros is also found on a kouros head from Samos: Samos XI, pp. 93ff., no. 48, pl. 34.

[10] Kontoleon 1963, pp. 55f. See also Homann-Wedeking 1950, pp. 98ff., 111; N. Kontoleon, *AM* 73 (1958), pp. 117ff.

[11] Walter-Karydi 1987, pp. 64ff.

A small kore head[12] turned up by the people of the neighboring island of Symi[13] is now in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum. Unfortunately, it is heavily abraded, but it is still possible to see a similarity to Samian heads covered with veils, especially the head no. 17.[14] The small head could therefore have been carved around the middle of the 6th century. On both, the veil is drawn far down onto the forehead. On the Symi head it also covers the neck. The face is rounder than that of the Samos head, which with its more pointed nose seems somewhat more austere.

The upper-body fragment of another smaller than life-size kore carved of limestone (plate 107)[15] also comes from Lindos and belongs to the waning 6th century. The kore wears a chiton beneath the diagonal himation typical of insular Ionia, its hem drawn from the right shoulder, across the breast, and under the left arm. It is possible that this kore held a flower in her right hand, while she grasps her chiton with her left. G. Kokkorou-Alewras characterizes the statuette as "an original eastern Ionic work."[16]

The fact that the Lindos kore was found on the Akropolis[17] suggests that it was dedicated to Athena Lindia, whose temple stood there. The same can be assumed for the limestone statuette, even though it is not known where it was discovered.

We cannot determine the degree to which political conditions on Rhodes influenced the dedication of korai. The island's only known tyrant, Kleobulos, said to have reigned some forty years around the middle of the 6th century, can hardly be compared to such tyrants as Polykrates or Peisistratos.[18] He was known as a poet and numbered among the Seven Sages; he was the author, for example, of the adage "πᾶν μέτϱον ἄϱιστον" ("all in moderation, nothing in excess"). Kleobulos had the temple to Athena Lindia on the Akropolis restored in around 550.[19]

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[12] Surviving height 16.5 cm. Gr. Konstantinopoulos, *ADelt* 25 (1970), Chron 528, pl. 443b.

[13] A small island north of Rhodes and linked to it historically since ancient times. See K. Pharmakis in *Griechische Inseln,* ed. E. Mela (1973), pp. 181f.

[14] Samos XI, pp. 40f., no. 17, pl. 10.

[15] Inv. no. 131. Surviving height 24.5 cm. Gr. Konstantinopoulos, *AAA* 6 (1973), p. 119, illus. 8; G. Kokkorou-Alewras in Athens 1986, pp. 84ff., pl. 32–33.

[16] Ibid., p. 86.

[17] Lindos III 1, pl. IIA, VIII9 (head), and in the immediate vicinity of the matching torso, pl. IIA, VIII8–9.

[18] See Berve 1967, pp. 119, 588.

[19] Gruben 1986, pp. 450ff., illus. 336.

Attica

Dating

Table 10.1 presents the chronological sequence of the Attic korai.[1] This table has the briefest possible periods so as to facilitate links to historical events.[2]

Before evaluating the contents of this table[3] it seems appropriate to consider at some length a few korai whose dating is disputed.

The table is based mainly on the dating suggestions by E. Langlotz,[4] but divergent suggestions presented in the most recent scholarship, especially with regard to the older korai, have been accommodated.[5] In each case it must be remembered that given the present state of research datings can only be approximate.

According to Langlotz, the earliest korai are: Akr. 619 (first quarter of the 6th century; plate 128),[6] 593 (c. 580; plates 129, 238),[7] 582 (c. 570; plate 125),[8] 589 (c. 570; plate 126),[9] and 677 (c. 560; plate 127).[10]

J. Boardman, however, suggests that Akr. 619, 677, and 593 should be dated around 560/50.[11] W. Martini agrees with Boardman on a date around the middle of the 6th century for kore 593; he sees in "the buttoned chiton sleeves and also in the broad folds of the zigzag hem of the mantle an indebtedness to the so-called Naxian or Samian korai from the Akropolis."[12] Boardman has linked the two korai 619 and 677 (plates 128, 127), which differ from all others found on the Akropolis, to the art of Samos, especially because of the similarity in their treatment of drapery[13] to that of the korai of the Geneleos Group (plates 24–29). However, it is agreed that the head of the Akropolis kore 677 compares favorably with the head of the Naxian sphinx in Delphi, so that it is tempting to see it as Naxian, especially since both were carved of marble from that island. The most recent scholarship recognizes them as Naxian works[14] from the second quarter of the 6th century.

Boardman's dating of Akr. 593 to the period between the date of the kore from Keratea (570/60; plates 111–13, 234) and that of the Phrasikleia (540; plates 114–15, 235–37) appears to be correct.[15] Langlotz himself dates the Akropolis kore somewhat earlier (580), but suggests that the type is still met with between 560 and 550.[16]

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[1] For the korai from Athens and Attica, see Dickins 1912; Langlotz 1939; Richter 1968, pp. 40ff. Fragments of drapery, arms, legs, feet, and uncertain pieces are not discussed; Langlotz 1939, pp. 127ff. All in all, some 297 torsos and fragments of korai have been discovered on the Akropolis; with only five figures, the number of kouroi is distinctly smaller: Martini 1990, p. 80.

[2] Korai from the Akropolis, Eleusis, and the Agora, and funerary statues are treated separately, as the Akropolis korai form a uniform group that can be readily analyzed historically.

[3] All Attic korai are included in the tables, even the few discovered outside the Akropolis.

[4] Langlotz 1939, p. 43.

[5] Boardman 1981a, pp. 34ff.; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 262ff.; Martini 1990, pp. 132ff.

[6] Langlotz 1939, p. 63, no. 22, pl. 33; Payne/Young, p. 9, pl. 20; Richter 1968, p. 47, no. 58, illus. 194–97; Brouskari 1974, pp. 48f., illus. 86.

[7] Langlotz 1939, p. 44, no. 2, pl. 2; Payne/Young, p. 9, pl. 12; Richter 1968, p. 40, no. 43, illus. 147–50; Brouskari 1974, pp. 43f., illus. 75.

[8] Langlotz 1939, p. 43, no. 6, pl. 12.

[9] Langlotz 1939, p. 43, no. 1, pl. 1; Brouskari 1974, p. 97, illus. 171–72; Trianti 1998, pp. 87ff., illus. 62–63.

[10] Langlotz 1939, pp. 65f., no. 23, pl. 34; Payne/Young, p. 12, pl. 18–19; Richter 1968, p. 47, no. 59, illus. 198–200; Brouskari 1974, pp. 50f., illus. 9.

[11] Boardman 1981a, pp. 86, 89, illus. 98 (Akr. 619), 99 (Akr. 677), 109 (Akr. 593). For kore 593, see also Trianti 1998, p. 90, illus. 61 (c. 570).

[12] Martini 1990, pp. 149ff., illus. 45. In his opinion, however, the disproportionate and unsuccessful rendering of the right hand and the rigid lines of the figure suggest instead a lack of ability on the part of the artist: ibid., p. 151.

[13] Even though the drapery treatment is similar, the two Akropolis korai appear more rigid and leaner than the Samian korai. See Payne/Young, p. 12; G. Lippold, *Gnomon* 4 (1928), p. 423; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, p. 55; Martini 1990, pp. 143f., 201f.

[14] In detail, Richter 1968, p. 47, nos. 58, 59, illus. 199–200; Brouskari 1974, pp. 48f., 50: for Naxian; Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 53ff., K44, K43; Pedley 1976, p. 28, nos. 8–9, pl. 5, 6; Steuben 1980, pp. 13ff., illus. 18, 19; G. Kokkorou-Alewras, *Archaiognosia* 2 (1981), p. 266, pl. 2; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 108ff.: for the korai K69 Akr. 619, K70 Akr. 677 (c. 570/60), and other "Naxian korai fragments" on the Akropolis; for the Naxian sphinx, Delphi museum no. 365: pp. 118ff., pl. 54, 55. For the two korai: Fuchs/Floren, pp. 157f. with n. 48, pl. 9, 6; Martini 1990, pp. 201f., 212; Rolley 1994, pp. 279f., illus. 281; Trianti 1998, pp. 89f., illus. 59–60.

[15] Boardman 1981a, p. 89, illus. 108 (Berlin kore), 109 (Akr. 593); Fuchs/Floren, p. 264 with n. 9; Rolley 1994, p. 182, illus. 286 (c. 570). For the Phrasikleia: E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5 (1972), illus. 13–15 (c. 540); Rolley 1994, p. 257, illus. 287 (c. 530).

[16] Langlotz 1939, p. 44; Martini 1990, pp. 143f., 156.

G. Richter, however, places kore 593 and the Keratea kore in the same period (580/70),[17] in part because of the jewelry, which consists of a necklace with teardrop-shaped pendants and earrings of a similar form. But since we find the same sort of jewelry on the Phrasikleia, which is surely younger, this cannot be used as a dating criterion. It must therefore be assumed that the Akropolis korai were from around 570.

For the much younger Eleusinian korai (plates 117–23) and the kore from Laurion in New York (plate 124) I have adopted Richter's dates.[18]

The situation with the funerary statues is somewhat different. For some of these figures both the interpretation and the dating are disputed. While we know from their inscriptions that the Phrasikleia kore (plates 114–15, 235–37)[19] and the Phile kore (plate 116)[20] are definitely funerary figures, the function of the "Berlin goddess"[21] is confirmed by the fact that she was discovered in the necropolis near Keratea. The same interpretation seems highly probable with regard to two additional korai. The oldest of these is the kore found in the vicinity of the church of Hagios Ioannis Rentis in Athens (plates 108–9, 230–33).[22] In its clothing and the appearance of its cylindrical body it resembles the Cheramyes korai (plates 4–9). Because of its old-fashioned hairstyle and the position of its hands, its excavator dated it to the first quarter of the 6th century.[23] Indeed, it does seem closer to works like the Cheramyes korai[24] than to examples from the 7th century,[25] even though the hand lying flat against the body is reminiscent of earlier works (plates 109c, 231c, 233).[26] The figure seems more three-dimensional than the Auxerre kore or the Nikandre statue; also the rendering of the hair is more advanced. The difference becomes especially obvious if one compares the hem of their garments, which leave the feet exposed. In figures from the 7th century the cutout above the feet almost looks as though sawed from a plank (plates 53, 62, 213), whereas in korai from the 6th century it follows the contours of the feet so that the draping of the garment is more natural (plates 4, 8). W. Martini remarks that "the chiton, falling down to the ground, spreads out on the plinth and hugs the visible feet, then after a gentle but pronounced narrowing between the ankle and the calf gradually takes on greater volume as it rises to the hips"[27] (plates 108–9, 230–31). Compared to the Cheramyes kore, which is dated to about 570/60, the Hagios Ioannis Rentis kore is somewhat older—though a precursor of the Cheramyes kore[28]—and therefore should not be dated before 580.

The kore discovered in Moschato, NM3859 (plate 110), must also be considered a sepulchral statue like kouros NM3858 discovered nearby.[29] Richter dates it to the first third of the 6th century,[30] though E. Homann-Wedeking and N. Kyparissis place it around 560.[31] When compared with the two torsos from Chios (plates 91–93), which Richter considers contemporaneous with the Moschato kore,[32] it appears younger. This can be seen in the hairstyle, for example, which in the Chios korai is still formed like a wig. There the strands are not adapted to the forms of the body, while in the Moschato kore they follow the contour of the shoulder and breast. The dating of around 560 suggested by Homann-Wedeking and Kyparissis therefore seems more probable.

The Berlin kore from Keratea (plates 111–13, 234) combines various stylistic features,[33] old-fashioned in the formation of the face, and more progressive in the rendering of the feet and toes: "It produces a chronologically ambiguous impression, as E. Langlotz and C. Blümel have stressed, one that is reinforced by closer inspection of the feet and toes, for one would hardly have expected such delicately articulated toes before the middle of the 6th century."[34] Despite their similar analysis of the kore's stylistic forms, Langlotz and Blümel arrive at different suggested datings. Blümel dates it to 580/70, Langlotz to around 560. The former focuses on the more old-fashioned features, the latter on the more progressive ones. Boardman's suggested date of about 570/60 thus seems to be most acceptable.[35] For the rest of the korai, as already mentioned, I follow the dates provided by Langlotz.[36]

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[17] Richter 1968, p. 40, no. 43, illus. 147–50.

[18] Eleusis: Richter 1968, p. 52, no. 75, illus. 236–39 (NM5); p. 86 no. 139, illus. 446–48 (NM25); p. 86, no. 140, illus. 449–51 (NM26); p. 86, no. 142, illus. 452–53 (NM27); p. 103, no. 186, illus. 595–96 (NM60); p. 103, no. 185, illus. 591–94 (NM24). Laurion: Richter 1968, p. 85, no. 138, illus. 441–44 (NY 07.286.110).

[19] E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5 (1972), pp. 298ff. Found together with a kouros in the necropolis of Myrrhinus, present-day Merenda, roughly 30 km southeast of Athens. For ancient Myrrhinus, see *RE* XVI (1933), 1146, s.v. "Myrrhinus" (Wrede); K. Karakasi, *AW* 6 (1997), pp. 509ff. with nn. 4–5.

[20] Richter 1968, p. 58, no. 92, illus. 284–85. Found in the necropolis at Vourva, in Attica.

[21] Berlin's kore 1800, formerly interpreted as a goddess (referred to as "the Berlin Goddess"), is now considered to be a funerary kore by the majority of scholars. See, for example, Boardman 1981a, pp. 89f., illus. 108; E. Simon, *RA* 1972, p. 214. Blümel 1964, pp. 7ff., no. 1, illus. 1–8, already considered the possibility that the figure was a representation of the deceased. Richter 1968, p. 40, compares the hairstyle of the Berlin kore with two tomb stelai illustrated in G. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (1961), illus. 77, 79. The hair falls in thick, twisted locks to the neck and is secured there by a band. The place where it was found, the necropolis near Keratea in southern Attica, indicates that it was a funerary statue; see Fuchs/Floren, pp. 264f. with n. 12, pl. 21,1 (they date the kore to c. 570); Martini 1990, p. 78; B. Schmaltz, *Griechische Grabreliefs* (1983), pp. 164f.

[22] Piraeus museum 2530. D. Lazaridis, *AAA* 1 (1968), pp. 34f., illus. 3; Boardman 1981a, p. 89, identifies it as a funerary kore; Fuchs/Floren, p. 165 with n. 42.

[23] Lazaridis, loc. cit., cites for comparison the statuette from Auxerre.

[24] Samos XI, nos. 6 and 6A; Kyrieleis 1995, pp. 7ff., pl. 1–8.

[25] For example the statue of Nikandre. For the kore: Richter 1968, p. 26, no. 1, illus. 25–28; S. Moraw in Stemmer 1995, pp. 106f., B9.

[26] For example Daedalic sculptures like the Auxerre kore statuette: Richter 1968, p. 32, no. 18, illus. 76–79; D. Klug in Stemmer 1995, pp. 105f., B8.

[27] Martini 1990, p. 140.

[28] Similarly, N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 101; Rolley 1994, p. 281, illus. 282 (580/70).

[29] The kouros is listed in Karusos 1961, p. 65, B1, among the presumed tomb statues.

[30] Richter 1968, p. 39, no. 40, illus. 132–34 (NM3859).

[31] E. Homann-Wedeking/N. I. Kyparissis, *AM* 63/64 (1938/39), pp. 160f., pl. 62–64.

[32] Richter 1968, p. 38, nos. 37, 38, illus. 122–28 (end of the first third of the 6th century); J. Boardman, *AntPl* I (1962), pp. 43ff., pl. 38, 44.

[33] Berlin 1800, Blümel 1964, pp. 7ff., no. 1, illus. 1–8; Langlotz 1939, p. 16 with n. 34; Langlotz 1927, p. 190; Martini 1990, pp. 147ff.

The following is meant to clarify the chronological sequence of the korai as presented in table 10.1.

In the period 580/60 the korai in Attica (4) outnumber those of the Akropolis (2) and make an earlier appearance.[37] The first Akropolis korai come from the period between 570 and 560, and could possibly be linked to the establishment of the Great Panathenaea in 566.

Following a slight increase—in the decades between 560 and 540 a total of six korai were erected—in the years 540/30 a noticeable decrease is evident. Only two larger statuettes were dedicated during the time Peisistratos had firmly established his tyranny.

Around 530 the picture changes: suddenly eleven korai were dedicated by 520, and as many again in the following decade until 510. By far the majority come from the years after 510, however, especially the decade from around the turn of the century to 490. Korai dedications on the Akropolis cease around 480.

The situation at the Demeter sanctuary in Eleusis is similar. Of the six korai discovered there, one early one dates from the decade 570/60, while the remainder are distributed between 525 and 480. We know that the Peisistratids revitalized the Demeter mystery cult at Eleusis and built a sanctuary to the goddess.

On the other hand, funerary statues end as early as around 540 with the Phile kore.[38]

To summarize, it can be said that at the beginning of the 6th century funerary statues outnumber the Akropolis korai. Over the course of the century, but especially after 525 and again around 510, the number of Akropolis korai increases noticeably whereas funerary korai are no longer found.

Size

Only a few korai are so completely preserved that we can know their precise original size.

The following breakdown can be made (table 10.3):

larger than life-size	8
life-size	8
smaller than life-size	27
larger statuettes	17
smaller statuettes	13

E. Langlotz ascribed a larger than life-size format to only four korai (Akr. 1360: plate 171; Akr. 681: plates 148–49, 254–56; Akr. 682: plates 146–47, 252–53; and Akr. 671: plates 159–61, 259). He felt that "most have the modest height of a scarcely full-grown girl, a few are roughly half life-size, and even fewer are only a fraction of natural size."[39] However if one divides the statues by size somewhat more carefully, a different picture results. Table 10.3 shows that fully 17 korai are at least "half life-size" and 13 "a fraction of natural size," according to Langlotz. Together, the two categories therefore form the largest group among the Akropolis korai (30). Most of the statues fall under the designation "smaller than life-size" (27), while only 16 of the 73 korai are life-size or larger.

From the table it can be seen that these five groupings are distributed relatively evenly across the period from 570 to 480.

The korai begin in 570/60 with a smaller than life-size example (Akr. 582: plate 125) and a small statuette (Akr. 589: plate 126). The next two korai, from Naxos, c. 560/50 (Akr. 619 and 677: plates 127–28), are larger than life-size and life-size.

The other four larger than life-size statues come from the period 530/20.

The increase in the number of statuettes after 510 is striking. From then on, mainly smaller than life-size korai and larger statuettes were dedicated; the korai thus scarcely differ in size, as they had in the preceding period. Larger than life-size and life-size statues and smaller statuettes—the extremes in size—are now dedicated only in very small numbers.[40]

The six korai dedicated in the Demeter sanctuary at Eleusis (plates 117–23) are all smaller than life-size (table 10.2). They presumably stood in a roofed space, as is suggested by their identical size and the fact that they did not have a meniskos. They were probably set up in the Telesterion hall dedicated by the Peisistratids.[41]

Finally, of the five funerary statues, two are larger than life-size (table 10.2)—the kore from Keratea and the

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[34] Deyhle 1969, p. 9. I feel the claim that the old-fashioned facial structure was intended to enhance "the awe-inspiring appearance of the presumed deity" is incorrect. The Berlin statue was a funerary kore.

[35] Boardman 1981a, p. 89, illus. 108; see also Fuchs/Floren, pp. 264f. (c. 570); Martini 1990, pp. 145ff. (second quarter of the 6th century), 450ff.; Richter 1968, p. 39, no. 42, illus. 139–46 (c. 580/70).

[36] Langlotz 1939, pp. 43ff.; similarly, Brouskari 1974, pp. 43ff. For the Akropolis korai, see also Rolley 1994, pp. 181ff.

[37] These numbers are naturally based on the existing korai, but they must be close to the number on the Akropolis in antiquity.

[38] If we choose not to see the younger statue from Laurion as a funerary statue. Since its find spot and therefore its function are not assured, it is necessary to leave it out of consideration.

[39] Langlotz 1939, p. 11, Akr. 1360, Akr. 681, Akr. 682, and Akr. 671: pl. 41, 50, 53, 25.

[40] Larger than life-size: Akr. 1360, 696, 604. Life-size: Akr. 662, 684, 616. Smaller statuettes: Akr. 668, 667, 601, 641.

[41] For the Demeter sanctuary: Kluwe 1966, pp. 101f.; for the sanctuary in general: K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum* (1936); K. Kanta, *ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΑ* (1993), pp. 9ff., esp. pp. 17ff.

Phrasikleia (plates 111–15, 234–37)—and three life-size, namely the korai from Hagios Ioannis Rentis, Moschato, and Vourva (plates 108–9, 230–33; 110, 116).[42] It can therefore be said that funerary korai were as a rule at least life-size; they stood in the necropolises of Attica's aristocratic landowners and represented deceased family members.

Meniskos

The term "meniskos" is generally taken to mean an umbrella- or crescent-shaped shield affixed to the head of a kore to protect it from the weather and bird droppings.[43] Accordingly, one can conclude that korai with a meniskos stood out in the open (table 10.4).

Yet it is not altogether clear just what such an attachment looked like, for we now see only metal pins projecting from the heads of korai or the holes drilled to receive them. A. Trendelenburg[44] considered the metal pin itself to be the meniskos; it was his opinion that it alone was enough to prevent birds from settling on the statue, as it projected from the crown of the head. He also determined that on the rods that survive there are no traces of their having supported a convex disk or any other attachment. G. Dickins[45] expresses a similar opinion; he finds it incomprehensible that the pins should be identified as meniskoi. His misgivings are justified, for a crescent or disk would not frighten birds away; on the contrary, it would provide an invitation to roost.

Unfortunately, the heads of many korai, or at least the portion of the head in question, are missing.[46] For that reason table 10.4 provides only an incomplete picture. Nevertheless, I hope to clarify the following issues: Were there korai with meniskoi throughout the entire period of korai dedications? Did a kore's size have anything to do with the presence of a meniskos? Do the find spots give us any hints about the original places where korai with meniskoi stood?

If we survey the entire range of korai, it appears that the use of meniskoi was limited to korai from the Akropolis; the korai from Eleusis and the funerary statues did not have them, even though the latter, at least, doubtless stood out of doors. On the other hand, the kouros from Moschato discovered along with kore NM3859 has a meniskos.[47] And although the kore's head is missing, it would seem quite possible that she also was furnished with a meniskos.

A total of fifteen korai from the Akropolis are certain to have been fitted out with a meniskos. The earliest of these statues is the Lyon kore, Akr. 269/163/164, from the period around 550/40 (plates 130–32, 239). There are korai with a meniskos up until 490, though the majority (nine) come from the decade 530/20 (Akr. 669: plates 140–41; Akr. 679: plates 138–39, 244–47; Akr. 660: plate 142; Akr. 682: plates 146–47, 252–53; Akr. 681: plates 148–49, 254–56; Akr. 672: plates 150–51; Akr. 671: plates 159–61, 258–59, Akr. 670: plates 152–54, 257–58). In the following decades up to 490 the number of korai with a meniskos decreases to five (Akr. 673: plates 164–65, 260–61; Akr. 643: plates 169, 263; Akr. 674: plates 178–79, 269–72; Akr. 685: plates 189–91, 274–75; Akr. 684: plates 192–94). After 490 we know of no korai with a meniskos.

If we consider the korai's size as well (table 10.3),[48] it becomes apparent that the presence of the meniskos decreases as the statues become smaller. While the presence of a meniskos can be established for nearly all larger than life-size korai,[49] it appears on only half the life-size statues[50] and roughly a third of those smaller than life-size. Larger and smaller statuettes with a meniskos are unknown.

Nearly all korai with a meniskos dating from the beginning down to 510 were discovered in the vicinity of the Erechtheion.

After 510, however, the picture changes. The few korai with a meniskos dedicated between 510 and 490 all came from the vicinity of the Parthenon,[51] as did the two fragments only assumed to have had one.[52]

To summarize, we can say that most of the larger and smaller than life-size korai with a meniskos were dedicated in the decade before 520. It is conceivable that the placement of the korai near the later Erechtheion, at the edge of the north slope of the Akropolis, was selected so that the votive gifts would be visible from afar. The meniskos, doubtless considered a necessary evil, nevertheless called attention to the statues, in that the yellow-gold bronze glistened in the sunlight.

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[42] For the statuette from Laurion in the Metropolitan Museum, 07.286.110, there is nothing to suggest its function. Its size would indicate that it was not a funerary kore but rather a votive statue.

[43] The word Μηνίσϰος is derived from μήνη, a poetic term for the moon: J. Maxmin, *JHS* 95 (1975), pp. 175ff., esp. pp. 178f., pl. 19. She counts 14 korai with a meniskos: 669, 681, 671, 679, 682, 673, 672, 670, 674, 661, 643, 685, 684, and 660. See, for example, the reconstruction of the peplos kore in R. M. Cook, *JHS* 96 (1976), pp. 153f., illus. 1. Aristophanes, *Birds* 1114–17, mentions this protective function of the meniskos. Maxmin, loc. cit., pp. 175ff., provides an overview of the sources and research.

[44] A. Trendelenburg, *AA* 13 (1898), pp. 230ff.

[45] Dickins 1912, p. 39.

[46] See, for example, Akr. 654, 652, 659, 696, and 687 (pl. 133, 240; 158; 166, 262; 180, 265; and 202).

[47] E. Homann-Wedeking/N. I. Kyparissis, *AM* 63/64 (1938/39), p. 158. J. Maxmin, *JHS* 95 (1975), p. 178, n. 16, provides a listing of all archaic kouroi with a meniskos. Her listing of the Akropolis korai with a meniskos, p. 178, n. 13, is nevertheless incomplete. Akr. 269 (the Lyon kore) and 645 are missing, though the listing includes the kore head Akr. 661.

[48] In the table, the korai without heads or with only portions of heads are identified with an asterisk.

[49] Exception: the early kore Akr. 619 (560/50). The three korai Akr. 1360 (510/500), 696 (500), and 604 (500–490) are missing either the head (1360, 604) or the top and back of the head (696), so that it is impossible to know whether they had a meniskos. Given their size—either nearly 2 m (1360, 696) or roughly 1.70 m (604)—one can nevertheless assume that they stood outside and accordingly had a meniskos.

[50] Except for Akr. 680 (530/20), 662 (500), 616 (490), excluding the early kore 677 (560/50). The upper part of the head is missing on Akr. 659 (520/10), so it is impossible to say whether she had a meniskos or not. Yet it is likely that she did, for only two life-size korai and one smaller statuette date from this period, and the other life-size kore has one.

[51] Akr. 674 (500), 685 (500–490) in the southwest; 684 (490) in the east.

[52] Akr. 696 (500), 604 (500–490) in the west.

Ornament

Lyric poetry from the 8th to the 6th century describes festivals with round dances and singing in honor of the gods.[53] The participants wore splendid costumes; the sources tell of fine fabrics and lavish draping of garments. As ornaments,[54] they mention in addition to expensive jewelry wreaths of flowers in the hair,[55] which young women were especially fond of.

Archaeological finds confirm the literary tradition. As G. Dickins[56] and L. Schneider[57] have noted, the Akropolis korai wore numerous pieces of jewelry, including necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and diadems.[58] The varied shapes of head ornaments make it difficult to identify them precisely. In his descriptions of the korai, E. Langlotz used the terms "stephane," "diadem," "taenia," and "polos" without actually defining them. A. Krug even claimed that the "frequent use of ribbons, bands, and hair ornaments . . . in the archaic period cannot be defined typologically."[59] Thus in the following the word "diadem" is used in its modern sense,[60] as a term for all head ornaments. These can cover the entire head or end behind the ears; often they are secured with a ribbon. For such ribbons and for hairbands[61] the designation "taenia" seems most appropriate.

The configuration of drill holes on the heads of two korai suggests that they wore metal wreaths in their hair. These are the peplos kore, Akr. 679, and Akr. 678. In the hair of the peplos kore 35 holes are arranged in two rows (plates 138–39, 244–47). According to Langlotz,[62] they could indicate a wreath, so the reconstruction of the kore with a carved diadem[63] produced for the Museum of Classical Archaeology in Cambridge would appear to be inaccurate. On the other example, Akr. 678 (plates 137, 241–43), holes were drilled in the head above and below the carved, beaded band for metal jewelry, so that here again one suspects a wreath.[64] Such ornaments nicely conform to written testimony, especially the poems of Sappho, in which there is repeated mention of young girls wearing wreaths in their hair to please the gods.[65]

Bracelets and armbands are preserved on only seven Akropolis korai, but one must remember that the arms of most korai are missing. Arm ornaments were surely part of their costumes,[66] for nearly all the arm fragments from korai discovered on the Akropolis have armbands in a wide variety of forms.[67] On one kore, Akr. 670 (plates 152–53, 258), an armband in the form of a snake is preserved (see table 14).[68]

Neckbands and necklaces were frequently painted on if not made of metal. The kore Akr. 1360 (plate 171) even wears a combined ornament around her neck, part of which was rendered in stone while the center section, now missing, was formed of metal.[69]

In the following, with the help of tables 10.5 and 10.6, I discuss the frequency and chronological distribution of forms of ornament on all korai discovered in Athens and Attica. Table 10.6 (Akropolis) presents the korai with carved ornament (ear disks, poloi, necklaces, armbands), metal jewelry (earrings, hair ornaments, pins, armbands, necklaces), and painted ornament (neckbands). Of the metal jewelry only the drill holes survive, in many of which traces of metal remain.[70]

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[53] Clothing as an indication of social standing and wealth is described by Schneider 1975, pp. 5ff., esp. pp. 19f., with an extensive bibliography. Dickins 1912, pp. 46ff., divides the clothing of the Akropolis korai into four groups: Attic, pseudo-Ionic, Ionic, and Doric, and subdivides each group according to type of costume. For Langlotz 1939, p. 11, the thin fabric of the Ionic chiton, the type most often found, accentuates the contours of the body and permits a much more three-dimensional rendering of the figure than that of the 7th century.

[54] Schneider 1975, p. 20, n. 94 (citations of sources on jewelry); E. Bielefeld, "Schmuck," *ArchHom* IC (1968), pp. 1ff. (jewelry in Homer's works).

[55] Schneider 1975, pp. 20ff., n. 102 (sources for wreaths worn in the hair and their use during festivals). See, for example, Sappho, frag. 80D, discussed in Schneider 1975, p. 12. For the hairstyles of the Akropolis korai in general, see Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 5ff.

[56] Dickins 1912, pp. 47ff. For necklaces, see p. 121, n. 91.

[57] Schneider 1975, pp. 19ff.

[58] See, for example, Richter 1968, XI, on the names of hair ornaments and 11f. on jewelry; Schneider 1975, pp. 20f.

[59] A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst* (1968), p. 133.

[60] Ibid., p. 136, n. 99, discusses the different meaning of "diadem" in Latin and Greek. While it designates a royal band for the Greeks, in Latin it is used also for a "woman's costly head ornament." The modern meaning derives from the latter.

[61] See, for example, Akr. 677, 686 (Euthydikos) (pl. 203–5, 278).

[62] Langlotz 1939, p. 46; Brouskari 1974, pp. 56ff.; Payne/Young, pp. 18f.

[63] See R. M. Cook, *JHS* 96 (1976), pp. 153f., illus. 1; Boardman 1981a, illus. 129.

[64] Langlotz 1939, p. 53: there are 24 drill holes above and 7 below the taenia, by means of which metal ornaments were attached; Trianti 1998, pp. 106f., illus. 71–73.

[65] Schneider 1975, p. 12 with n. 61; Sappho, frag. 80D.

[66] Dickins 1912, pp. 47f.

[67] Langlotz 1939, pp. 159ff., illus. 137–38, 141–44.

[68] Langlotz 1939, p. 51, pl. 14–16; Richter 1968, no. 119, illus. 377–79.

[69] The kore is broken at the neck, and the head is missing, so it cannot be determined just where the necklace was placed. There is a detailed description in Langlotz 1939, pp. 71ff., pl. 41; Brouskari 1974, pp. 81f., illus. 151; Trianti 1998, pp. 142f., illus. 140–41. For neck ornaments in general, see I. Blank, *Studien zum griechischen Halsschmuck der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (1974); V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, *AM* 116 (2001), pp. 51ff.

Since it was mainly heads that were adorned with jewelry, it must be remembered that a large number of korai were found without them, so that the listing cannot provide an altogether accurate picture.

Table 10.6 shows that all Akropolis korai wore jewelry, at least in their hair and on their ears.[71]

All types of ornament appear more frequently carved in marble than formed of metal or painted.[72] Carved ornaments are seen already on the early korai from the period 560/50. Akr. 677 has a taenia (plate 127), Akr. 593 a necklace and earrings (plates 129, 238). Most likely the korai from a decade earlier, Akr. 582 and 589 (plates 125, 126), wore ornaments in their hair or ears as well. The latest korai also have ornaments in this form, which was common throughout the entire period of korai dedications. One example is the kore Akr. 674 (plates 178–79, 269–72), with its preserved painting: a diadem with a meander design and squares as well as blue ear disks with red rosettes.

Necklaces have survived as painted ornament, but bracelets could also be painted on, as one arm fragment shows.[73] In all, we are certain of six korai with painted ornament from the period between 530 and 500 (Akr. 678: plates 137, 241–43; Akr. 679: plates 138–39, 244–47; Akr. 670: plates 152–54, 257–58; Akr. 673: plates 164–65, 260–61; Akr. 675: plates 174–75, 266–68; Akr. 668: plate 180). Because many korai survive only in fragments, as already mentioned, it is quite possible that others were also originally furnished with painted ornaments.

The first known metal jewelry appears around 530, and two of these three statues also have a meniskos. There are only a few korai with metal jewelry (15),[74] and these are evenly distributed through the following decades until 480. There is an increased use of metal jewelry in the period 530/20: six of the nineteen korai from this decade are thus ornamented (Akr. 678: plates 137, 241–43; Akr. 679: plates 138–39, 244–47; Akr. 669: plate 140; Akr. 681: plates 148–49, 254–55; Akr. 670: plates 152–54, 257–58; Akr. 671: plates 159–61, 258–59). It should also be noted that korai with metal jewelry, with but a single exception (Akr. 627: plate 207), always have carved and often have painted jewelry as well.[75]

On 10 of the 15 korai with metal jewelry, this is combined with a diadem, for which drill holes with traces of metal have survived. The Antenor kore, Akr. 681 (c. 525; plates 148–49, 254–55), provides a sense of what such jewelry looked like. Her diadem still has seven twisted bronze buds.[76] It is therefore likely that the other seven korai[77] with traces of metal in their diadems were also adorned with flowers. Langlotz mentions that Akr. 669 (plate 140) has triangular cuts on the upper part of the head above both ears, "probably so as to better secure marble ornaments [flowers?]."[78] Thus this kore wore a diadem with metal ornament and probably marble flowers over her ears

The use of flowers and wreaths in the hair conforms to literary tradition, in that young women are frequently described as wearing floral wreaths in their hair.[79]

One unusual piece has survived in Akr. 675 (plate 174–75, 266–68). This statue, originally roughly 1 m tall, i one of the loveliest and most richly ornamented korai.[80] Sh wears carved ear disks and a diadem in which there ar 17 holes for metal ornaments. In addition to a painted necklace, she was also furnished with a metal one, as th drill holes reveal.[81] This extraordinary wealth of jewelr for a relatively small kore shows that even statuettes coul be richly decorated.[82] It is worth noting that the back o this piece is quite rough (plate 174);[83] the kore possibl stood in a niche or in front of a wall, where her back wa either difficult to see or completely hidden.

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[70] Akr. 681 (525), bronze buds on the carved diadem; Akr. 669 (530), 670 (520), and 673 (520/10), bronze pins on the diadem; Akr. 679 (530), lead pins in the hair; Akr. 662 (500), lead pivots; Akr. 670 wears a metal bracelet.

[71] Without earrings: Akr. 677 (560/50), which doesn't belong to the group, since it is a "Naxian" kore. Akr. 654 (550/40), 686, 688, and 640 (480) are among the latest korai on the Akropolis. All these korai wear hair ornaments: Akr. 677 (double-knotted taenia), 654 (fragment of a polos), 686 (doubled taenia), 688, 640 (diadem).

[72] The existing painted jewelry is certainly not representative. The painting has mostly been lost, and moreover the spots where one would expect painting are often precisely the ones that are missing, such as the arms (painted bracelets), or damaged, such as the neck area.

[73] Langlotz 1939, p. 162, no. 210, illus. 141: "two olive-green armbands."

[74] As compared to 48 korai with carved jewelry.

[75] Korai with carved, painted, and metal jewelry: Akr. 678, 679 (530), 670 (520), 673 (520/10), and 675 (510–500). For a detailed description of the korai, see Langlotz 1939, no. 10, pp. 53ff.; no. 4, pp. 45ff.; no. 8, pp. 50ff.; no. 51, pp. 100f.; no. 43, pp. 91ff.

[76] See Langlotz 1939, p. 81, pl. 50–55.

[77] Akr. 669 (530), 670 (520), 673 (520/10), 675 (510–500), 643 (510 662 (500), and 685 (500–490).

[78] Langlotz 1939, p. 69.

[79] For the literary sources, see Schneider 1975, pp. 19ff.

[80] It is appropriately described by M. S. Brouskari, *The Acropo Museum* (1974), trans. J. Binder, p. 65, as the most coquettish of a korai: "With a coquettish gesture she pulls the long chiton up wi her left hand in order to free her lightly tripping feet from the rich embroidered skirt, some pleats of which are motionless while ot ers are in motion. The elaborate coiffure has corkscrew curls co ing forward, framed over the forehead by crisply waved strands.

[81] See Langlotz 1939, p. 92. Also a detailed description of the kore Stewart 1990, p. 124.

[82] In more than half of all statuettes (18) the head is missing, so jewelry can be identified.

[83] Langlotz 1939, p. 92, considers the kore a masterwork: "It is p cisely the only roughly worked back that reveals the hand of t master sculptor." The discrepancy between the front and back is obvious, however, that the kore cannot have been meant to be se from all sides (ibid., pl. 60f.); see also J. Huwendiek in Stemn 1995, B32.

In sum, it can be said that the Akropolis korai wore rich and quite prominent ornaments. Some were set apart by the use of metal ones.

It is difficult to form any comprehensive conclusions about the forms of ornament on the korai found in Attica because the majority are missing their heads (table 10.5). The kore from Laurion in New York (c. 530/20, plate 124) cannot be considered, inasmuch as it was reworked in antiquity (possibly already in the 5th century), at which time the head and left forearm with the hare were added.[84]

Half of the six korai excavated in Eleusis wear ornaments[85] in the form of ear disks, diadems, and one taenia. On kore NM27 (plate 120)[86] only carved jewelry—ear disks and a diadem—survive. Only on the Eleusis kore NM24 (plates 122–23)[87] can we see traces of metal jewelry: her ears are drilled for earrings. A diadem rests in her hair, its ends probably worked separately, as the deep drill holes behind the ears suggest. Kore NM60 (plate 121) has only a taenia in her hair, much like that of the Euthydikos kore, Akr. 686 (plates 203–5, 278).[88]

Necklaces and bracelets do not appear to have been as common in Attica outside Athens as on the Akropolis korai—no statue with such ornaments has yet been found. Even kore NM24, which is otherwise richly ornamented, wears no necklace (plate 122). In all probability the korai in Eleusis were provided with jewelry much like those of the Akropolis.[89]

Funerary statues, by contrast, were lavishly ornamented (plates 111–15, 234–37). They wear carved jewelry—poloi, earrings, necklaces, and bracelets—all artfully rendered.

The slightly larger than life-size Phrasikleia kore of Aristion, 1.79 m tall, has placed her right leg almost imperceptibly forward. With her right hand she grasps her garment, and in her left she holds a flower bud against her breast (plates 114a, 115b, 235–37). She wears a sleeved chiton belted at the waist, which covers her body with scarcely any folds. The chiton is bloused above the belt, while below it soft flat folds are formed that fall down across the hips, becoming fuller toward the bottom. They then form a regular row at the hem, which is adorned with a tonguelike design, without completely covering the feet in their strapped sandals with thick soles.[90]

The front of the chiton is ornamented with a broad meander border that extends from the neck down to the feet. A meander band follows the neckline, and double meander bands lead from the neck across the shoulders to the ends of the sleeves, which are also furnished with a meander pattern. Around her neck the young woman wears a carved necklace.[91] Each of her bracelets is set with four stones, and in her ears she wears rings from which hang tear-shaped pendants.[92] The flat, poloslike object on her head is especially richly ornamented, with alternating lotus blossoms and buds above a row of beading.[93] The kore from Keratea (plates 111–13, 234) also wears a polos with a meander border topped by a painted row of lotus blossoms and buds. In addition, the kore wears bud-shaped earrings, a necklace also adorned with buds, and a bracelet on her left wrist. Her sandals are carefully rendered in all their detail in relief and painting, their thin red soles resting on thicker ones.[94] There were no metal ornaments on the funerary statues so far discovered.[95] Many of the ornaments they do present are reflected in actual archaeological finds.[96]

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[84] Richter 1968, p. 85, no. 138, illus. 441–44; eadem, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculpture* (1954), pp. 3f., pl. VI, VII. For reconstructions of the small kore: E. Raftopoulou, *AAA* 10/11 (1977/78), pp. 75ff., esp. pp. 85ff., illus. 12–13. For details on piecing: A. Hermary, *BCH* 122 (1998), pp. 53ff., esp. pp. 65f.

[85] Three korai are preserved without heads, and cannot therefore be considered: NM5 (570/60), NM25, and NM26 (525–500).

[86] Richter 1968, p. 86, no. 142, illus. 452f. (525–500).

[87] Richter 1968, p. 103, no. 185, illus. 591–94 (490/80). Since only six korai are preserved, three of them without heads, the ratio of statues with metal jewelry is roughly the same as among the Akropolis korai.

[88] Ibid., p. 103, no. 186, illus. 595–96 (500–490).

[89] Of some, only the head survives; many are lacking forearms.

[90] For ancient sandals, see E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 28 (1973), pp. 116ff., esp. p. 132, illus. 16, 2a–b.

[91] A gold chain from the middle of the 6th century, found in Eretria on Euboea, shows what this necklace might have looked like originally; see B. Deppert-Lippitz, *Griechischer Goldschmuck* (1985), p. 118, illus. 66. All the Phrasikleia's jewelry is carved; there are no drill holes of the type used for attaching metal ornaments.

[92] For the Phrasikleia's jewelry, see F. Naumann, "Das Diadem der Phrasikleia," *Archäologie in Deutschland* (1987/2), pp. 30ff.

[93] A similar string of beads is seen on the kore Akr. 678 (c. 530) and a kore head, Akr. 659, from the years 520/10: Langlotz 1939, pp. 53f., no. 10, pl. 20f.; p. 131, no. 95, pl. 100. There are traces of green pigment on her stephane (659). For the polos in general, see F. K. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* (1915). E. Simon, *RA* 1972, pp. 214ff., recognized that mortals also wear the polos-shaped bridal crown; K. Schauenburg, *RM* 82 (1975), p. 207; see also H. Lohmann in *Kotinos. Festschrift E. Simon* (1992), pp. 107f.

[94] Blümel 1964, p. 8, illus. 1–3.

[95] Nat. Mus. Phrasikleia and Berlin 1800 (funerary statue from Keratea). Both korai wear a polos, necklaces, armbands, and rings. For figures with poloi: E. Simon, *RA* 1972, p. 214; Martini 1990, pp. 145ff. For the Phrasikleia's jewelry, see F. Naumann, "Das Diadem der Phrasikleia," *Archäologie in Deutschland* (1987/2), pp. 30ff.

[96] This suspicion is supported by literary tradition: J. Maxmin, *JHS* 95 (1975), p. 178; see above, n. 91.

Polychromy

Traces of pigment on many of the korai from the Akropolis[97] show how much the painting of their garments with ornamental lines and patterns affected their overall appearance (plates 238–78). The other Attic korai were also certainly painted, as we still see today from a tiny trace of red pigment on the inner side of the right foot of the kore from Hagios Ioannis Rentis (plate 231d) and the particularly well-preserved traces of pigment on both the kore from Keratea and the Phrasikleia (plates 234, 235). W. Lermann, who was able to inspect the korai shortly after they were discovered, determined that painters were frequently so highly skilled in their rendering of detail "that we can still identify the cross-stitch technique with which the original embroidery patterns were executed."[98] Plato comments that it was only through painting that statues, especially archaic ones, attained their full and carefully calculated effect.[99] This effect and the splendor of the original colors of the statues' clothing are apparent from the statue of Phrasikleia. It is possible to reconstruct its original appearance relatively precisely, thanks to the incised outlines of the ornaments on her chiton. To suggest the effect of the painting and the charming ornaments, I include a color reconstruction.[100] Since no detailed photographs of ornamental designs on clothing have been published and only inadequate plates are available, it is necessary to present the arrangement of the ornaments in four drawings (plates 236–37).[101]

Ornaments on the front differ from those on the back. In front we see only rosettes and swastikas strewn across the chiton, while the back presents a greater variety, including three- and four-pointed stars and rosettes with petals of different shapes enclosed in a circle. With his elegant ornamentation of the garment, which lightens the strict tectonics of the figure, the sculptor Aristion created a masterpiece.

The dominant colors on the Phrasikleia are red,[102] black, and yellow, but presumably there were others as well.[103] The lotus buds in the girl's hand and on her crown, for example, could have been emphasized using green pigment.[104]

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[97] As early as 1840, long before archaeologists concerned themselves with such investigations, K. E. Zachariä (von Lingenthal) wrote extensively and in explicit detail about polychromy in ancient sculpture and architecture, following his trip to the Orient in the years 1837 and 1838 (1840); photocopy available through the Löwenklau Gesellschaft e.V., Frankfurt am Main (1985), pp. 72ff. Zachariä noted at that time: "It is unbelievable how aestheticians and archaeologists were able to question or rather ignore the fact that painting was applied by the ancients to works of sculpture and architecture, even when they were carved of the most precious marble" (p. 77). Moreover, Zachariä was probably the first to point out that "chemical investigation of the stone" could facilitate the discovery of pigments "in the pores" (p. 79). I am grateful to G. Lahusen for telling me about this book.

A discussion on the polychrome drapery of archaic korai, complete with color plates, that continues to be valid to this day is found in Lermann 1907, pp. 44ff., esp, pp. 85ff., pl. Iff. Pigment traces are extensively described in Langlotz 1939, pp. 43ff. (He mentions, for example, that on the kore 679, aside from the painting of the green hem at the neckline of the peplos and other portions of garment, "on the bottom hem of the apoptygma and the peplos [there is] a running dog between two narrow [green] stripes.") See also Dickins 1912, pp. 40f.; H. Lechart, *Au musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes* (1903), pp. 252ff.; Reuterswärd, *Polychromie,* pp. 35ff.; Martini 1990, pp. 45ff.; Manzelli 1994, pp. 15ff., 151ff. Impressive color illustrations of some of the Akropolis korai are found in Trianti 1998, pp. 87ff., illus. 59ff.; see also J. Stubbe Østergård, "Den farverige græske skulptur," in *København-Athen. Tur/Retur* (2000), pp. 131ff., illus. 9–11; S. Houby-Nielson, "Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen og det sene 1800–Tals Farvedebat," ibid., pp. 149ff., illus. 9–18. The superbly preserved coloring of the head of a youth and a sphinx from Aiolou Street in Athens gives a sense of the once radiant colors of archaic sculpture. For an extensive discussion, see Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, *ADelt* 51/52 (1996/97), pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 21ff., pl. 1–2, 4–7.

[98] Lermann 1907, p. 84. According to T. Ioannou-Giannara, *'Ελληνικές κλώστινες συνθέσεις. Δαντέλες* (1986), p. 127, illus. 101, it is the embroidery pattern, still common today, called ϱαφιδευτό, or on Cyprus ἀϱπατζίκι, a kind of stitching together of two panels of fabric just as depicted on the Phrasikleia in the zigzag seam of the sleeved chiton between the two meander borders. See also Schmaltz 1998, pp. 3f.

[99] Plato, *Republic* IV, 420C.; Lermann, loc. cit., p. 76. See also E. Berger, *Die Maltechnik des Altertums* (1904), p. 240.

[100] In the reconstruction we must recognize that without microscopic investigation or other scientific study it is impossible to interpret with accuracy all traces of pigment; the colors of certain sections had to be chosen more or less arbitrarily.

[101] The drawings are based on the already published excavation photographs and my own study of the original.

[102] Red was the oldest and original color. Plato, *Republic* IV, 420C, identifies *ostreion* (light purple, scarlet purple) as the loveliest of colors. According to Pausanias VII, 26, 11; VIII, 39, 6, the cult image of Dionysos at Aigeira-Achaia was colored with κιννάβαϱι (cinnabar). For the coloring of the Phrasikleia, see also Manzelli 1994, pp. 228f., no. 136.

[103] The main colors in archaic painting were red, blue, green, and yellow; see Lermann 1907, pp. 92f.; according to E. Walter-Karydi in *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie, Festschrift F. Hiller* (1986), pp. 25ff., they were only "light (white, clay ground), dark (blue, black), and red." Based on the colors of a wood panel from Pitsa (northern Peloponnese) from the middle of the 6th century, she guesses that the Phrasikleia also presented similar colors, namely "a red peplos with blue rosettes and ornamental bands in white, blue, and red"; ibid., pp. 29ff., illus. 1. For the color blackish-blue (dark κυανούν), ibid., pp. 25f. with n. 14; Lermann 1907, p. 80 with n. 1. A listing of ancient colors and their combinations is found in K. Yfantidis, *Die Polychromie der hellenistischen Plastik* (1984), pp. 137ff.; see also E. Berger, *Die Maltechnik des Altertums* (1904), pp. 255ff.; Manzelli 1994, pp. 33ff.

[104] P. Dimitriou, *The Polychromy of Greek Sculpture: To the Beginning of the Hellenistic Period* (1951), pp. 100f., emphasizes that in the archaic epoch the colors green (and red, blue, black) were used for painting lotus blossoms and flying birds. The choice of the colors for the crown should be understood as only a suggestion, one that is surely open to debate. In the opinion of Walter-Karydi, loc. cit.,

The red of the chiton front and back is best preserved on the right side of the figure.[105] It is also possible to identify the colors in the tonguelike pattern around the hem of the robe. The tongues are alternating red and black with yellow centers. According to a note by the excavator, the outlines of the tongues also were yellow.[106] The rosettes on the chiton are said to have been painted with alternating yellow and black petals. The same combination of yellow and black was used for all the meander designs.[107] It is difficult to make out with the naked eye the black pigment on the rather elaborate double-meander border of the sleeves. Here and on the hem of the sleeves the red pigment survives in the T-shaped sections of the design. Since it would have been unusual for these sections of the meander to have a different combination of colors from the rest, we can assume that the red pigment here served as a ground for a more intense color.[108] V. Brinkmann was able to show from the Akropolis kore 674 (plates 269–72) that this was practiced in the archaic period. There the hair was painted in two layers: a dark-brown ocher was placed over a brick-red underpainting, so that together they produce a chestnut brown.[109]

Just what shade the red underpainting on the Phrasikleia produced and which red the chiton presented cannot be determined with certainty until the work is finally published and a careful study of the pigments has been made.[110] Nevertheless, I assume on the basis of earlier research and more recent investigations that the pigment on the kore's chiton was most likely cinnabar, or brick red.

Lermann points out that the red used on the garments of the Akropolis korai was generally a bright cinnabar.[111] He suspects that the color was chosen because it best represented the shade of purple favored in antiquity.[112] Actual purple could not be used because it was not durable on stone. Brinkmann's microscopic investigations have shown that traces of cinnabar have survived in a protected spot beneath the hem of the skirt of the Akropolis kore 675 (plate 266a).[113]

It is clear that before the Phrasikleia's garment was painted its ornaments were incised with a pointed needle and dividers.[114] This gave the artist the locations and outlines of the desired patterns and helped prevent the colors from bleeding. I would assume that the lines were retraced after painting to expose the natural color of the marble.

The shade of the marble was naturally of considerable importance for the face and other unclothed parts of the figure. Once the statue was finished, these areas were given a soft sheen and tinted to reproduce a natural skin tone in a process called ganosis. We know from ancient sources that when employing this technique the artist first brushed on heated Punic wax mixed with oil, then heated it again so that it was evenly distributed as it penetrated the stone. He then polished the surface with waxed string and linen cloths.[115] This gave the statue a gleaming surface and at the same time a coating to protect it from the weather.

It is unclear whether in reproducing flesh tones this colorless wax layer was applied on top of paint or directly

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p. 35, the two elements of the stephane, lotus blossoms and buds, could have been painted in alternating colors, for example green for the buds and reddish for the lotus blossoms. Another possibility is seen in the first publication of the color reconstruction of the kore's stephane; see K. Karakasi, *AW* 6 (1997), illus. 7–8; idem, *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ και ΤΕΧΝΕΣ* 68 (1998), p. 52, illus. 7.

[105] According to E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5 (1972), p. 314, the statue lay in a loose, rocky soil that allowed the water to flow off easily and kept the figure dry, which is why the pigments were preserved.

[106] Mastrokostas, loc. cit., p. 301. These pigment traces can no longer be seen with the naked eye. V. Brinkmann tells me that in the incised lines of the pattern there were traces of gold and tin. The sections reproduced in yellow in the reconstruction drawing could therefore have been plated in gold, the black ones in tin—instead of silver, which corrodes too quickly. Because of the splendor of the colors, the kore's festive clothing, and the use of precious materials, we must conclude that the deceased maiden was from an aristocratic family.

[107] In many spots in the incised lines of the meander it is possible to make out traces of black pigment, even with the naked eye.

[108] Lermann 1907, pp. 78f.; Reuterswärd, 1960, pp. 65f.

[109] V. Brinkmann, *Die Friese des Siphnierschatzhauses* (1994), p. 33, illus. 154.

[110] Lermann 1907, pp. 78f., points out that the intensity of a given color, which ranges in some of the Akropolis korai from a deep, brownish strawberry-red to a lively rust-red, for example, is a matter of how well the statue has been preserved. See also Brinkmann, loc. cit., p. 33.

[111] Lermann 1907, pp. 83ff., esp. pp. 90f. For more on cinnabar, see H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* IV (1887), pp. 488ff.; K. Yfantidis, *Die Polychromie der hellenistischen Plastik* (1984), pp. 138ff.; J. Riederer, *Archäologie und Chemie. Ausstellung des Rathgen Forschungslabors SMPK 1987–1988* (1987), pp. 202ff., 264 (additional bibliography on pigments in ancient painting).

[112] For purple garments, see Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 104ff.; A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland* (1989), pp. 109ff.

[113] Brinkmann, loc. cit., p. 33, illus. 151.

[114] For the technique of marking and applying pigment to archaic marble sculpture, see Brinkmann, loc. cit., pp. 31ff.

[115] Vitruvius VII, 9, 3–4; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 33, 122. See also E. Berger, *Die Maltechnik des Altertums* (1904), pp. 98ff.; Lermann 1907, pp. 34f.; Reuterswärd 1960, pp. 67ff.; H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* III (1887), pp. 199ff.; P. Dimitriou, *The Polychromy of Greek Sculpture: To the Beginning of the Hellenistic Period* (1951), pp. 114ff., esp. pp. 123f.; Yfantidis, loc. cit., pp. 134ff.; V. von Graeve and F. Preusser, *JdI* 96 (1981), p. 153.

to the marble surface.[116] Even the application of pure wax would have softened the stark white of the marble and given it a yellowish hue much like ivory, the flesh tone most highly prized in antiquity.[117] Since the Phrasikleia's face also has a yellowish cast, we can assume that this is a result of ganosis.

Close inspection reveals traces of pigment only on the Phrasikleia's garments. The colors of her hair, her polos, her lips and eyes, her hairband, her jewelry, and the flower she holds in her hand have all disappeared, as they have on the center stripe on her belt and on the sandal straps with their decorative stones. Nevertheless, I have attempted to reconstruct these sections based on my study of other korai. I therefore show the hair as a chestnut brown, the lips bright red, the brows and eyelashes dark, the irises a light brown,[118] and the pupils black; yellow stands for the gold of her jewelry. My choices of colors for the beaded band in her hair and the ornamental stones on her bracelets and sandals are wholly arbitrary.

Attributes

It is likely that most korai originally carried attributes.[119] Since their forearms and hands are often missing, however, even on relatively well-preserved statues, attributes can be identified only in a very few cases (table 10.7). A number of detached arms and hands have also been discovered that include attributes.[120]

Three korai holding apples were discovered on the Akropolis (Akr. 619?: plate 128; Akr. 677: plate 127; Akr. 680: plates 144–45, 248, 250–51), one with a wreath and a pomegranate (Akr. 593: plates 129, 238),[121] and three with a dove (Akr. 269: plates 130, 132, 239; Akr. 683: plates 167, 264; Akr. 685: plates 190, 275). The peplos kore (Akr. 679: plates 139, 246) carries some attribute that can no longer be identified, possibly something resembling a branch. According to G. Dickins,[122] all these objects can be considered votive offerings to the deity. They define the god, in this case Athena, and characterize the young women carrying them as bearers of offerings.[123]

The Attic kore in New York (plate 124) carries two attributes, a pomegranate and a hare. However, the hare was restored in antiquity along with the head and the left forearm.[124] Because we do not know where this statue was found, it is impossible to determine its function. A pomegranate is an attribute that might have been carried by either a votive statue or a funerary kore.[125]

Two of the most richly ornamented Attic tomb korai—the Phrasikleia and the kore from Keratea—also hold attributes in their hands, the Phrasikleia a lotus bud (plates 114a, 115d, 235–37), the Berlin kore a pomegranate (plates 112e, 234). Written sources indicate that the korai's flowers represent youth and beauty.[126] The lotus bud presented by the Phrasikleia, who died before she was married, has been linked to her virginity.[127] By contrast, the pomegranate in the hand of the Keratea kore,[128] a fertility symbol, probably refers to her advanced age, though in this case it would also be possible to interpret the pomegranate as a symbol of death owing to its association with Persephone.[129] We can no longer tell what sort of attribute the kore from Hagios Ioannis Rentis once carried, but the possibility that a pin was once used to attach some attribute made of marble or metal at the spot where the surface of the left hand has been broken off cannot be ruled out (plates 108a, 230a, 232).[130]

The various attributes of the Akropolis korai point to different aspects of the patron goddess Athena. As L. Deubner has determined, she combined features of a "maternal guardian of fertility in human beings and agriculture" with those of a "warlike mistress of the state."[131] The fertility symbols in the korai's hands would accordingly more likely suggest the goddess's maternal aspect and her function as protectress of brides.

Marble and Artists

The identifications of types of marble presented in table 10.8 come from the catalogues of E. Langlotz[132] and G. Dickins.[133] Since there are no clear analyses of the marble used for the Akropolis korai, it is impossible to state with certainty where they came from in each specific case.

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[116] Reuterswärd 1960, pp. 67ff., lists archaic statues on which a flesh color can be identified in addition to the ganosis. For a thorough discussion, see Graeve/Preusser, loc. cit., pp. 150ff.

[117] Homer, *Odyssey* XVIII, 196, praises Penelope's gleaming light skin, "whiter than sawn ivory," as the desired flesh color on forearms and elbows; see also Wickert-Micknat 1982, R120f.

[118] I only recently received from Stavros Baltoyannis, the former restorer at the National Museum, Athens, the information that a tiny trace of blue pigment was preserved in the iris, which would mean that the kore must have had blue eyes.

[119] Dickins 1912, p. 32. For attributes in general, see Shapiro 2001, p. 93; see also pp. 16ff., 38ff., 70f.

[120] Langlotz 1939, pp. 159ff., for example no. 211, illus. 142–43; no. 215, illus. 144; hands no. 221, illus. 145 (with a bird); no. 223, illus. 146 (with an apple).

[121] For the pomegranate, see Muthmann 1982, pp. 66f.

[122] Dickins 1912, p. 32.

[123] Freyer-Schauenburg, Samos XI, pp. 44ff., comes to a similar conclusion. Regarding korai carrying birds, she is of the opinion that they do not represent "goddesses for whom the animal serves as an attribute," but rather "worshippers."

[124] Richter 1968 (NY 07.286.110), p. 85, no. 138, illus. 441, 444. See also n. 119.

[125] For the meaning of the attributes, see the Attributes section of the Samos chapter, above, pp. 16ff., nn. 37ff.

[126] Schneider 1975, pp. 17ff., 33f.

[127] "She has not yet blossomed," writes Martini 1990, p. 78. For a full interpretation of the Phrasikleia's lotus bud, see M. Stieber, *Boreas* 19 (1996), pp. 96ff., pl. 8.

[128] Muthmann, 1982, p. 40, illus. 26–27; see also p. 16.

[129] After eating a pomegranate offered to her by Hades, Persephone was required to return to the underworld again and again. M. Lugauer, *Untersuchungen zur Symbolik des Apfels in der Antike* (1967), pp. 105, n. 3; 133f.; Muthmann 1982, pp. 67f., 72ff.

[130] Similarly, Kyrieleis 1995, p. 10.

[131] Deubner 1969, p. 35; Lugauer, loc. cit., pp. 86f.

[132] Langlotz 1939, pp. 43ff.

[133] Dickins 1912, pp. 106ff.

As a result, scholars have interpreted the material in different ways. While Langlotz describes the marble as Attic, for example, Dickins regards some of it as insular, by which at times he means an inferior quality of Parian marble.[134] These debated pieces are identified in the table with (L.) or (D.). In each case it is best to be as general as possible about the marble's origin, which is why I have used in the table only such designations as "Attic," "insular," or "uncertain" in those cases where the source of the marble cannot be narrowed down more closely.[135] Even so, it is possible to say that apparently there were no korai carved of marble from Hymettus.

The kinds of marble used for the Akropolis korai are evenly distributed across the entire period, with the exception of the Naxian marble used for the two early korai Akr. 619 and 677. In terms of chronology, then, there is no difference in the use of Attic and insular marbles. This conclusion is contrary to Dickins's view that Pentelic marble was consistently used in Attica except during the one period when marble from Paros was preferred.[136]

With but few exceptions, the korai statues were not hewn from a single block. Surviving dowels and drill holes indicate that especially arms and portions of the drapery, and frequently even locks of hair falling down across the breast, were carved separately and attached.[137] It is quite possible that for the separately worked bare arms and hands a finer, unusually white type of marble was chosen.

From tables 10.8 and 10.9 we see that far more than twice as many korai were created from insular or Parian marble than from Attic marble,[138] but that the number of artists from Attica is twice that of sculptors from the islands.

The majority of the korai (Dickins found them to number 39) were carved from Parian marble, which was used by both Attic and Ionic island artists. The two early korai were made of Naxian marble, and are considered to be Naxian works.[139] Neither of them exhibits any Attic influence. Presumably the sculptors carved the statues on the spot from stone shipped to Athens in roughed-out form.[140]

Far fewer korai (Langlotz counts 18)[141] were made of Pentelic marble. Ionian carvers apparently almost never used Attic marble, though it was worked by native sculptors and possibly Peloponnesian artists as well. Dickins was of the opinion that the Chian sculptors working in Attica used Parian marble exclusively.[142] The kore Akr. 627 (plate 207), which both Dickins and Langlotz assure us was made of Pentelic marble, is identified by Langlotz as Chian, whereas Dickins ascribes it to an Attic-Ionic school and Payne refers to it as Cycladic.[143] This example demonstrates that owing to different opinions regarding artists and marble it is rarely possible to come to any assured conclusions about an artist's preference for a specific material. Aside from the kore Akr. 627, there is only one other that may be of Pentelic marble (Akr. 612, Chian: plate 172) that can be attributed to an Ionic island artist. Unlike Langlotz, Dickins states that Akr. 612 is made of Parian marble.[144]

That Ionic and insular Ionic artists used Pentelic marble cannot be excluded, but it was apparently extremely rare for them to do so.

Of the roughly 25 surviving signatures from the Akropolis, 17 contain the names of archaic sculptors. We know another seven names from some 15 signatures from Attic necropolises.[145] There have been attempts to attribute the surviving sculptures to artists whose names are preserved. However, since inscriptions and statues were generally not discovered together, only in rare instances can we link specific works to known artists—for example the kore of Antenor, Akr. 681;[146] the Phile of Phaidimos;[147] and the Phrasikleia of Aristion.[148] The treatment of the drapery on the Antenor kore reveals that native Attic artists such as Antenor were definitely exposed to Ionic influences.[149]

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[134] Ibid., p. 37.

[135] G. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien* (1890), pp. 11ff., 64ff.

[136] Dickins 1912, p. 13. For a general discussion of the Pentelic marble quarries and the transport of marble to the Akropolis, see M. Korres, Από την Πεντέλη στόν Παρθενώνα. Τα αρχαία λατομεία και η ιστορία ενός ημιτελούς δωρικού κιονόκρανου του πρώτου μαρμάρινου Παρθενώνος (1994).

[137] For example Akr. 674: Langlotz 1939, p. 94, illus. 60; Akr. 682: ibid., pp. 88f., illus. 55–57; Akr. 680: ibid., p. 96. See also p. 69, n. 38, p. 84 with n. 30; G. Rösch, *Altertümliche Marmorwerke von Paros* (1914), pp. 22f. Presumably sculptors used piecing to obtain the largest possible statue from a block of marble; Dickins 1912, p. 38.

[138] See above, pp. 84f. with n. 34.

[139] Boardman 1981a, p. 86, illus. 99f.; Steuben 1980, pp. 13ff., illus. 18–19; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 157f. with n. 48, pl. 9; Martini 1990, pp. 201f., illus. 43; see above, n. 14.

[140] For the problems, see pp. 71f. with n. 62.

[141] Akr. 670, 684 (only arms), 686 (only the statue, no base), Akr. 673, 600 (Dickins says Parian marble).

[142] Dickins 1912, pp. 13, 35.

[143] Langlotz 1939, p. 100, no. 50; Dickins 1912, pp. 164f.; Payne/Young, p. 60.

[144] Dickins 1912, p. 144. Akr. 641 Attic, not Cycladic.

[145] Raubitschek 5ff., esp. 479ff.; Boardman 1981a, p. 91.

[146] For a detailed discussion, see Deyhle 1969, pp. 39ff., 60, pl. 9, 10; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 481ff.; see also Tölle-Kastenbein 1992, pp. 138f.

[147] For the artist Phaidimos and other works attributed to him, see J. Dörig, *AA* 1967, pp. 116ff., illus. 1ff.; Deyhle 1969, pp. 46ff., 60.

[148] Karusos 1961, p. 67, A15; Deyhle 1969, p. 58; Jeffery 1961, p. 73, no. 29, pl. 3, 401; Steuben 1980, p. 37.

[149] E. Kluwe in R. Müller (ed.), *Der Mensch als Mass aller Dinge* (1976), p. 52.

Nevertheless, the Attic sculptors preserved their own artistic forms.[150]

The inscriptions reveal that sculptors worked for all manner of patrons; apparently neither social status nor political affiliations were involved.[151] Antenor is a good example.[152] In addition to the kore Akr. 681, which is presumed to have been commissioned by the potter Nearchos, a female figure from the east pediment of the temple of Apollo in Delphi is attributed to his oeuvre. According to J. Boardman, for this work he was paid by the Alkmaionidae living in exile.[153] After the expulsion of the tyrants in 510, he then created the first Tyrannicides group on commission from the city of Athens.

Aristion's statue of the Phrasikleia provides another example of a Parian sculptor's having worked for an Attic patron.

The long, oval face of the Phrasikleia is firmly carved; the cheekbones and chin stand out a little. The slightly angled, almond-shaped eyes are framed by broad lids. The lips are distinctly formed, the lower lip seemingly a bit fleshier. From the corners of the mouth two creases run down to the prominent chin (plates 114–15, 235).

Her hair is set in waves from a center part back to the ears and the taenia tied on the back of her head, below which it falls in beadlike strands onto her back, her sleeves, and her breast. The hair on the back of her head does not appear as a symmetrical mass, but, thanks to the different thicknesses of the strands and the irregular curls, seems filled with movement. Especially below the so-called Hercules knot with which the meander-pattern taenia is tied in the middle of the back of her head, the abundant thinner and thicker strands descend to the level of her shoulders, where two separate strands of curls become visible (plate 236c).

Because of her clothing, her head covering, and the outline of her body, scholars[154] have repeatedly compared the Phrasikleia with the kore from Keratea,[155] c. 570/60, the so-called Berlin goddess (plates 111–13, 234; 114–15, 235–37).

Obviously, the Phrasikleia is in the tradition of the kore from Keratea, but it represents a more highly developed stage. With its stiff, vertical folds and severe body structure, the Keratea kore seems much more static and inexpressive; her garment appears to be heavy and gives little indication of the body's form beneath. The facial features are similarly severe; the sharp-edged lips and unnaturally large, protruding eyes seem carved and artificial (plate 111). By contrast, the shape of the Phrasikleia's body is clearly visible—especially in the side view—and because of the softer and more natural draping the relationship between the body and its clothing seems more organic (plate 237).[156] For that reason I consider the date of around 540, suggested for the work by the excavator, more probable.

The impression of real fabric in the Phrasikleia's garment and its relationship to her body are again provided by the korai from Paros (plate 79)[157] and the later korai from Delos (plates 67–72, 216–27),[158] which are also attributed to Parian workshops. Such forms are rather foreign to Attic sculptors, but they have to do only with the kore's body, not the rendering of her face, which differs from Parian works[159] and more closely resembles that of the Berlin kore.[160] Aristion here apparently followed Attic tradition at the request of his client, and in so doing distanced himself from the vitality of Parian carving.[161]

Another aspect of the artist question can be studied in the example of the Lyon kore.[162] As is well known, its upper body is preserved in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, while the lower body and two fragments of the left shoulder, which were discovered on the Akropolis, are displayed in the museum in Athens.[163] The first mention of the lower fragment comes from H. Schrader, who did not relate it to the upper section in Lyon, but placed it in the same stage of development.[164] It was Payne who first recognized that the two fragments belonged together.[165] Previously, scholars had tended to emphasize either its Ionic or its Attic formal and stylistic elements.[166]

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[150] Kluwe, loc. cit., p. 50; Langlotz 1939, pp. 14f.; for other questions relating to artists: Ch. Tsirivaku-Neumann, *AM* 79 (1964), pp. 114ff.; U. Sinn, *AM* 98 (1983), pp. 25ff. Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, *ADelt* 51/52 (1996/97), pp. 12ff., speaks of Corinthian influence on Attic sculpture of the period after 580, for example on the kore from Keratea in Berlin; the Akropolis kore head 654, which she considers the head of a sphinx; the kouros heads 617 and 137 from the Akropolis; the sphinx from Spata in the National Museum in Athens; and the peplos kore, Akr. 679.

[151] Kluwe (note 150 above), p. 54; see also p. 145 with nn. 8–10.

[152] Boardman 1981a, pp. 106f.; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 295f. with n. 5.

[153] Boardman 1981a, p. 107, illus. 141, 142; Deyhle 1969, pp. 41ff.

[154] E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5 (1972), p. 308.

[155] Blümel 1964, pp. 7ff., no. 1 (inv. no. 1800), pl. 1–8; Richter 1968, pp. 39f., no. 42, illus. 138–46; Fuchs/Floren, p. 264 with n. 12.

[156] Martini 1990, pp. 154f.

[157] For links between the Phrasikleia and Parian korai, see N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 94ff., esp. pp. 102f. Naoussa kore inv. no. 802, pl. 36–37 (c. 550/40).

[158] A4064: Richter 1968, p. 88, no. 147, illus. 468–71; A4063: ibid., p. 89, no. 150, illus. 476–78; A4067: ibid., p. 89, no. 149, illus. 479–82; A4068: Th. Homolle, *De antiquissimis Dianae simulacris Deliacis* (1885), p. 31, pl. 6; Athens NM22: Richter 1968, p. 88, no. 148, illus. 472–75; see also N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, p. 104 with n. 87. For the identification of garments on Parian works in general, see G. Rodenwaldt, *AM* 46 (1921), p. 33; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 56ff.

[159] The typical Parian features are lacking. See Croissant 1983, p. 101.

[160] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 102f. with n. 73; see also Ridgway 1977, p. 99; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, p. 184.

[161] E. Buschor, *AM* 54 (1929), pp. 151f. For the typical facial features of Parian works, see Steuben 1980, pp. 9ff.; N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 105f., pl. 39; V. Brinkmann, *Die Friese des Siphnierschatzhauses* (1994), pp. 78f.

[162] The views expressed in the following were presented at the international colloquium "La sculpture des Cyclades à l'époque archaïque. Historie des ateliers-rayonnement des styles," Institut Français, Athens, September 7–9, 1998 (essay in a *BCH* supplement in press).

[163] Just when and under what circumstances the upper part of the statue was found are unknown. It is also unclear how this fragment

Compared with the other korai from the Akropolis, with their richly draped chitons and sinuous forms, the Lyon kore, 1.13 m tall and carved of Pentelic marble (plates 130–32, 239), seems altogether different. Her arms are exceedingly muscular, and her upper body, broad-shouldered and powerful, resembles that of a kouros. In concept, too, she differs from all later Akropolis korai: she does not hold her attribute—a dove—with one arm outstretched and the other bent and pressed to her breast (plates 130, 239). With her other hand, which in later korai generally grasps the chiton gracefully to the side, she presses her garment against her left thigh (plates 131a,d, 132a). Also, the arrangement of her diagonal himation across her left shoulder without a border at the hem and the disposition of the folds (plates 130, 239) are found on no other Akropolis korai with the exception of Akr. 672 (plates 150–51).[167] On the other korai wearing a diagonal himation, it runs under the left arm and covers the right shoulder.[168] All other korai also gather their skirt to the side opposite the long point of the himation, which usually falls from the right arm. The Lyon kore, however, holds her robe on the same side as the long tip of the himation.

Most uncharacteristic is the semicircular curve of the hem of the himation falling across the right hip. No other Akropolis kore displays this feature (plates 131c, 132c).

It is generally accepted that the Lyon kore dates from c. 550/40,[169] also that it stands in the Attic artistic tradition, for which reason I need not discuss it further. Let me only confirm its origin once again by comparing its head with that of the Attic sphinx from Spata.[170] The structure of the two heads is similar, in the contours of the face, the formation of the eyes, and the shape of the upper lip. The arrangement of the hair above the forehead is also virtually the same, as is the three-dimensional rendering of the locks of hair at the sides.[171] If the forms of the face of the sphinx from Spata seem more austere and hard, it is because the work was produced at an earlier date.[172]

Like most other scholars, I assume that the Lyon kore is the oldest kore in Attica to wear Ionic garments.[173] Hers are the Ionic chiton with diagonal himation that were native to the Ionic centers of Samos, Miletus, and the Cyclades—"Nesiotic Ionia," as E. Buschor called the islands[174]—and were the usual costume there in the second quarter of the 6th century. For comparison, one could point to Samian korai of the Cheramyes type (plates 4–9) or the Naxian Akropolis korai 619 and 677 (plate 127).[175] Kore 619 (plate 128) is nevertheless distinguished from the Lyon kore by the less successful rounding of the body outline and the absence of the zigzag hem on the himation.[176]

On the Akropolis in Athens, then, the fashion for Ionic costume begins with the Lyon kore around 550/40. At the same time, as M. Brouskari has noted, a whole range of new approaches can be seen, including angled axes, wave-like contours, and deviations from strict symmetry.[177]

In the following I compare these Ionic or Cycladic elements seen in the Lyon kore with korai known to have been found on the island of Paros, with a view to demonstrating possible parallels.

Payne and Langlotz have observed that the Lyon kore copies an eastern Ionic pattern,[178] but is at the same time influenced, like the Antenor kore (plates 148–49, 254–56), by the art of the Cyclades, especially works from Paros.[179] All of these conclusions are nevertheless based on comparative examples whose actual find spots are uncertain, and whose Parian provenance is therefore only

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reached Marseille around 1710. In 1810 it was transferred to the Lyon museum from a private collection. See H. Lechat, *Aphrodite archaïque* (1919); E. Michon, *CRAI* 1935, pp. 367ff.

[164] H. Schrader, *Archaische Marmorskulpturen im Akropolis-Museum zu Athen* (1909), pp. 31f., illus. 27–28; see also Dickins 1912, p. 106, no. 269; Lechat, loc. cit., p. 18; E. Pfuhl, *AM* 48 (1923), p. 168.

[165] Payne/Young, pp. 14f.

[166] E. Löwy, *ÖJh* 12 (1909), pp. 263f., illus. 135–38.

[167] Richter 1968, p. 76, no. 118, illus. 373–76.

[168] Because of this arrangement of the himation, various scholars held the view that the Lyon kore was possibly a karyatid: Ridgway 1977, p. 105; R. Ross Holloway, *OxfJA* 11/3 (1992), pp. 269f.

[169] Payne/Young, pp. 15f.; Langlotz 1939, pp. 66f.; Richter 1968, p. 58; Ridgway, loc. cit., p. 105, pl. 27–28; Martini 1990, pp. 156ff. According to Fuchs/Floren, p. 266, c. 540/30. I agree with this later dating because of the much softer modeling of the facial features. See also Croissant 1983, pp. 246ff., 249, pl. 100; Deyhle 1969, p. 57.

[170] G. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attika* (1961), p. 16, no. 12, illus. 40–41.

[171] Löwy (note 166 above), pp. 263ff.; for the Lyon kore's hairstyle, see Rohner-Dvorsky 1993, pp. 58ff., esp. pp. 152ff.

[172] See also Payne/Young, pp. 15f.

[173] Ibid., pp. 17, 23; Langlotz 1939, p. 67; Richter 1968, pp. 57f.; Martini 1990, p. 158; see also Schmaltz 1998, pp. 1ff., esp. pp. 16ff.

[174] E. Buschor, *Frühgriechische Jünglinge* (1950), p. 59.

[175] Richter 1968, pp. 46ff., no. 55, illus. 183–85; no. 56, illus. 186–89; no. 58, illus. 194–97; no. 59, illus. 198–200. For the relationships between Attic and Ionic korai, see Graeve 1983, p. 22, 21–22, regarding the new find of a kore fragment from Miletus that is dated to the same period as the Lyon kore and, like it, holds the skirt with the left hand.

[176] For the korai 619 and 677: Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 53ff.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 53 with n. 64, pp. 108f.; Martini 1990, p. 156.

[177] Brouskari 1974, pp. 61f. See also Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 175ff.; B. S. Ridgway et al. in *Greek Art. Archaic into Classical. A Symposion held at the University of Cincinnati, April 2–3, 1982* (1985), p. 7, illus. 10.

[178] Payne/Young, p. 16.

[179] Langlotz 1939, p. 15: "The dependence on Parian works is evident in the draping of the himation characteristic of this island and in typical Parian forms for strands of hair and folds in the garment."

assumed on the basis of their style. For at that time no kore certain to have come from the island was known that represented the same stage of development as the Lyon kore.[180] We have since come to know korai found on Paros from N. Zapheiropoulos's study on archaic Parian korai.[181] On the basis of these finds I would like to expand on these arguments.

Langlotz had already associated the Lyon kore with Paros in his comparison of her beadlike strands of hair with those of the Paros kouros in the Louvre.[182] It is true that the rendering of the strands of hair on the back of the head is quite similar in the two works. A further comparative example is the recent find of a Gorgon from Paros whose strands of hair, like strings of beads, also bear a clear resemblance to those of the Lyon kore.[183]

As for the clothing of the Lyon kore, the kore from Naoussa, on Paros, provides a close comparison.[184] I have mentioned the semicircular hem of the Lyon kore's himation. If we compare the profile views of the two figures (plates 132, 79) we note how much the kolpos of the Parian kore's chiton resembles the curve of the Lyon kore's diagonal himation (plates 131c, 132c, 79c–d). Payne has even written that "this extremely effective means of relating the dress to the forms below it seems not to have been appreciated by later Attic sculptors."[185] In addition, the firmness of the buttocks, the muscular thighs, and the overall outline of the lower body are nearly identical in both korai. Zapheiropoulos has said that the three-dimensional form of the Naoussa kore (plate 79) derives "not from the surface but from the young body, distinguished by the taut energy of the curves of the back and buttocks."[186] The same can be said of the Lyon kore, in which the strong body is clearly visible beneath the clothing—the broad shoulders, the muscular upper arms, and especially the hips, thighs, and knees (plates 130, 132, 239). Zapheiropoulos also says that on the Naoussa kore the garment is not subordinated to the body but maintains its independence in that it swathes the upper body with a certain lightness and clings to the lower body so that the legs are still visible beneath the thin fabric. The meander borders on both sides emphasize this.[187] The Lyon kore presents the same effect, even though the garment lies close to the body and is stretched across the legs like a second skin. The thin, angled folds extending outward from the spot where the left hand grasps the garment and those that fall from the waist also emphasize the body outline (plates 131a–d). The zigzag hem is also a familiar element on Parian works. We see it in a similar form on the himation of the later Parian kore in New York (plates 80–81).[188] An unpublished lower-body fragment in the Paros Archaeological Museum, no. 166, also provides a good comparison (plates 84a–b).[189] Although the fragment is badly worn, it is still quite possible to make out the line of the diagonal himation. The zigzag hem here runs at a slant (plate 84b) rather than vertically, as in the Lyon kore (plate 131d), yet the similarity between the two elements is clear. Most remarkable is the impression of actual fabric in these garments, one that is common to both figures and in profile carefully traces the contours of their bodies (plates 84b, 131d, 132d). Thus there are definite similarities between the two korai. If the torso were not so badly abraded it would presumably exhibit the same three-dimensional treatment of the surface that distinguishes the Lyon kore.

One is struck by the differentiated rendering of the Lyon kore's garments. While the chiton swathes the body without folds—it is only on the lower body that flat folds are indicated in front by grooves—the himation has carefully modeled folds running at an angle and ending in a stepped zigzag hem (plates 130, 132, 239). On the back they are somewhat wider and more vertical to the right of the center fold, narrower and more angled on the left. There they end in the broad, flat, quite carefully worked zigzag hem of the long point of the himation (plates 131b, d, 132b, d). Here the modeling of the zigzag draping is very flat, almost calligraphic, and is reminiscent of the equally calligraphic folds of the Phrasikleia's drapery (plate 114).[190]

In the suggested reconstruction of the original colors of the Phrasikleia's chiton (plates 236–37), it is possible to see clear similarities in the formation of the garment's borders with those of the Lyon kore. In the draping of the hem of the Phrasikleia's chiton, as in the zigzag hem of the Lyon kore's himation, the folds run evenly side by side, and the latter were accented with ornament in the same way (plates 237c–d, 131, 132).[191] One could even say that the hem of the Phrasikleia's chiton imitates the zigzag hem of the Lyon kore. In addition, the outline of the head with the polos, the beaded locks of hair falling down the back, and the formation of the shoulders are very similar in the two statues (plates 130c, 132b, 236c).[192] We can therefore assume that the artist who created the Lyon kore also came from Paros but worked in Attica. Possibly he had connections with the workshop of Aristion,[193] or even belonged to it.

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[180] For more on the works ascribed to Paros, see Langlotz 1927, pp. 132ff.

[181] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 93ff., pl. 35–39.

[182] Langlotz 1939, p. 67; Richter 1960, no. 166, illus. 356–58 (c. 550/40); C. Rolley, *BCH* 102 (1978), pp. 41ff., illus. 14; Fuchs/Floren, p. 161, n. 9.

[183] The Gorgon in the Paros museum was first presented by F. Zapheiropoulou and Y. Kourayos in the framework of the abovementioned colloquium (see n. 162). See F. Zapheiropoulou and Y. Kourayos, *ΠΑΡΟΣ* (1997), no. A1258, pp. 32ff., illus. 27.

[184] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 94ff., pl. 36–37. Paros museum inv. no. 802.

[185] Payne/Young, p. 17.

[186] N. Zapheiropoulos in Athens 1986, pp. 95f.

[187] Ibid., p. 96.

[188] Richter 1968, no. 151, illus. 483–86.

[189] Paros museum inv. no. 166; see p. 83.

[190] E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5 (1972), pp. 298–324.

[191] Martini 1990, p. 158. Along the zigzag hem there are still traces of a green meander: Dickins 1912, p. 106; Langlotz 1939, p. 67.

No other works by Aristion have survived[194] that could be used for comparison. The kouros that was discovered along with the Phrasikleia presents distinctly different stylistic features, as E. Mastrokostas has noted.[195] For that reason the figure cannot be attributed to Aristion.

A year after the discovery of the two statues, J. Frel expressed the view[196] that the Lyon kore could have been created by the same hand as the Merenda kouros. His suspicion was based on the similarities between the two heads. A relationship between the two is indeed apparent, especially in the line of the eyebrows and the way it leads into the bridge of the nose, in the shallow eye sockets, and in the almond shape of the eyes with their thin lids. The caruncle is reproduced in both, and both the formation of the nostrils and the prominent chin are comparable. Moreover, there are similarities in the formation of the high, smooth forehead and the pointed arch of the hairline. Yet there are differences in the outlines of the faces of the two heads: that of the kouros seems almost square, owing to the broad chin section, while the kore's face is more oval in form. The kore's cheeks and mouth are more distinctly set off from each other, the high cheekbones more prominent. The gentler transitions between the forms of the cheeks and mouth and the softer modeling of the skin of the Merenda kouros suggest an advance over the Lyon kore, so that the kouros might well be younger. Further comparisons between the kouros and the Lyon kore are impossible at this time since the kouros has yet to be published.

From these observations one suspects that both figures were created by sculptors from Paros. The publication of the Merenda kouros and the Parian kouroi, above all the torso that was discovered along with the Gorgon on Paros, may well give rise to further conclusions regarding the work of these artists.

As for the question of the degree to which the sculptor of the Lyon kore was influenced by the art of Attica and which Attic elements he adopted, it can be said that the Cycladic features are limited to her garments and the tension in her body, while the modeling of her head and the outline of her body are fully within the Attic tradition.[197] Just why this is we do not know. Perhaps it reflects a process of assimilation over an extended period of activity in Athens, or perhaps the artist was responding to the particular wishes of his client.

The same also applies to the Phrasikleia kore, as E. Kostoglou-Despoini[198] and Zapheiropoulos[199] have noted. They suggest that the sculptor Aristion adapted elements of the Attic style and in doing so distanced himself from the vitality of Parian works.[200]

Accepting commissions from different patrons meant that artists did not always work in the same place. One example of this is provided by the find of the kore in Aiane, a village south of Kozani in western Macedonia. Several archaic works came to light in the town's necropolis, among them the head of a life-size kore adorned with ear disks and diadem (c. 510–500; plate 212).[201] It shows a strong similarity to Attic works (for example, Akr. 680: plates 145d, 251e; Akr. 662: plate 186; Akr. 641: plate 195d) in its hairstyle, with four wavy strands curving down over the temples on either side and tucked behind the ears. However, the head was carved of local marble. In all probability it was created by an Attic sculptor who had been brought to Aiane, for artists "work from commission to commission, and doubtless reassemble a workshop, that is a group of assistants, appropriate to the scope of the contract."[202]

Find Spots

Table 10.10 gives in chronological order the locations where the Akropolis korai were discovered, divided into five columns: north wall, near the Erechtheion, near the Parthenon, near the Propylaea, and unknown.[203]

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[192] At present it is not possible to photograph this view, since the figure is unpublished.

[193] For the œuvre of the Aristion workshop, see S. Karusou, *ADelt* 31 (1976), p. 14.

[194] For the œuvre of Aristion, which are documented only by inscriptions on their bases, see Karusos 1961, pp. 61f., A13, A14, A15.

[195] Mastrokostas, loc. cit., pp. 298ff., illus. 1–15.

[196] J. Frel, *AAA* 6/7 (1973/74), pp. 367ff., illus. 1–2.

[197] Payne-Young, p. 16; see also W. Darsow, *MdI* 4 (1951), p. 97. B. Schmaltz nevertheless contends that the Lyon kore is "definitely to be taken seriously as an original creation that represents an apparently widespread costume but uses it in an independent manner—as yet without known parallels or direct precedents": Schmaltz 1998, p. 17.

[198] Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, pp. 184f.

[199] In Athens 1986, pp. 102–3.

[200] See also K. Karakasi, *AW* 6 (1997), pp. 510f.

[201] Aiane, Archaeological Collection 7474. Height 23 cm. A. Kottaridou in *Die Makedonen, die Griechen des Nordens*, special exhibition in the Landesmuseum, Hannover, March 11–June 16, 1994, p. 159, no. 143. The kore head lay in a cist grave and had apparently been embedded in a pit after the plundering and destruction of the necropolis. The bearded head of a man was also found in the necropolis, as well as a lion and the feet of a kouros, all unpublished. For Aiane, see G. Karamitrou-Mendessidi, *Αἰανή Κοζάνης, ’Αρχαιολογικός ‘Οδηγός* (1989), esp. p. 55, illus. 22 (necropolis); for the kore in detail, G. Karamitrou-Mendessidi in *Τιμητικός Τόμος στόν Γ. Δεσπίνη* (2001), 59ff.

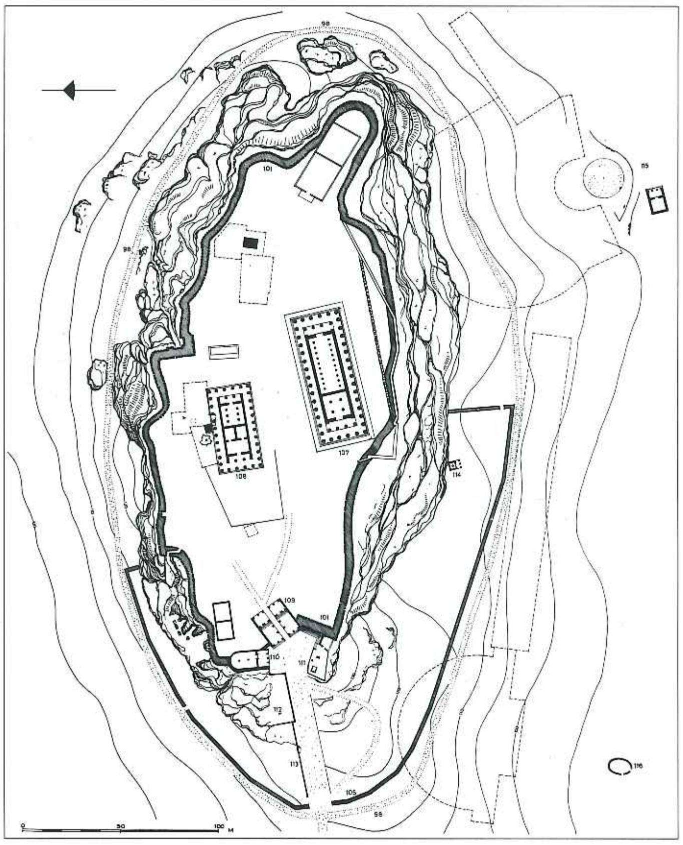
[202] Philipp 1968, p. 85.

[203] It would be better to rephrase the occasional detailed indications of location such as "northwest of Erechtheion" or "south of Parthenon" using the concept "vicinity of."

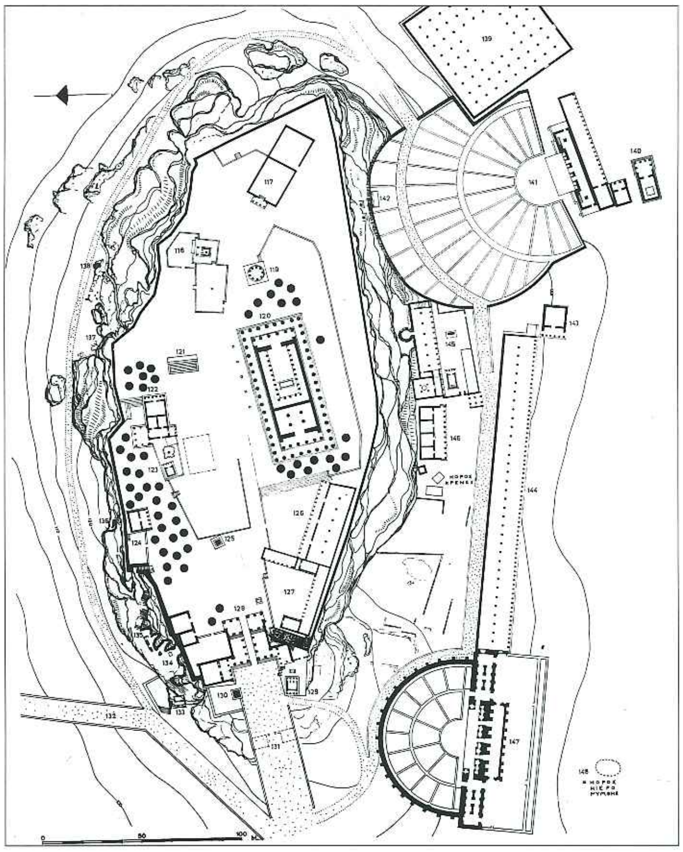
It is difficult to determine whether the sites where the korai came to light are the same places where they were erected originally. After the destruction of the Akropolis by the Persians in 480/79,[204] the Athenians used the battered statues and other fragments in grading the hill citadel. The research of A. Lindenlauf[205] showed that it is almost certain that all the korai stood on the Akropolis before the Persian invasion. Even though the find spot is precisely documented for only a very few korai, and "stratigraphic features valid for all the Persian rubble could not be established,"[206] none of the korai are numbered among the "significant transition works,"[207] which raises the question whether they were perhaps set up only after the citadel's destruction by the Persians. Because of the korai's "history" following the Persian attack it seems obvious that fragments of the same figure should have come to light at different spots on the Akropolis.[208] Lindenlauf investigated the type of damage suffered by the korai and was able to determine that many of them were deliberately destroyed;[209] a number of them were beheaded[210] and others show scars from axe blows.[211] One kore was subjected to great heat[212] and others have traces of charring.[213]

The table shows that the korai were essentially discovered in two areas, namely near the spots where the Erechtheion and the Parthenon were erected in the 5th century. The largest number (32) came to light in the vicinity of the Erechtheion, and another 17 in the Parthenon area (illus. 19–21).[214]

These two rich concentrations of finds suggest that the korai had been set up here or at least nearby. It is striking that nearly all the korai dating up to roughly 510 were found in the vicinity of the Erechtheion. The korai Akr. 582 (plate 125), Akr. 585 (plate 135) from the north wall, and Akr. 656 (plate 133) from the northeast section of the hill can essentially be grouped with those from the Erechtheion precinct. To the northwest of the Erechtheion 14 korai were discovered to have been buried along with other votive gifts in three layers in a single spot.[215] There is much that would lead us to believe that these korai had also originally stood to the northwest of the Erechtheion. The area between the Erechtheion and the north slope as far as the flight of steps was recognized by J. Travlos to have been the precinct of the Arrephoroi. In classical times the house of the



Illus. 18. Athens: the Akropolis before 480 B.C.: Building 180, old Athena temple.



Illus. 19. Athens: the Akropolis in the 2nd century A.D.: Building 124, house of the Arrephoroi. Dots mark the spots where korai were found.

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[204] For the situation on the Akropolis in the year 480, see Shapiro 2001, p. 91.

[205] A. Lindenlauf in Berlin 1997, pp. 46ff.

[206] Ibid., p. 93.

[207] Ibid., pp. 95ff.

[208] For example Akr. 681 (Antenor kore).

[209] A. Lindenlauf in Berlin 1997, p. 90, Akr. 595, 1360, 698, 671, 680, 682, 669, 673, 675, 679.

[210] Ibid., p. 91, Akr. 670, 677, 684, 585.

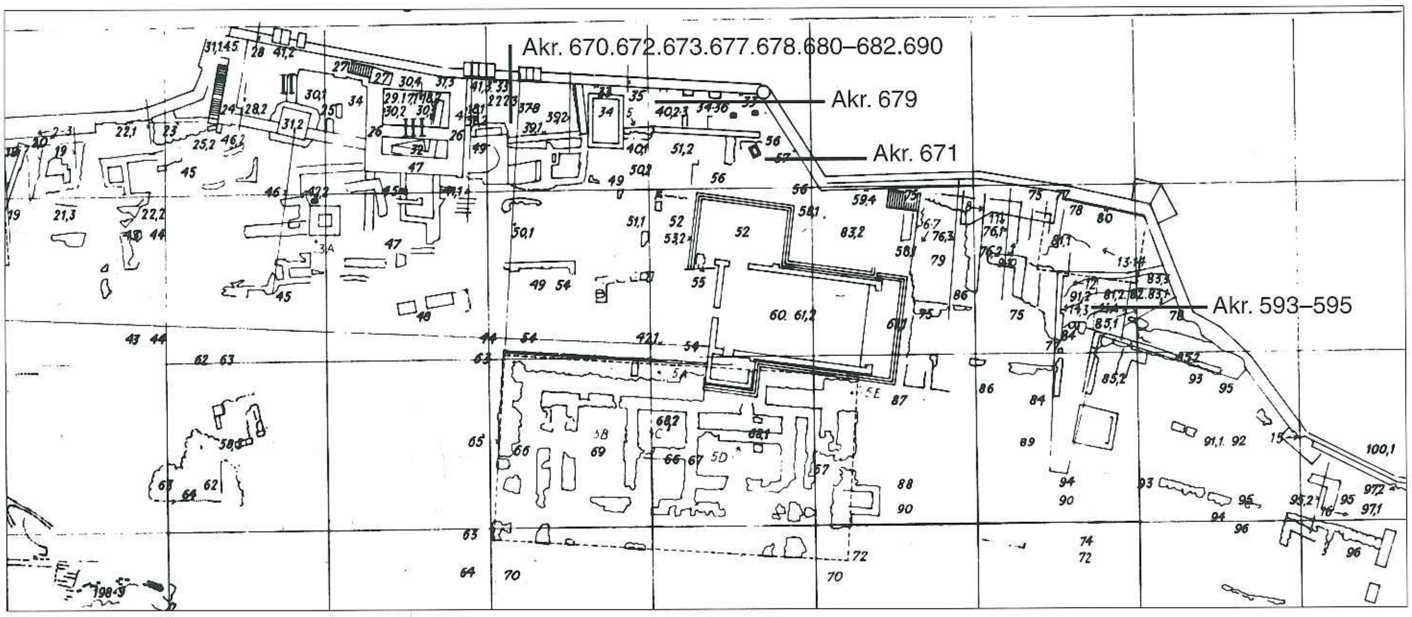
[211] Ibid., Akr. 595, 1360.

[212] Ibid., p. 87, Akr. 588.

[213] Ibid., p. 88, Akr. 673, 676, 680, 686, 687.

[214] Travlos 1971, illus. 71.

[215] Langlotz 1939, p. 8. Also A. Lindenlauf, in Berlin 1997, believes the korai were "buried"; she assumes that their original position was not far from the spot where they were found.

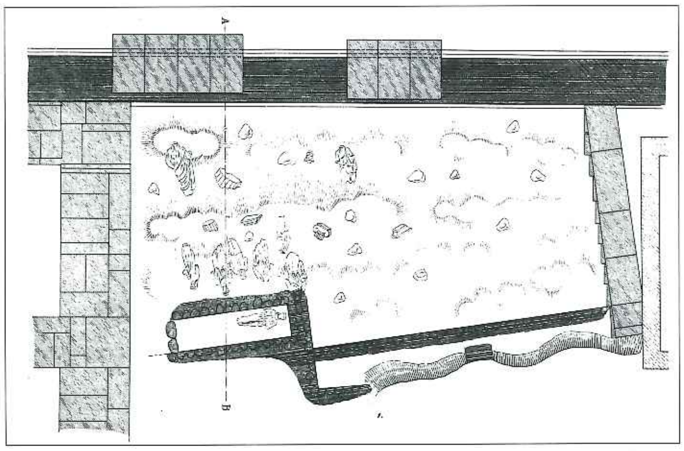


Illus. 20. Korai finds on the north side of the Akropolis.

Arrephoroi lay above the cave of Aglauros, through which passed the secret passage to the sanctuary of "Aphrodite in the Gardens."[216] Since this cult was of great antiquity, we can assume there was a structure for the Arrephoroi on the same spot in archaic times as well.

The only kore fragment from the period before 510 to come to light in the vicinity of the Parthenon was the lower leg of the Antenor kore, Akr. 681 (plates 148–49, 254–56), whose upper body was discovered near the Erechtheion. But it must be remembered that there is no indication of where as many as ten korai were found, and it is altogether possible that some of them may have come from this area as well.

We also note that suddenly the majority of the korai created after 510 came from the precinct of the Parthenon. One has to wonder whether this is somehow related to structural changes, and for that reason it seems appropriate to briefly survey the situation of the Akropolis in the 6th century and ask where in the complex of buildings it would have been possible to set up korai statues. At that time there were two large temples on the Akropolis: the Hecatompedos[217] and the old Athena temple, whose foundations are preserved between the Parthenon and the Erechtheion.[218] J. Travlos assumes a continuing cult tradition at these sites, with a continuous sequence of cult buildings. Thus the Poros temple, which was consecrated at the Great Panathenaea in 566, would have stood on the spot of a preceding early-archaic structure.[219] The ruins of this poros temple were found in the rubble used in the terrace for the pre-Parthenon. The beginning of the building of this temple, which was never completed, is associated by G. Dickins,[220] relying on W. Dörpfeld, with the banishment of the tyrants and the reforms of Kleisthenes, therefore dated to roughly 508. Travlos[221] feels that it could have begun only after the battle of Marathon in 490.



Illus. 21. Akropolis: the area northwest of the Erechtheion.

It seems odd that korai dedications should have increased in this period at a spot that one has to think of as a construction site. Perhaps the korai were moved to this spot during the later grading of the Akropolis in the south, where the hill does not fall off as steeply as in the north, as more rubble was required.

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[216] Travlos 1971, pp. 72, 228ff. For the cult of Aphrodite and the secret rites of the Arrephoroi, see Deubner 1969, pp. 9ff.

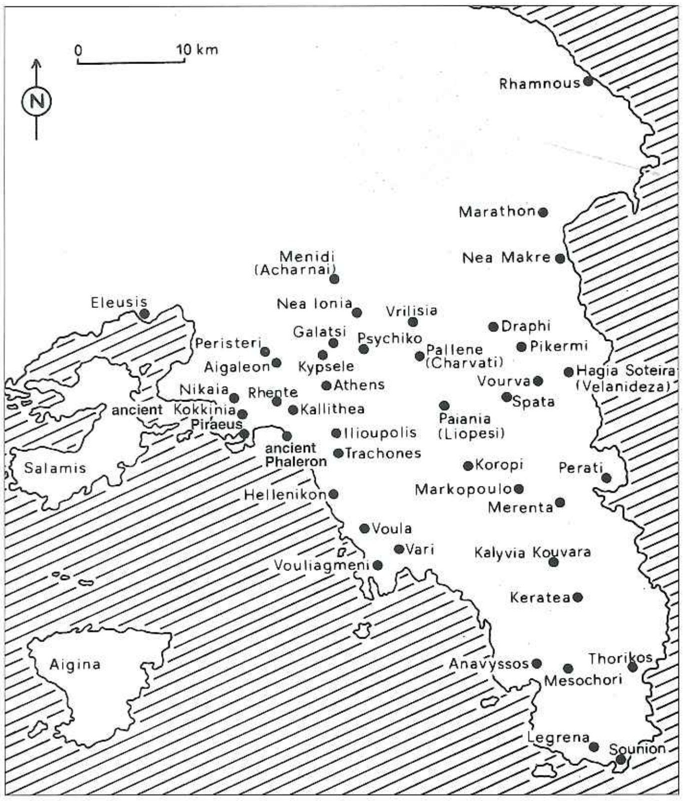
[217] Travlos 1971, p. 258; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *JdI* 108 (1993), pp. 43ff. For the Hekatompedon inscription: G. Németh, *JdI* 108 (1993), pp. 76ff.; see also M. Lipka in Berlin 1997, pp. 37ff.

[218] Travlos 1971, pp. 143ff., illus. 196. For the old Athena temple, see also K.-W. Welwei, *Athen. Vom neolithischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Großpolis* (1992), pp. 216f.; M. Korres in Berlin 1997, pp. 218ff., 225ff.

[219] Travlos 1971, p. 258.

[220] Dickins 1912, pp. 8f.

[221] Travlos 1971, p. 53.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Kypsele
Hagia Soteira (Velanideza)
Vourva
Nikaia
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ancient Kokkinia
Kallithea
Piraeus
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Ilioupolis
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Trachones
Salamis
Koropi
Perati
Markopoulo
Hellenikon
Merenta
Voula
Vari
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Vouliagmeni
Keratea
Aigina
Anavyssos
Thorikos
Mesochori
Legrena
Sounion

Illus. 22. Necropolises in Attica.

According to W. Dinsmoor,[222] the old Athena temple was erected by the Peisistratids in 529/20 and most probably replaced the temple mentioned by Homer.[223] It was a peripteros with a pteron 3.60 m wide.[224] It is altogether conceivable that some of the smaller korai without a meniskos once stood in this hall.

It is clear that although the find spots of Akropolis korai cannot safely be said to correspond with their original sites, they do permit some conclusions about their placement. The fact that the majority were discovered near the Erechtheion is surely no coincidence. This area on the north slope of the Akropolis, as mentioned above, was at one time the precinct of the Arrephoroi, whose house stood on the north slope of the hill.

The situation on the south side of the Akropolis, in the vicinity of the later Parthenon, remains unclear. Because the building phases of the so-called pre-Parthenon have not yet been adequately determined and dated, it becomes more difficult to pin down where the korai might have stood. For example, it has not been satisfactorily explained why korai dedicated after 510 might have been found specifically in this area. Perhaps they stood on the south side of the Sacred Way that led past the old Athena temple to the great altar in the east.

Nearly all the korai discovered in Attica come from archaic necropolises (illus. 22)[225] and must therefore be considered to be funerary statues, such as the Phile from Vourva and the Phrasikleia from Merenda (plates 116, 114–15, 235). The Berlin kore (plates 111–13, 234) is said to have been discovered in a necropolis near Keratea.[226] Even in the present-day metropolitan area of Athens archaic graves occasionally have been discovered.[227] The site of the find of the Hagios Ioannis Rentis kore (plates 108–9, 230–33) on Konstandinoupoleos Street lies in the direction of Eleusis in the vicinity of an archaic necropolis, suggesting that it was probably a funerary kore.[228] Since the kore from Moschato, NM3859 (plate 110), was discovered together with the kouros NM3858, considered a funerary figure, it seems likely that it too was a funerary kore.[229]

The korai from Eleusis (plates 117–23) come from the Demeter sanctuary. They were discovered between a stoa and the Telesterion.[230] The reorganization of the Demeter mystery cult by the Attic tyrants[231] had brought with it changes to the structures of the sanctuary. H. Berve[232] mentions among other things a sacred structure (Telesterion) erected above the oldest temple, which is claimed to have been similar in its building techniques to the late buildings of the Peisistratids. Accordingly, the new building and the related alterations to the Telesterion may have been accomplished during the reign of the Peisistratids. The fact that it was never finished would seem to confirm this.[233] Since the korai were found in Peisistratid layers in the vicinity of the Telesterion it would appear that they originally stood in the building or its stoa. Such an assumption is supported by the fact that the korai are small and lack a meniskos.

No details are known about the circumstances of the find of the kore from Laurion.

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[222] W. Dinsmoor, *AJA* 51 (1947), pp. 109ff.

[223] *Iliad* II, 546ff.; *Odyssey* VII, 80f.

[224] Travlos 1971, illus. 196.

[225] D. Kurtz/J. Boardman, *Thanatos* (1985), pp. 78ff.

[226] Blümel 1964, p. 7, no. 1; see also L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* 57 (1962), p. 142, no. 52; Kurtz/Boardman, loc. cit., p. 78.

[227] Ibid., p. 79. For Attic graves in general, see M. Müller, "Grabmal und Politik in der Archaik," in Hoepfner/Zimmer, pp. 58ff.; for the graves in Aiolou Street, see Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, *ADelt* 51/52 (1996/97), pp. 1ff., pl. 1–7.

[228] D. Lazaridis, *AAA* 1 (1968), pp. 34f. See also Boardman 1981a, p. 89; D. Kurtz/J. Boardman, *Thanatos* (1985), pp. 78ff.

[229] See Karusos 1961, p. 65 B1. For the kouros: Steuben 1980, p. 15, illus. 21–22; Fuchs/Floren, p. 153 with n. 34.

[230] D. Philios, *Prakt* 1883, pp. 63f., pl. E.

[231] H. Berve/G. Gruben, *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer* (1961), pp. 39f.; G. Mylonas in *Geras. A. Keramopullou* (1953), pp. 42ff.; see in general D. Lauenstein, *Die Mysterien von Eleusis* (1987).

[232] Berve/Gruben, loc. cit., p. 37; E. Vanderpool in *Festschrift H. Thompson* (1982), pp. 172ff., pl. 29; J. Travlos, *Prakt* 1973 (1975), pp. 217f., pl. 213ff. (model).

[233] Kluwe 1966, pp. 43f., 277.

Inscriptions

Of the numerous dedicatory inscriptions found on the Akropolis[234] only two can be linked with certainty to kore statues:[235] the so-called Antenor kore,[236] Akr. 681 (plates 148–49, 254–56), and the Euthydikos kore,[237] Akr. 686/609 (plates 203–6, 278).

The inscriptions are not on the bodies of the korai, as in Samos,[238] but rather on their supports.[239] That of the Antenor kore is on its base, while the one relating to the Euthydikos kore was chiseled onto the abacus slab of the column and painted red.[240] From the Antenor kore's inscription we learn the names of the artist, Antenor,[241] and the dedicator, Nearchos,[242] as well as the function of the votive gift as a first-fruits offering:[243]

> Νέαϱχος ἀνέθεϰε[ν ho ϰέϱαμε]
> ὺς ἔϱγον ἀπαϱχὲν τἀθ[εναίαι]
> 'Αντένοϱ ἐπ[οίεσεν h]
> ὁ Εὐμάϱος τ[ὸ ἄγαλμα]

"Nearchos [the potter], dedicated me from the first-fruits offering; Antenor the son of Eumares [made the agalma]."

The inscription with the Euthydikos kore gives us only the name of the dedicator:

> Εὐθύδιϰος ho Θαλιάϱχο
> ἀνέθεϰεν.

"Euthydikos, son of Thaliarchos, dedicated me."

Four other inscriptions could possibly be associated with kore dedications. A. E. Raubitschek has suggested that the kore Akr. 683 (plates 167, 264) could have originally stood on the pillar inscribed with the names of the donors Lysias and Euarchis. In addition, he relates kore 602 (plate 136) with a column whose inscription names, along with the donor Ophsiades, the two artists Endoios and Philermos (or Philergos). He considers Philermos the actual sculptor and suggests that Endoios, a better-known artist and Philermos's teacher, co-signed the work at the specific request of the dedicator.[244] In another inscription the name Kiron appears as donor, for whom the sculptor Euenor most probably produced a kore statue.[245] Presumably the inscription, which names the otherwise unknown artist Eleutheros and the wool worker Simon as dedicator, belonged to the kore Akr. 429, of which only the plinth and the feet survive.[246]

In considering all the Akropolis inscriptions, it is noticeable that the majority name donors (artists less frequently), and as a rule relate that the recipient of the votive gift was the goddess Athena. Some could have been dedicated to Aphrodite, as one inscription attests.[247] Scholars therefore consider all the surviving Akropolis statues and reliefs to have been votive offerings. "They are generally not statues in the sense of portraits, but agalmata."[248]

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[234] For a full discussion, see Raubitschek 1949, pp. 3ff.; Jeffery 1961, pp. 66ff., 401, pl. 1–4.

[235] Presumably almost all the korai on the Akropolis originally bore an inscription.

[236] Akr. 681. Langlotz 1939, p. 89, no. 38, pl. 50ff.; Payne/Young, pp. 31ff., 63ff.; Richter 1968, p. 69, no. 110, illus. 336–40. For the inscription, see A. E. Raubitschek, *JHS* 60 (1940), pp. 50ff.; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 232f., no. 197; Jeffery 1961, p. 75.

[237] Akr. 686, 609 (base). Langlotz 1939, p. 77, no. 37, pl. 45–49; Richter 1968, p. 99, no. 180, illus. 565–72. For the inscription: Raubitschek 1949, pp. 56f., no. 56.

[238] See pp. 25f.

[239] Many of the korai once stood elevated on columns or pillars and often were provided with an inscription. For the placement of statues in detail, see Jacob-Felsch 1969, pp. 6ff.; see also Akr. 686, Langlotz 1939, p. 77, illus. 42; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 56f., nos. 55, 56. See also A. E. Raubitschek, *ÖJh* 31 (1939), suppl. 21ff., 80f.; idem, *AJA* 44 (1940), pp. 54ff., 80f. The columns bear "Ionic or related capitals, at the end of the century semicircular ones": Boardman 1981a, p. 80.

[240] Jacob-Felsch 1969, pp. 118f., no. 16; 128, no. 32; for the Euthydikos inscription: Raubitschek 1949, pp. 315f., no. 294; Tölle-Kastenbein 1992, p. 144 with n. 144.

[241] For a full discussion of Antenor, see Deyhle 1969, pp. 39ff., 60; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 232f., no. 197, 481ff.; Fuchs/Floren, pp. 295f.

[242] Scholars are still discussing whether the dedicator Nearchos is the same person as the well-known potter Nearchos. See Tölle-Kastenbein 1992, p. 138 with n. 84.

[243] Precisely what the concept ἀπαϱχή might have meant is unclear. Perhaps such "first-fruits offerings" were donations from the first profits of any kind. See p. 27, n. 203. See also Karakatsanis 1986, pp. 155f.; idem, *Οι Κούϱοι της Θϱάϰης: Σημασία ϰαι λειτουϱγία του αϱχαϊϰού ἀγάλματος, Θϱηίϰιος Ἄνεμος* 2 (1997), pp. 17ff. For ἀπαϱχή (first-fruits offering) and δεϰάτη (tithe). That δεϰάτη, which is also mentioned in votive inscriptions from the Akropolis (for example Raubitschek 1949, nos. 49, 292), means an offering of a tenth part of the profit, is clear from Herodotus IV, 152; see also p. 27, n. 203.

[244] Λυσίας ἀνέθεϰεν 'Αθεναίαι/ ἀπαϱχέν. Εὐάϱχις ἀνέθεϰεν/ δεϰάτεν 'Αθεναίαι, A. E. Raubitschek, *BSA* 40 (1939/40), pp. 24f., 37, illus. 15–16; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 313f., no. 292. For the kore Akr. 683: Langlotz 1939, pp. 52f., no. 9, pl. 17ff.; Jacob-Felsch 1969, p. 120, no. 19; Tölle-Kastenbein 1992, p. 143, illus. 8. From Kyrene we know a gift of two mirror-image korai that formed a group; see above, pp. 104f. See also Samos XI, p. 127 with n. 114. For the kore Akr. 602 and the inscription with the artists' names Endoios and Philermos: Langlotz 1939, p. 50, no. 7; Fuchs/Floren, p. 299, n. 18; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 12f., no. 7: Ἔνδοιος : ἐπο [ίεσεν]. / 'Οφσ [ιάδες :] ἀνέθεϰεν : ho 'A [– – – τόδ' ἄγαλμα]. / Φίλεϱμ [ος :] ἐποίεσεν. For the artist Endoios, see ibid., pp. 491ff.; p. 60, nn. 12, 18. For the artist Philermos or Philergos: Deyhle 1969, pp. 12f.

[245] Raubitschek, loc. cit. (*BSA* 40), 33A; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 20f., no. 14: Εὐένοϱ ἐ?ο [ίε] σεν / Κίϱον ἀνέθ [εϰεν – – –].

[246] For the inscription: Raubitschek, loc. cit. (*BSA* 40), pp. 25f., illus. 17, 9; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 50f., no. 49: Σίμον: ἀν [έθεϰεν – – –] / ho ϰναφεὺς/ δεϰάτεν. 'Ελεύθεϱος: ἐπ [οίεσεν]; Jacob-Felsch 1969, p. 125, no. 27. For Eleutheros: Deyhle 1969, p. 61; Fuchs/Floren, p. 299 with n. 3. For the kore Akr. 429: Langlotz 1939, p. 179, no. 278.

[247] Raubitschek 1949, pp. 318ff., no. 296. Euripides relates in *Hippolytos* 30 that Aphrodite Pandimos was venerated on the Akropolis. For other inscriptions, P. Kavadias/A. Lolling, *ADelt* 1888, pp. 187f.; 1889, pp. 127f.; see also F. Winter, *AA* 1893, pp. 146f.

According to H. Philipp,[249] the concept "agalma" refers to "any object of admiration, of pride, of ornament." Accordingly, an agalma could be not only a statue but any prestige object that served to glorify the donor of such a costly votive gift. In Hesychius, for example, we read: ἄγαλμα πᾶν ἐφ' ὧ τίς ἀγάλλεται ("agalma, anything that one can be proud of").

The word "agalma" comes from the verb ἀγάλλομαι, meaning "to be proud of something, rejoice, be happy."[250] In the *Odyssey* the golden fibula with which Penelope adorns Odysseus's robe is also called an agalma:

> περόνην τ' ἐπὲθηκα φαεινήν κείνων
> ἄγαλμ' ἔμμεναι

"and placed the golden brooch on it as an ornament."[251] A golden wreath, a tripod,[252] or a statue of a young man or young woman can be an agalma in that the gods take delight in it.

Over the course of the 6th century the term "agalma" came to be applied to any object dedicated to a god. When used for an art object intended to glorify a deity, the word was accompanied by embellishing adjectives, as in the expression περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα (extremely beautiful),[253] which we find in the Odyssey in identical form in the passage where Penelope's suitors present her with the necklace, "the extremely beautiful agalma":

> ἔκ δ' ἄρα Πεισάνδροι Πολυκτερὶδαο
>   ἄνακτος ἴσθμιον
> ἤνεικεν θεράπων, περικαλλές ἄγαλμα

"From the palace of Peisandros, the Poliktorid king, the servant brought a rich and gleaming [wonderfully beautiful] necklace."[254]

Finally, it is worth noting that the inscriptions are of particular importance in that they describe the status of the dedicator. Donors of gifts on the Akropolis were predominantly men,[255] and according to Raubitschek's investigations of the inscriptions they were Athenians.[256] Many were aristocrats, at least up until the year 526, the beginning of Peisistratid rule.

Unlike the Akropolis korai, which were surely votive gifts, a few of the Attic korai can definitely be identified as funerary korai from either the location of their finds or their inscriptions. The statue of the Phrasikleia, for example (plates 114–115, 235), not only was found in the Merenda necropolis, but her inscription speaks of her as deceased:

> Σέμα Φρασικλείας
> κόρε κεκλέσομαι αἰεί,
> ἀντί γάμο παρά θεόν τοῦτο
> λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα. 'Αριστίων Πάρι[ός μ' ἐπ]ό[ε]σ]ε

"Gravestone of Phrasikleia. I will always be called kore; the gods destined this name for me in place of marriage. Aristion of Paros made me."[257]

E. Mastrokostas[258] interprets her as a heroine on the basis of her crown, and N. Kontoleon[259] sees her not only as the depiction of a kore but also as a votive gift to the daughter of Demeter. According to W. Clairmont,[260] the word "kore" in reference to the Phrasikleia merely indicates her unmarried state and does not contain the ambiguity that Kontoleon finds in it. The Phrasikleia is then simply the funerary statue of a young woman who died before marriage, that is, as a virgin.[261]

The statue of Phile (plate 116) was also a sepulchral kore, as we know from her inscription and the fact that she was found in the necropolis at Vourva:

> [σέμα τόδ' –υυ–] με Φίλες· παιδὸς κατέθεκεν·
> καλὸν ἰδέν· ἀϝυτὰρ· Φαίδιμος ἐργάσα[το

"[Gravestone of . . .] erected me as a symbol of his daughter Phile, wonderful to look at, Phaidimos made me."[262] Also known to be funerary korai are the Berlin kore, found

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[248] E. Langlotz/W. Schuchhardt, *Archaische Plastik auf der Akropolis* (1943), pp. VIIf. For the following, see also my remarks on pp. 28ff., 49ff.

[249] Philipp 1968, pp. 103ff., n. 428. For agalma in general: H. Bloesch, *Agalma* (1943); O. Walter, *Anz.AW* 3 (1950), cols. 147ff. See also A. Rumpf, *BJb* 158 (1958), pp. 257ff.; Stewart 1990, pp. 123f.

[250] Karusos 1941, p. 540.

[251] *Odyssey* XIX, 256.

[252] Pausanias V, 24, 3; IX, 10, 4; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 261f., no. 229; Philipp 1968, pp. 103ff.

[253] Karusos 1941, p. 540. For more detailed discussion, see p. 27, nn. 204–6.

[254] *Odyssey* XVIII, 299.

[255] The only kore dedication by a woman from the archaic period documented by an inscription is the statue of Nikandre on Delos. Dedications by women on the Akropolis documented by inscriptions date for the most part from the late archaic period: Raubitschek 1949, pp. 455ff., esp. pp. 464ff. After 525 there are another 18 dedications by women, among them a πλύντρι (washerwoman), ibid., p. 407, no. 380: Σμικύθε πλύντρια δεκάτεν ἀνέθεκεν. This is the only mention of a woman's profession. In another inscription, ibid., pp. 229f., no. 194, the donor is identified as the wife of an Athenian secretary: [.. Π ρέπιδο [ς γυνὲ] / [Χσυπετ] αῖονος [τεῖ] / ['Αθεναί]αι ἀνέθ[εκεν]. What the women donated we do not know, but Raubitschek 1949, p. 466, assumes that their gifts were no different from those of men, namely korai. Shapiro 2001, p. 93, assumes that dedications of korai on the Akropolis were made "exclusively by men." Of the total of 384 dedications on the Akropolis, 215 were made by men and only 18 by women. See U. Kron in Uppsala 1996, pp. 160ff.

[256] Raubitschek 1949, pp. 464ff. See also B. S. Ridgway, *AJA* 91 (1987), p. 402, n. 17.

[257] E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (1885), p. 15; Karusos 1961, p. 62, A15. For the base: L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* 57 (1962), pp. 138f., 150, 152 (on Aristion), no. 46, illus. 14; E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5 (1972), p. 304; Fuchs/Floren, p. 161 with n. 3.

[258] Mastrokostas, loc. cit., pp. 304, 319.

[259] Kontoleon 1970, p. 53; N. Kontoleon, *AEphem* 1974, pp. 1ff. 9; K. Schefold in *Wandlungen. Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking* (1975), p. 266; idem, *AntK* 16 (1973), p. 155.

[260] W. Clairmont, *AA* 1974, p. 222; see also Fuchs/Floren, p. 164, n. 37.

[261] For a detailed discussion, see A. D. Skiadas in *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ. Festschrift G. Mylonas* (1989), pp. 188ff.; H. Lohmann in *Kotinos. Festschrift E. Simon* (1992), pp. 103ff., 108.

[262] Karusos 1961, p. 60, A8; L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* 57 (1962), p. 137, no. 44; J. Dörig, *AA* 1967, pp. 15ff.; Richter 1968 (NM81), p. 58, no. 91, illus. 284–85.

in the necropolis of Keratea; the Hagios Ioannis Rentis kore; and the Moschato kore. Thus there are only five statues in Attica that can be identified as funerary korai.

Interpretation and Function

In Attica in the period between roughly 570 and 480 statues of young women were widely popular as votive gifts, while in the same period figures of young men were preferred in the funereal sphere as funerary kouroi (table 10.11).[263] Who were these korai, and for what purpose were they erected?

We can exclude the possibility that the Attic korai were meant to be goddesses, especially since there are no indications of divine attributes.[264] But they were also not anonymous maidens, as H. Lechat[265] maintained, created simply for the adornment of temples and the glorification of particular deities. Nor were they donor portraits of pious Athenian women,[266] for apparently only men like Nearchos and Euthydikos dedicated korai on the Akropolis.[267]

It is equally impossible to interpret the korai as priestesses of Athena,[268] for their age and their at times coquettish elegance fail to accord with the image of a priestess. Moreover, only a single priestess was assigned to the goddess Athena for life. The number of korai and their youth alone refute such an interpretation. Th. Sofoulis[269] saw the statues simply as young maidens without further significance, citing the following dedicatory inscription from the Akropolis:

> Τέ/νδε κόϱεν ἀνέθεκεν ἀπαϱχὲν . . . λόχος ἄγϱας
> ἔν οἱ Ποντομέ/δον χϱυσοτϱια/ί/ν’ ἔποϱεν

“[. . .] lochos the fisherman dedicated this kore to Poseidon with the golden trident as a first-fruits offering for his good catch.”[270] P. Kastriotis[271] objected that this means that a kore was dedicated to Poseidon and not, as to be expected, to Athena. Borrowing W. Kirchhoff’s reconstruction of the word Ἄγαλμα on the basis of the Antenor kore,[272] he assumed that the concepts “kore” and “agalma” were used in the same way. Further, he understood all the korai to be depictions of Athena, for in two other inscriptions the kore[273] is identified either as offspring of mighty Zeus, “παῖς Διός μεγάλου,” or kore of the great Zeus, “κόϱη Διός μεγάλου.”

Finally, B. S. Ridgway’s notion that with their diagonal himatia the korai are depictions of “Nymphs or lesser deities in distinctive attire”[274] is in my opinion unlikely, for the rendering of such garments as characteristic features of (demi)goddesses is nowhere attested.

None of these suggestions leads to a satisfactory explanation of whom the korai were meant to represent.

L. Schneider[275] considers in his interpretation the particular features of this statue type, which were always seen as the artists’ imaginary expressions or stylization, and places them in relation to literary sources from the 6th century that describe the life of young women in Greek society and especially their appearances in public. We have already spoken of the importance of the round dances of the Κοῦϱαι Δηλιάδες.[276] This festival not only served to please the god but also provided an opportunity for self-display. Men and women showed off their riches, κτήματα, and their charms, χάϱις, with festive garments.[277]

Other early Greek lyric poets, for example Alkaios,[278] describe the festival gatherings in sanctuaries, with choruses and dances that served primarily as chances for girls and women to display themselves to their best advantage and for men to delight in their beauty. On Lesbos there were even beauty contests, the so-called Kallisteia, in honor of Hera,[279] which Sappho, Athenaeus tells us, described in her poems.[280] The erotic appeal of these women is made even more apparent in various distichs passed down by Dioskurides.[281] G. Wickert-Micknat therefore emphasizes the use of such festival gatherings as opportunities to choose possible marriage partners. As on numerous vases[282] with depictions of such round dances,[283] young men and women met in the dance and were watched with approval by their matchmaking relatives and friends. Although the dances adhered to strict rules, the young people had an opportunity to communicate with words and glances, so that they were able to exchange opinions and make final choices. To compete, the young women dazzled with the elegance of their behavior[284] and the luxuriousness of their clothing, something repeatedly stressed in literature.[285] The latter could be seen in wedding processions and above all in religious sanctuaries.

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[263] For a listing of the tomb kouroi, see table 10.11.

[264] P. Kastriotis, *AM* 11 (1894), pp. 491f. See also C. Robert, *Hermes* 22 (1887), pp. 129–35f. Both maintain that it was Athena herself. Dickins 1912, p. 32; Langlotz 1939, pp. 7f.; Richter 1968, p. 3; Ridgway 1977, p. 110.

[265] H. Lechat, Τά μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλλάδας (1906), pp. 66f.

[266] Langlotz 1939, pp. 8f.

[267] Ibid., pl. 50 (Akr. 681, Antenor kore); pl. 45 (Akr. 686, Euthydikos kore); Stewart 1990, p. 48; Shapiro 2001, p. 93.

[268] P. Kastriotis, *AM* 11 (1894), pp. 493f.; Dickins 1912, p. 32; Langlotz 1939, p. 8; Richter 1968, p. 3. For the priestesses of Athena: Bruit Zaidman 1993, p. 411. For statues of priestesses of Athena Polias: U. Kron in Uppsala 1996, pp. 144f.

[269] Th. Sofoulis, Τά ἐν’ ’Ακϱοπόλη ἀγάλματα Κοϱῶν (1892).

[270] A. Lolling, *ADelt* 1890, p. 146, no. 5. Herberdey and Wilhelm saw the adjective χϱυσοτϱίαινος as the proper completion of the third line. This inscription refers not to Athena, as do most of the votive inscriptions found during excavations on the Akropolis, but to Poseidon, whose altar stood close to hers. The inscription is dated to around 480; see also Raubitschek no. 229.

[271] Kastriotis, loc. cit., p. 494.

[272] *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* IV, 1, p. 181.

[273] P. Kavvadias, *ADelt* 1888, pp. 94f. An additional 20 inscriptions also call the goddess the child or kore of the great Zeus: Raubitschek nos. 6, 24, 48, 66, 107, 155, 162, 208, 210, 227, 234, 235, 270, 278, 281, 318, 321, 327, 328.

[274] B. S. Ridgway in *Festschrift H. Thompson* (1982), pp. 123f., esp. pp. 126f.

[275] Schneider 1975, pp. 5ff.

[276] See Interpretation in the Delos chapter, pp. 77f.

[277] Schneider 1975, pp. 6ff.

[278] Fragment 24 cD, V. 17–20. For the Alkaios passage, see also G. Tsomis, “Zusammenschau der frühgriechischen monodischen Melik (Alkaios, Sappho, Anakreon),” *Palingenesia* LXX (2001), pp. 187f.

[279] Schol. AD Homer II, 1, 129. For the Kallisteia, see Nilsson 1906, p. 57.

[280] Anth. Pal. IX, 189; M. Treu, *Sappho* (1976), pp. 120f.; Schneider 1975, pp. 8f.

[281] Dioskourides, AP VII, 351. See also Schneider 1975, p. 10.

Young women capped their appearances in processions and round dances by holding flowers or branches of blossoms[286] and displaying the so-called archaic smile. This was part of the χάϱις of aristocratic women and girls[287] and is met with in all sculptural depictions of the period.[288]

The erotic charm of the fine, thin garments was enhanced by artfully grasping them to the side, which served not only to prevent tripping over them in public performances but also to display the body beneath them. Sappho criticizes a peasant girl for not being capable of lifting the hem of her garment to her ankles.[289] The ideal image of the young Greek woman,[290] with youthful grace, a well-proportioned body, and richly adorned with jewelry—earrings, necklaces, bracelets—and splendid garments, finds its culmination in their artfully arranged hair, adorned with striking ornaments and dressed with aromatic oils.

All these features are also found in the korai,[291] though only in rare instances did they hold blossoming branches in their hands; rather, they held votive gifts—wreaths, fruits such as pomegranates, and birds.

The colorful fabrics mentioned by Sappho[292] are even reflected in the painting of the korai. The particular emphasis on clothing creates a further link between the korai and Athena, who was said to have given the world the art of weaving.[293] Weaving was not only a sign of female virtue. The costly fabrics represented a portion of the family wealth[294] and were welcome votive offerings to the goddess Athena,[295] who could best appreciate their value. Textiles were also used as diplomatic gifts to guests,[296] friends, and deities;[297] as bridal presents;[298] and in public appearances of the family.[299]

Thus one can assume, with Wickert-Micknat, that each kore statue, even though unnamed, represented a specific, living kore, that the image and the model were identical. The inscription of the Phrasikleia[300] supports this view, for the young Phrasikleia, who died before she could marry, can hardly be considered a generic ideal, as Schneider insists, but was a historical person who actually lived.

It is also possible to derive conclusions from the connections to Ionia mentioned above,[301] which support the notion that the Akropolis korai were images of living girls: in Ionic sanctuaries from this period there are dedications that show it was perfectly possible to represent real people. From the Heraion on Samos there is the Geneleos Group, for example, which depicts the entire family of -arches with each member identified by name. Or one could cite the so-called Branchidae from Miletus, who also represent historical figures.

It is therefore tempting to assume that Akropolis korai were representative images of young maidens from Athens society entrusted with special tasks in cult observances on the citadel.[302]

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[282] For a drawing of a scene, see A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* III (1888), p. 1948, illus. 2078 (Athens, National Museum inv. no. 2696); Tölle 1964, cat. no. 47, pl. 17.

[283] For dance in general, see Bruit Zaidman 1993, pp. 383f.; see also pp. 29f.

[284] See Homeric Hymn XXVII, to Artemis, 16–18.

[285] B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (1971), pp. 3ff., 128ff.; G. Becatti, *Oreficerie Antiche* (1955), p. 75 on the ἁβϱοσύνη (voluptuousness) of the girls and women, especially those from Ionia, and the purple garments described by the Samian poet Asios; see Athenaios XII, 525E. For their clothing, especially the various ways of draping the himation, see Ridgway 1977, pp. 123ff. For the saffron-colored and purple garments mentioned by Sappho, see J. Schäfer in *Festschrift B. Neutsch* (1982), pp. 419ff. A detailed description of the clothing is also found in Stewart 1990, pp. 76f., 123, who points out its great variety. Sappho also praises in her poems the gleam of a woman's gold jewelry. See Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 104ff.; A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland* (1989), pp. 109ff.

[286] Schneider 1975, pp. 23ff. For a characterization of the beauty of women in Sappho, especially the flower motif and "long cascading hair": Schäfer, loc. cit., 425f.

[287] Ibid., p. 27; Stewart 1990, p. 110; for the "χάϱις," see also B. Fehr, *Hephaistos* 18 (2000), pp. 103ff., esp. pp. 131ff.; T. Hölscher in *Klassische Archäologie. Eine Einführung* (2000), p. 151.

[288] J. Schäfer in *Festschrift B. Neutsch* (1980), pp. 423ff.

[289] Sappho, Fr. 61D: M. Treu, *Sappho* (1976), pp. 56f.; Schneider 1975, pp. 29f.; see also pp. 50f.

[290] Schneider 1975, pp. 31ff., esp. pp. 35ff. He sees in the passive impression the korai exhibit a representation of the traditional role of Greek women.

[291] Also Stewart 1990, pp. 123f., maintains that the kore statues conform to the parthenoi as described in literature.

[292] Sappho, Fr. 56D III; 95D, 98a, b D, 99D V; 142D: M. Treu, *Sappho* (1976), pp. 54, 72, 78f., 96; Schäfer, loc. cit., pp. 429f.; Manzelli 1994, pp. 33ff.

[293] Wickert-Micknat 1982, R40f.; *Iliad* VIII, 384ff.; Hesiod, *Theog.* 573ff. (Athena dressing Pandora).

[294] Pekridou-Gorecki, loc. cit., pp. 101ff. For weaving in general, see Bruit Zaidman 1993, pp. 390ff.

[295] For a general discussion of the dedication of garments, see I. B. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images* (1980), especially the consecration of the peplos (veil) for Athena Polias during the Panathenaea in Athens, ibid., pp. 42ff.; idem, Athens 1988, pp. 130f.

[296] *Odyssey* XIII, 135f., 217; 16, 230f.; 13, 10; 17, 55f.

[297] *Iliad* XI, 271ff.

[298] *Odyssey* XVIII, 292f.

[299] *Odyssey* VI, 26ff.; 15, 125ff.

[300] "Grabmal der Phrasikleia, Kore werde ich immerdar heißen, denn statt der Hochzeit ließen mir die Götter diesen Namen zuteil werden" ("The tomb sculpture of Phrasikleia, I will forever be called a kore, for instead of a wedding the gods gave me this name"). Translation by W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte* (1960), no. 30.

[301] The early korai Akr. 677 and 619 were created by Ionic artists and document the links between Athens and the Ionic island sphere. It is also well known that the tyrants Peisistratos and Polykrates maintained close ties.

[302] For the inclusion of the parthenoi in cult ceremonies, see Bruit Zaidman 1993, pp. 378ff.

As early as 1912 G. Dickins suggested that the korai were statues of the maidens who performed specific duties in the cult of Athena,[303] such as weaving her peplos and performing the rites of the Arrephoria.

Pausanias[304] says of this cult: "But what most astonished me is not generally known, and for that reason I will relate what takes place. Not far from the temple of the Polias live two virgins whom the Athenians call Arrephoroi. These stay with the goddess for a time, and when a festival approaches they do the following at night. They place on their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them, knowing not what it might be, and not far away in the city there is a precinct of Aphrodite 'in the Gardens,' reached by a natural underground passage. The virgins descend to it, and there they leave what they have brought and take something else and bring it back, wrapped as it is. Then these virgins are dismissed, and others take them to the Akropolis in their stead." The Arrephoroi are also mentioned by Aristophanes; in his "Lysistrata" he has the women boast of their services to the polis: εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ χλιδῶσαν ἀγλαῶς ἔθρεψέ με./ ἑπτά μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἠρρηφόρουν· εἶτ' ἀλετρίς ἦ δεκέτις οὖσα τἀρχηγέτι· κἆι' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις·/ κἀκανηφόρουν ποτ' οὖσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ' ἰσχάδων ὁρμαθόν· (". . . as soon as I turned seven I became an ἀρρηφόρος").[305] L. Bruit Zaidman,[306] like C. Sourvinou-Inwood earlier,[307] feels that these verses "doubtless exaggerate in comic fashion the career of a young girl 'of noble birth' accepted for this role."

J. A. Turner has listed no fewer than 22 different offices with priestly or cult duties for Athens's parthenoi, which she describes as "sub sacerdotal virgin females."[308] Three of these are worth emphasizing. In direct connection to the Athena cult and the Panathenaea stood the Ergastinai, whose job it was to weave the goddess's peplos.[309] These were very young girls, and apparently as many as a hundred of them might have been employed at any given time. Then there were the Kanephoroi, who served during the Panathenaea,[310] and finally the Arrephoroi. Among the servants of Athena Polias, the Arrephoroi fulfilled special tasks, as we learn from the passage in Pausanias.[311] Each year four girls were selected from the aristocratic families of Athens, and from these the basileus chose two.[312] The Arrephoroi were between seven and eleven when they left their families to live on the Akropolis, where they even had "a ball court for recreation."[313] The κανηφόραι (Kanephoroi), finally, in whose selection the basileus again played a role, were probably the oldest girls of the three groups.[314] Turner feels that all these parthenoi were "below or just attaining marriable age."[315]

The young girls selected as staff for the personal cult of Athena all belonged to the upper class of Athenian society.[316]

From the 4th century B.C. until well into the period of the Roman Empire, numerous honorary inscriptions have survived that relate to the three groups of young priestesses introduced here. Turner has collected these inscriptions and studied them. Of them, the epigraphic testaments to the Ergastinai form the largest group with 105 documents,[317] then follow the Kanephoroi with 50 names,[318] and finally the Arrephoroi with 21 honorary inscriptions.[319] Prosopographic evaluation reveals that all the girls belonged to leading Athenian families. Moreover, Turner was able to determine that many of these young girls and women filled more than one of the named offices in sequence,[320] so that many of them therefore actually did make a career of them, a "cursus honorum" just as Aristophanes describes.

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[303] Dickins 1912, p. 32. For correspondences between descriptions of the cult and the korai's costumes, see also K. Boetticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen* (1881), pp. 567ff.

[304] I, 27, 3; see also Burkert 1990, pp. 40f. with n. 1.

[305] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 640; ed. and trans., J. Henderson, *Birds; Lysistrata; Women at the Thesmophoria* (2000), p. 357; ". . . and fittingly, for she raised me in splendid luxury. / As soon as I turned seven I was an Arrephoros; / then when I was ten I was a Grinder for the Foundress; / and shedding my saffron robe I was a Bear at the Brauronia; / and once, when I was a fair girl, I carried the Basket, wearing a necklace of dried figs;" Turner 1983, p. 309.

[306] Bruit Zaidman 1993, p. 378.

[307] C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of Arkteia and Age Representations in Attic Iconography* (1988), pp. 136ff.

[308] Turner 1983, pp. 189ff. The girls are moreover expressly identified as parthenoi; see also C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* I (1977), pp. 236f.; P. Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes. Annales littéraires de l'université de Besançon* (1987), p. 363; Bruit Zaidman 1993, p. 379.

[309] Hesychius, s.v. ἐργαστῖναι: αἰ τόν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσαι. The peplos was woven not only by parthenoi but also by mature women, οὐ μόνον γάρ παρθένοι ὕφαινον... ἀλλὰ καὶ τέλειαι γυναίκες: Schol. Eur. Hek. 467; see Deubner 1969, pp. 31f.; Turner 1983, pp. 136, 193. The head of an Ergastine is depicted on the eighth slab from the east frieze of the Parthenon, Akr. 1189: Trianti 1998, p. 325, illus. 332.

[310] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 646; Deubner 1969, pp. 25f., 31; Turner 1983, pp. 63, 327; Bruit Zaidman 1993, pp. 381ff.; Shapiro 2001, p. 94.

[311] Turner 1983, p. 192.

[312] Burkert 1990, pp. 42f.; Turner 1983, pp. 121f.

[313] Deubner 1969, pp. 22ff.; Turner 1983, pp. 191f.

[314] Turner 1983, pp. 135, 195f. Bruit Zaidman 1993, p. 381, feels that the Kanephoroi were of marriageable age; Shapiro 2001, pp. 93f., believes that with the end of their term of service the Arrephoroi also attained "adult status."

[315] Turner 1983, pp. 136, 229.

[316] Ibid., pp. 309ff. R. Ross Holloway, *OxfJA* 11/3 (1992), pp. 267ff., identifies them as "daughters of bourgeois entrepreneurs grown wealthy in the favorable business climate of the tyranny" (quoted from Shapiro 2001). Shapiro, ibid., p. 92, speaks of "daughters of noble families." See also Stewart 1990, p. 110.

[317] Turner 1983, pp. 351ff.

[318] Ibid., pp. 327ff.

[319] Ibid., pp. 343ff.

[320] Ibid., pp. 370ff.

A striking feature of the inscriptions is that apparently only the Arrephoroi were afforded the privilege of getting honorary statues on the Akropolis, generally dedicated by their parents or relatives.[321] As an example, the full text of one inscription is given below:[322]

ΑΘΗ[ΝΑΙ]	"To Athena
[ΑΠΟ]ΛΛΩΝ[ΙΟΣ --]	Apollonios from
[-Α]ΦΙΔΝΑΙΟ[Σ]	Aphidnaia
[ΤΗΝ]ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ Α[Ν]ΘΕΜΙ[ΑΝ]	the daughter Anthemia
ΚΑ[Ι] Ο ΘΕΙΟΣ ΟΥΛΙΑ[ΔΗΣ]	the uncle Uliades and
[ΚΑΙ] Η ΜΗΤΗΡ ΦΙΛΩΤ[ΕΡΑ]	the mother Philotera
ΕΡ[ΡΗ]ΦΟΡΗΣΑΣΑ[Ν]	after she was an Arrephoros
[Α]ΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ	have dedicated."

Here we are told that a family (father, mother, uncle) have dedicated to Athena as a votive gift an image of their daughter after she had served as Ἐϱϱηφόϱος.[323] Another seventeen inscriptions document such a connection between a votive gift and election to service as Arrephoros.[324]

To the northwest of the Erechtheion it was possible to identify the house of the Arrephoroi,[325] which also had an underground passage to the Aphrodite sanctuary that played an important role in the Arrephoroi's cult practices.

And it was precisely in this area of the Akropolis that excavators discovered the large concentration of fourteen korai that had been buried there (illus. 19–21).[326]

There are therefore a number of indications that the Akropolis korai could be interpreted as Arrephoroi.[327] Although it is true that the inscriptions from honorary statues for Arrephoroi come only from later times, we can assume a long tradition behind them.[328] Yet it cannot be ruled out that other young women from among the numerous cult personnel on the Akropolis were also honored with statues, for example the Kanephoroi.

Korai were not only dedicated to Athena, as we see from the inscription quoted above telling of the very late dedication of a kore to Poseidon by a fisherman. His catch was apparently sufficient reason to present a votive offering in the form of a kore to the responsible deity. This suggests that there were dedicators of korai, reasons for dedications in the form of a kore, and even goddesses and gods as recipients that fall out of the context in which they are generally expected. It is altogether conceivable that the young women in the service of Artemis, the so-called Arktoi, or she-bears,[329] for whom statues are documented in the Artemis sanctuary in Brauron, could also have been represented by statues in the precinct of Artemis Brauronia on the Akropolis established by Peisistratos. We cannot altogether exclude the possiblity that occasionally a kore was chosen as a votive gift even though the girl in question was not even a part of the cult personnel.

The kore figures are nevertheless not to be thought of as honorary statues in the later sense of the term. It is significant that they appear anonymously, and that in the inscriptions only the name of the dedicator is given. Funerary korai were different in that they represented deceased women from the private sphere. The listing of their names was a necessary part of their function as funerary monuments. By contrast, the korai of the Akropolis depicted living girls who stood in the public and sacred temenos. They were underage parthenoi and members of their fathers' oikoi; it was their fathers who decided their fate and as a rule commissioned their statues. Unlike that of their "sisters" on tombs, the identity of the Akropolis korai could be discovered only through the patronymic. Nevertheless it was probably clear to every Athenian which daughter from which house was represented.

Dedicators invested a portion of their wealth or their profits in a votive gift to the deity.[330] In so doing they documented their piety while at the same time portraying themselves and their families, whose their names in the dedications were thus inscribed on the Akropolis for all time. The kore's elaborate costume and size provided a public indication of the father's wealth and pride, but at the same time the beauty and grace of these parthenoi represented the ideal of the marriageable maiden in Attic society.[331] Their elaborately woven and tailored garments, especially, gave the impression that these parthenoi were presenting themselves to the goddess in a worthy manner and at the same time demonstrated their considerable skill in the highly esteemed art of weaving.[332]

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[321] Ibid., pp. 347ff.

[322] *IG* II^2 3, 1 (1935), 3470.

[323] Burkert 1990, pp. 42ff., n. 4. ἀϱϱηφόϱια and ἐϱϱηφόϱια have the same meaning but two different derivations: ἀϱϱηφόϱια· ἄϱϱητα φέϱειν and ἐϱϱηφόϱια· in honor of Kekrops's daughter Herse.

[324] This is especially clear in a large number of inscriptions extending from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.: *IG* II^2 3, 1 (1935), 3461, 3470–73, 3482, 3486, 3488, 3496–97, 3515–16, 3554–56, 3645. See also Burkert 1990, pp. 42f. with n. 9.

[325] For the house of the Arrephoroi: Travlos 1971, pp. 52ff., 71, illus. 91 (building 124). Underground passage: O. Bronner, *Hesperia* 4 (1935), pp. 128ff., illus. 14f.

[326] Langlotz 1939, p. 8, n. 4; P. Kavvadias, *AEphem* 1886, p. 77, illus. 1.

[327] As in Turner 1983, pp. 392, 395: "The Archaic statues of Korai seem to have been erected in honor of individual women"; see also Stewart 1990, p. 48. U. Kron, in Uppsala 1996, p. 145, protests, though without giving specific reasons; she feels that none of the inscriptions justify such an interpretation. According to H. Lauter, *AntPl* XVI (1976), p. 16, even the korai of the Erechtheion represent Arrephoroi; see also Burkert 1990, p. 43 with n. 1.

[328] The custom of erecting honorary statues in large numbers everywhere in Greece begins only in the 4th century. Yet it had been practiced sporadically for a long time—the statues of Xanthippos, Perikles, and Anakreon on the Akropolis, for example, and certainly the group of the Tyrannicides, which was set up in the Agora as early as the end of the 6th century. It was executed by Antenor, who a short time before had also been given the commission for the largest kore on the citadel; see also p. 30, n. 258.

[329] Bruit Zaidman 1993, pp. 380f. For the she-bears, see the extensive discussion in K. Waldner, "Kulträume von Frauen in Athen: Das Beispiel der Artemis Brauronia," in Th. Späth/B. Wagner-Hasel (eds.), *Frauenwelten in der Antike* (2000), pp. 53ff., esp. pp. 61ff., 77.

[330] For the notion—not pursued here—that korai with their attributes represented a kind of "symbolic capital" on the part of the families who donated them, offered to the goddess in exchange for the "fame and prestige" of their oikos, see Shapiro 2001, p. 93, who summarizes the opinions of R. Osborne, P. Bourdieu, and J.-P. Vernant.

Chronological Distribution of the Korai in Light of Historical Developments

Up until the constitutional reforms of Kleisthenes (508/7) and the introduction of democracy in Athens there had been repeated attempts to establish a tyranny. In the last third of the 7th century the danger of rule by force increased owing to the increasing indebtedness of the country population as the result of unjust distribution of land on the part of the aristocracy.[333] The reforms of Solon, archon in 594/93, were intended to provide help. They included a prohibition against slavery for debt, the cancellation of existing obligations, and a law against the agglomeration of land holdings. These innovations brought about a reduction in the power of the nobility, since the political influence of the people increased with the newly created institution of the council of 400, and trade and industry improved. After Solon's death in 560,[334] competing interest groups formed in Attica inasmuch as agrarian policies had still not been satisfactorily resolved. Exploiting these rivalries, Peisistratos came to power for the first time in 561/60 with the support of the Diakrioi, the poor mountain populace of Attica, which assured him broad support in the Ekklesia.[335] A personal guard, granted him after a motion by Aristion,[336] gave him protection as he established his first tyranny.[337] After alternately being removed from power and recapturing it (558/57),[338] in 556/55 Peisistratos was first banished and his property confiscated. Yet his political connections in the Aegean helped him regain power, financed by exploiting deposits of gold and silver and in the Pangaion mountains. With the help of the tyrant Lygdamis from Naxos, also living in exile, and an army of mercenaries,[339] he finally managed to capture Athens and the Akropolis a third time in 546/45, this time advancing from Eretria, and maintained power until his death in 528/27.

Peisistratos's building policies on the Akropolis are of importance in our analysis of the early Athenian korai. No building project on the Akropolis can be clearly associated with the tyrant's reign.[340] Early opinions, represented by W. Dörpfeld, W. Zschietzschmann, and E. Kluwe,[341] for example, assumed that there were two temples on the Akropolis, the old Athena temple and the Hekatompedon.[342] These scholars associated the old Athena temple with the so-called Dörpfeld foundation in front of the later Erechtheion, while the Hekatompedon "stood roughly on the site of the later Parthenon."[343] A more recent theory is based on research by I. Beyer and F. Preisshofen,[344] who show, on the basis of the archaic relief pediment of the old Athena temple and literary testimony, including the so-called Hekatompedon inscription,[345] that there was but one temple and that the Hekatompedon was probably only a sacred precinct. F. Kolb is nevertheless of the opinion that a reconstruction of the old Athena temple was initiated by Peisistratos, while the Hekatompedon was consecrated in connection with the Great Panathenaea.[346]

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[331] According to Stewart 1990, p. 123, "in a sexist society a pretty woman is the prime ornament of the man of the house."

[332] Stewart 1990, p. 110, describes the korai as follows: "completely autonomous, youthful, beautiful and happy."

[333] For example, Kylon of Athens tried in vain to assume power in Athens between 636 and 624. The efforts of the ambitious Drakon to establish a tyranny around 624 as a law-giver ultimately failed owing to the "closed ranks of his fellow aristocrats": Berve 42.

[334] Plutarch 32. For Solon in the ancient literary sources: E. Ruschenbusch, *Historia* 7 (1958), pp. 399ff.; also for Solon, see G. A. Lehmann in H. G. Nesselrath (ed.), *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie* (1997), pp. 379ff.

[335] For the development of tyranny in Greece and the rise of Peisistratos: K. Mieth in Hoepfner/Zimmer, pp. 33ff., 37ff.; K.-W. Welwei, *Athen. Vom neolithischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Großpolis* (1992), pp. 223ff.

[336] Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 14, 1.

[337] J. Kleine, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der attischen Kunst von Peisistratos bis Themistokles* (1973), p. 18, suggests that already in 566/65 Peisistratos occupied a position that allowed him to introduce the Great Panathenaea, that is, that he was either already tyrant at that point or held some high public office.

[338] Herodotus I, 60ff.

[339] Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 14, 1.

[340] Berve 1967, pp. 544f.; Steuben 1980, p. 37. For the uncertain chronology, see also Young 1980, pp. 110ff. For Peisistratos's building policy, see also K. Mieth in Hoepfner/Zimmer, pp. 37ff.; J. Kiegeland in Hoepfner/Zimmer, pp. 52ff.; K.-W. Welwei, *Athen. Vom neolithischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Großpolis* (1992), pp. 237ff.

[341] W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 12 (1887), pp. 25ff., 190ff.; idem, *JdI* 34 (1919), pp. 1ff.; *RE* suppl. XIII (1973), 23f., s.v. "Athenai" (Zschietzschmann); E. Kluwe, *WissZJena* R 14 (1965), pp. 9ff. Additional bibliography in Kolb 1977, p. 102, n. 13; Young 1980.

[342] Kolb 1977, pp. 102ff. See also R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *JdI* 108 (1993), pp. 43ff., esp. pp. 48ff.

[343] Kolb 1977, p. 102.

[344] *AA* 1977, pp. 74ff. For the theories of Beyer and Preisshofen, see also K. Mieth in Hoepfner/Zimmer, pp. 37f.; J. Kiegeland in Hoepfner/Zimmer, pp. 54ff.

[345] *IG* I, 24, esp. line 2.819; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *JdI* 108 (1993), pp. 43ff., esp. pp. 57, 62f. See also G. Németh, *JdI* 108 (1993), pp. 76ff. (for translation and dating of the Hekatompedon inscription). For the festival route of the Panathenaea as described by Pausanias, see also Ch. Löhr in Berlin 1997, pp. 16ff., esp. p. 21.

[346] Kolb 1977, p. 103. However, Young 1980, pp. 125f., holds that the old Athena temple had been either built or restored during the tyranny of the Peisistratids.

Recent scholarship has associated the distinct decrease in votive offerings on the Akropolis during Peisistratos's third reign, from 546 to 528, as registered by A. E. Raubitschek,[347] with the tyrant's modest building activity on the citadel. Raubitschek explains the lapse in dedications by claiming that Peisistratos maintained his residence on the Akropolis,[348] treating it as his private property and preventing the aristocrats from continuing their traditional offerings there.[349] J. Boersma[350] states that the majority of the aristocrats were in exile, so that there was no question of their making donations to the Akropolis, and that the tyrant concentrated his building in the Agora, neglecting the Akropolis. Kolb, finally, contradicts that assumption: "Obviously only relatively few nobles went into exile; the majority stayed in Attica. There was thus no dearth of potential donors."[351] Also, recent scholarship seems to be agreed that the tyrant did not have his residence on the citadel. The main reasons for this conclusion are the fact that there are no literary references to it and that the archaeological findings are still unclear.[352] F. Kiegeland suggests something of a compromise on the issue when he states that Peisistratos could well have had his official seat on the Akropolis but did not actually live there. Also that the tyrant "took possession" of the deities he worshiped there, chiefly Athena and Artemis. He concludes that the decrease in votive gifts at the site is explained by the fact that "the Akropolis had become virtually a 'house altar' for the Peisistratids, to which any self-respecting aristocrat was disinclined to direct his offerings."[353]

Whatever causes one accepts to explain the small number of votive gifts during the almost 20-year reign of Peisistratos, especially of korai (see table 10.1), it would indeed seem that Peisistratos exercised a considerable influence on cult activity and thus on the erection of possible votive offerings.[354] Apparently the citadel was reserved almost exclusively for the tyrant's requirements during that period and served primarily his personal interests. He established the cult of Artemis Brauronia—named after his hometown—in a special precinct[355] and simultaneously expanded the cult of the city goddess on the citadel. The goddess's extreme importance for Peisistratos had already become apparent in the Great Panathenaea, established in 566/65; during his third and final return from exile the tyrant also had himself accompanied to the Akropolis by Phye dressed as Athena.[356]

During the period of Peisistratos's tyranny, the number of cults and cult sites elsewhere in Athens increased, especially those of the gods Zeus and Dionysos, who were venerated in the east. This proved to be a clever political ploy, for in order to maintain himself against the Doric nobility Peisistratos was required to seek out and maintain close ties to the tyrants of Ionia.[357]

The establishment of the great municipal Dionysia in honor of Dionysos Eleuthereus also falls during this period.[358] Peisistratos himself or his sons erected the oldest Dionysos temple and the first orchestra in the temenos of Dionysos Lenaios in the Agora.[359] Kolb feels that Peisistratos promoted the cult of Dionysos because it served as a means to bind the populace to the tyranny, that he therefore "used existing religious forces for his personal ends."[360] The tyrant's turn to the east also increased the number of Ionic artists and craftsmen settling in Athens, who influenced its art, not least its korai, with their own style. The Lyon kore, for example (Akr. 269, 550/40; plates 130–32, 239), is the earliest kore dressed in Ionic costume.[361]

Toward the end of Peisistratos's rule and the beginning of the reign of his sons Hippias and Hipparchos there was a certain rapprochement between the tyrant and the aristocracy.[362] In fact the korai dedications seem to mirror this development, for in this period their numbers steadily increase.

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[347] Raubitschek 1949, pp. 455ff.

[348] See also Tölle-Kastenbein 1992, pp. 133ff., with n. 21 (earlier bibliography on the debate over the locations of the tyrant's residence and official seat).

[349] Kolb 1977, pp. 104f.

[350] J. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/60 to 405/4 B.C.* (1970), p. 14.

[351] Kolb 1977, p. 104; see also Stahl 1987, pp. 110ff.

[352] K. Mieth in Hoepfner/Zimmer, p. 39; J. Kiegeland in Hoepfner/Zimmer, 52ff.; K.-W. Welwei, *Athen. Vom neolithischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Großpolis* (1992), p. 238.

[353] J. Kiegeland in Hoepfner/Zimmer, pp. 54f. Also Welwei, loc. cit., p. 238, mentions this possibility, though he feels that such a thesis "cannot be verified." See also Kluwe 1966, pp. 32ff.

[354] Langlotz 1939, p. 9, already recognized that during the reign of Peisistratos a mere four or so korai were dedicated on the Akropolis; Stahl 1987, pp. 145ff.

[355] Young 1980, pp. 120f.

[356] Herodotus I, 60.

[357] Langlotz 1939, p. 13. For example, Peisistratos helped the tyrant Lygdamis to regain power on Naxos in gratitude for services rendered him during his own seizure of power. The Naxian korai on the Akropolis, though held to be gifts from tyrants (Langlotz 1939, p. 15), were all created before the reigns of Peisistratos and Lygdamis (see table 10.1).

[358] Kolb 1977, pp. 108, 120ff., 124, 129f., 132f., documents Peisistratos's support of the cult of Dionysos with the increase of Dionysian motifs on Attic vases after 540. For the vases, see also E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (1969), p. 133; see also Kluwe 1966, pp. 42f.

[359] According to Pausanias I 3, 1ff., this orchestra was located in the north of the Agora on the site of the later Ares temple. For the Agora's form under the tyrants, see Kluwe 1966, pp. 48ff.; a detailed discussion is in H. von Steuben, "Die Agora von Athen von Peisistratos bis Kimon," in *Idee, Gestalt, Geschichte. Festschrift K. v. See* (1988), pp. 31ff., esp. pp. 37ff.; idem, "Die Agora des Kleisthenes—Zeugnis eines radikalen Wandels?," in *Demokratie und Architektur. Der hippodamische Städtebau und die Entstehung der Demokratie. Konstanzer Symposium vom 17.–19. Juli 1987*, ed. W. Schuller, W. Hoepfner, and E. L. Schwandner (1989), pp. 81ff., esp. pp. 83ff.

[360] Kolb 1977, p. 130.

[361] Langlotz 1939, p. 18.

[362] Sources for this information are Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 16, 2 and 8, and Thucydides VI, 54, 6.

Like their father, the sons planned a building program to consolidate their rule and for propaganda purposes.[363] By erecting temples and secular complexes for public use they hoped to find favor with both the gods and the populace. Whether they concentrated their efforts in the Agora or on the Akropolis is unknown.[364]

It is also possible to see a general strengthening of cultural life in this period, exemplified particularly in the Panathenaea, which became a symbol of synoecism. Athletic contests, musical competitions, recitations of Homer, and the procession to the temple of Athena on the Akropolis were all part of this festival, which attracted to Athens many of the most celebrated artists of the time.[365]

The increase in kore dedications during the reign of the sons of Peisistratos (see table 10.1) resulted from the tyrants' efforts to conciliate the Athenian nobles and their close ties to Ionic culture.

The cult of Demeter also became increasingly important in Athens at this time.[366] It is possible that the first of the annual processions from Eleusis to Athens[367] took place during the tyranny of Peisistratos's sons, as their building projects in Eleusis would suggest.[368] Also, it is significant that three kore dedications in Eleusis fall in this period (see table 10.1). The Peisistratids supported other popular cults in addition to the Eleusinian mysteries.[369] These local religious practices from various parts of Attica take on importance in connection with the establishment of festivals and temple building in Athens. The new cult of Dionysos was predominantly practiced by the rural population, for which reason its support by the Peisistratids may have assured the goodwill of these increasingly important sections of the populace.[370]

The sons abandoned their father's anti-aristocratic policies. To be sure, they continued his support of the lower classes and their cults, but at the same time they were concerned to work together with the nobles. Welwei has pointed out that there is concrete evidence of such a policy.[371] The fragmentary list of eponymous archontes from the 520s shows that the Peisistratids permitted loyal aristocrats to achieve the highest office, the eponymous archonate: "Since the archontes in the exercise of their office were still obligated by the laws of the Solonic code, they could at least operate in the administration of justice independently of the tyrants' instructions, and thereby gain prestige in the polis community. The Polemarchos, the (religious) Basileus, and the Thesmothetai had similar opportunities deriving from their judicial functions."

The dramatic increase in kore dedications on the Akropolis during this period, the second phase of the tyranny between 528/27 and 511/10, attests that many aristocratic families once more permitted their daughters to take an active part in the cult of Athena and sought lasting representation on the citadel in the form of the votive gift of a kore (see table 10.1).

With the banishment of Hippias in 510 it became possible to end the tyranny in Athens. The Alkmaionid Kleisthenes, returned from exile, championed the process of democratization with his far-reaching reforms.[372] The character of Athens's government changed fundamentally with the introduction of the council of 500 and of ostracism, and with the division into phylae and demoi the political influence of the entire aristocracy was altered.

In a parallel development, the importance of the Akropolis changed from a place for aristocrats to represent themselves to a cult precinct for the entire population, where simple citizens, craftsmen, and dealers could also set up votive gifts. For this period it is possible to see another dramatice surge in kore dedications on the Akropolis (see table 10.1), and it is significant that these late statues were no longer as expensive, as large, or as lavishly ornamented as before.[373]

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[363] K.-W. Welwei, *Athen. Vom neolithischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Großpolis* (1992), pp. 250ff.

[364] Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/60 to 405/4* B.C. (1970), pp. 20f.; Young 1980, pp. 109ff.; Stahl 1987, pp. 232ff., 244f.; see also R. Tölle-Kastenbein 1992, pp. 133ff.

[365] Onomakritos: Herodotus VII, 6; Lasos of Hermione: Herodotus VII, 6; Anakreon of Teos: Plato, *Hipparchos* 228 a; Chermides 157e; Simonides of Keos: Plato, *Hipparchos* 228 c. For Athens's cultural development under Hippias: K.-W. Welwei, *Athen. Vom neolithischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Großpolis* (1992), pp. 262ff.

[366] For the Demeter sanctuary in Eleusis: K. Mieth in Hoepfner/Zimmer 40.

[367] Kolb 1977, pp. 114f.

[368] Boersma, loc. cit., pp. 24f.; Young 1980, pp. 129ff.; see also F. Noack, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums* (1927). The ceremonies during the Eleusinian mysteries required a large hall, especially during the late 6th century, when interest in the mysteries increased: H. Berve/G. Gruben, *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer* (1961), pp. 37ff.; Kluwe 1966, pp. 101f.; see also G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1961), pp. 3ff., 55ff., 77ff.; K. Clinton in Athens 1988, pp. 69ff.

[369] For this and documentation on Orphism as well as the cult of Dionysos, see Kolb 1977, pp. 115ff.

[370] Berve 1967, pp. 54ff.

[371] K.-W. Welwei, *Athen. Vom neolithischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Großpolis* (1992), pp. 248f.

[372] Herodotus V, 66, 69f.; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 20f. Additional citations in E. Ruschenbusch, *Historia* 7 (1958), pp. 418ff.; P. Funke in *Gab es das griechische Wunder? Tagungsbeiträge des 16. Fachsymposiums der A. von Humboldt-Stiftung vom 4.–9.8. 1999 in Freiburg* (2001), pp. 1ff.

[373] According to Welwei, loc. cit., p. 263, this "opening" of the Akropolis does not necessarily mean that "new social forces" had won political significance. In his opinion, the craftsmen with their votive gifts oriented themselves on "notions of the aristocratic sphere." There is nevertheless no documentation for such a view; on the contrary, it is altogether conceivable that in the new political system the daughters of middle-class families were chosen for cult duties on the citadel, which resulted in kore dedications by their families.

The Agora of Athens

From the Agora[1] we have two well-preserved kore heads and nine kore fragments of modest size.[2]

The head S1071[3] (E. Harrison no. 73),[4] presumably carved of Parian marble, is damaged on its left side (plate 208). On the right side the protruding eyeball survives, framed by wide eyelids. Her hair is crowned by a stephane, along the edge of which are drill holes to attach additional metal ornaments. The locks of hair over her forehead end in spirals, but on the top of her head the hair is only crudely carved. More curly locks fall down her neck. Her ears are adorned with disk-shaped earrings. Since the head was found together with an inscription from the Akropolis in a Roman deposit from the 4th century A.D., in the canal of a water conduit south of the Eleusinion (illus. 23), it is suspected that it came from the Akropolis and found its way into the canal as filler. Harrison compares the head with the Akropolis korai 685, 696, and 673 (plates 189–91, 274–75; 180, 265; 164–65, 260–61) and dates it to around 500–490.

The head of a half life-size kore, no. S2476[5] (no. 73A), is very well preserved; only the nose and lips are damaged (plate 209). The eyes are strongly protruding, and there appears to have been no attempt to render the eyelids. The kore wears a stephane that is so flat and narrow on the back of the head that it looks like a taenia. All the hair is highly ornamental, in carefully placed wavy strands. In front of the stephane the hair frames the forehead like a wreath. The earrings are particularly high relief, with a boss in the center. The head also has a hole for a meniskos, and on the back there are two dowel holes filled with lead that probably reflect an antique repair. It was found together with late-5th-century shards in a votive deposit from a small classical sanctuary on the Agora's northwest corner. T. Leslie Shear has noted that the head is similar in a number of ways to the latest Akropolis korai—for example, nos. 641 und 684 (plates 195, 192–94)—and he dates it to the period 500–490. He suspects that the kore was originally erected in the vicinity of the sanctuary in which the head was found. However, since the rest of the figure is missing, it is my feeling that it too could have come from the Akropolis.

According to Harrison, the fragment S1131 (Harrison no. 75), which was discovered in a Turkish deposit above the Panathenaic Way, could be part of the Akropolis kore 683 (plates 167, 264). It is a fragment of a small kore's right buttock (c. 510–500).[6] Since its Akropolis provenance is therefore assured, one can assume that the majority of the remaining fragments likewise came from the Akropolis. Harrison thinks that korai could also have been set up in the Eleusinion, but since none of the fragments in question

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[1] The layout of the Agora northwest of the Akropolis has been known since the American excavations in 1931. See Travlos 1971, p. 4; H. A. Thompson/R. E. Wycherley, *Agora XIV. The Agora of Athens* (1972); F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (1981), pp. 20ff.; N. Robertson, *Hesperia* 67 (1998), pp. 283ff., esp. p. 299; H. v. Steuben, "Die Agora des Kleisthenes—Zeugnis eines radikalen Wandels?" in *Demokratie und Architektur. Der hippodamische Städtebau und die Entstehung der Demokratie. Konstanzer Symposium vom 17.–19. Juli 1987*, ed. W. Schudler, W. Hoepfner, and E. L. Schwandner (1989), pp. 81ff.; U. Kenzler, *Studien zur Entwicklung und Struktur der griechischen Agora in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (1999), pp. 106ff.

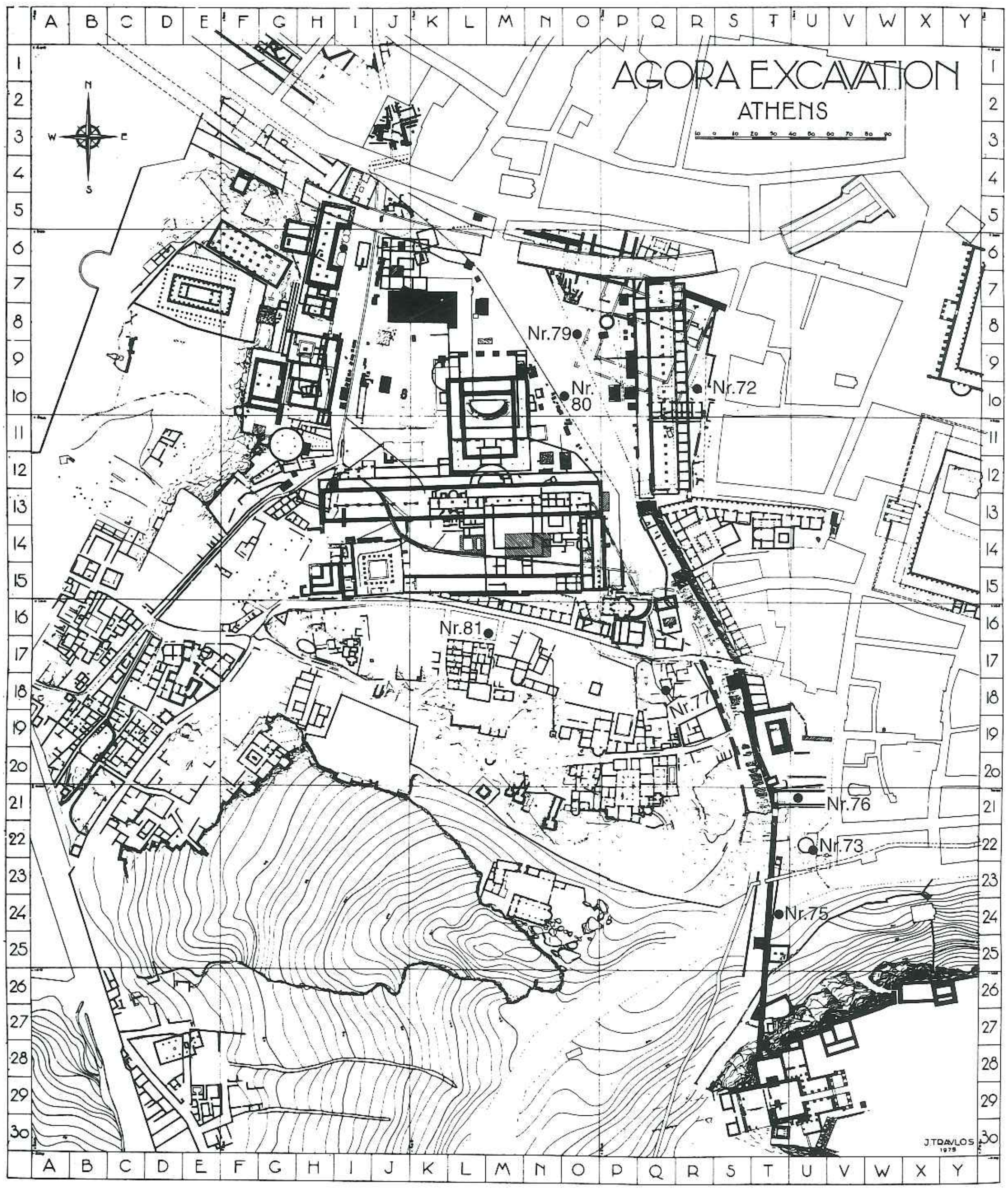
[2] For a detailed discussion, see Agora XI, pp. 1ff., nos. 72–81.

[3] U. Jantzen, *AA* 1938, pp. 550f., illus. 10; Agora XI, pp. 20f., pl. 5–6; Fuchs/Floren, p. 275 with n. 75.

[4] The kore fragments are listed in table 10.1 with their "E. Harrison numbers."

[5] T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 42 (1973), pp. 400ff., pl. 74; Fuchs/Floren, p. 272 with n. 49.

[6] Agora XI, pp. 1, 8, 21, pl. 7; Brouskari 1974, pp. 84f., illus. 157. E. Harrison ascribed five additional kouros fragments to the Dipylon kouros, ibid., pp. 13ff., no. 65, pl. 1–2, 62,a. This calls into question the original location of the Dipylon kouros, which has of course been interpreted to be a funerary kouros (E. Buschor, *AM* 52 [1926], p. 209; idem, *AM* 55 [1930], p. 163). I. Trianti, *AAA* 19/20 (1986/87), 169ff., points out the possibility that the kouros was not erected in the Kerameikos but rather to the west of the Agora, where the above-mentioned fragments of the figure were found. There, in the area of the Kolonos Agoraios, various sanctuaries were erected at a later date. In Trianti's opinion, the kouros could therefore be considered a votive gift, as G. Lahusen had suspected a long time ago. It could have stood in the sanctuary of the hero Eurysakes, for example, the son of Aiax of Salamis, that has been identified to the south of the Hephaistos temple.



Illus. 23. Athens: the Agora with the find spots of korai nos. 72–81.

date from later than around 490, when the Eleusinion temple was erected,[7] she feels that this was unlikely.[8]

The remaining fragments date from the last quarter of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th century. In all, they consist of the following kore fragments: S1358 (Harrison no. 72) of insular marble, a neck with the broken chin section and locks of hair on the sides;[9] S205 (Harrison no. 74), a fragment of the upper arm of a life-size kore with the buttoning of a chiton or himation;[10] S2026 (Harrison no. 76), the legs of a statuette;[11] S2106 (Harrison no. 77), the left arm of a life-size figure; S1785 (Harrison no. 78), a fragment of the himation from a life-size kore; S1483 (Harrison no. 79), the tip of the himation from a smaller than life-size figure; S1957 (Harrison no. 80), a right thigh;[12] and S1931 (Harrison no. 81), part of a right foot.[13]

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[7] Agora XI, pp. 9f.

[8] Agora XI, pp. 1f.

[9] Agora XI, p. 20, pl. 6.

[10] Agora XI, p. 21, pl. 7.

[11] Agora XI, p. 22, pl. 7.

[12] Agora XI, p. 22, pl. 8.

[13] Agora XI, p. 23, pl. 8.

Boeotia

From Boeotia we have only fragments of two korai, both now in the National Museum in Athens. Of kore NM2 (plate 210) only a portion of the garment with foot and base and the upper body are preserved;[1] of kore NM17 (plate 211), only the head.[2] The figures were discovered in the Ptoion, the sanctuary of Apollo near Akraiphia. Numerically they hardly balance the more than 120 kouroi dedicated in that sanctuary.[3]

Of kore NM2 (plate 210), which was carved of poros and presumably created in the second half of the 7th century,[4] we have only the left part of the plinth, the left foot, and an adjacent section of the garment, also the upper body from the bottom of the neck to the belt. The missing parts of the plinth and the lower body have been reconstructed so that the two fragments can be presented as part of a single figure. The statue follows the type of the Daedalic kore, which borrows from Cycladic precedents such as the statue of Nikandre. She is presented in a strictly frontal stance with her arms—which are missing, of course—at her sides. The kore wears a peplos and on top of it a thin himation that is divided by the arms on either side into two panels that fall in a curve front and back down to the hem of the peplos. Her hair falls across her shoulders onto her breast in a horizontally divided "*Etagen*" wig. On the left side, the figure is badly damaged in the area of the shoulder. On the front, along the lower part of the peplos below the hem of the himation, the kore bears an inscription[5] that reads:

> ...]ϱον ἀνέθεκε τοῖ ᾿Απολλόνι τοῖ Πτοιεῖ
> ...]οτος ἐποίεσε

". . .]ron dedicated it to Apollo Ptoios, –otos made it." Thanks to this inscription, we know at least a part of the name of the Boeotian artist, –otos, and the name of the deity to whom the figure was dedicated. This is one of the few inscriptional documents attesting that maiden figures could also be dedicated to a male deity.

Of another kore originally set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios only the head was discovered (plate 211). It is carved of marble and extraordinarily well preserved except for damage to the chin, the cheeks, and the diadem. The missing portion of the nose had probably been carved separately and attached. The face is clearly asymmetrical, the right half smaller than the left. The almond-shaped eyes are slanted, the eyeballs strongly protruding and set off by sharp-edged lids. The lips are rendered with similarly sharp edges. The ears are adorned with disk-shaped earrings painted with rosettes. The kore wears a diadem on which, according to the description by J. Ducat,[6] there was originally a painted meander design of a light color on a yellow background. On top of her head, behind the diadem and at the neck, her hair is rendered as smooth horizontal bands; behind the ears it falls in a number of long, corkscrew-shaped strands.

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[1] Height with base, 1.45 m. Richter 1968, pp. 26f., no. 2, illus. 29–30; Ducat 1971, p. 77, no. 46, pl. 17–18; Fuchs/Floren, p. 313 with n. 5; Martini 1990, pp. 136, 208.

[2] Height of the head, 22 cm. R. Lullies, *JdI* 51 (1936), p. 147, illus. 9, pl. 149; Richter 1968, p. 87, no. 143, illus. 454–55; Ducat 1971, no. 138, pl. 68; Fuchs/Floren, p. 351 with n. 37.

[3] "In no place else have so many kouroi been found as there": Steuben 1980, pp. 39ff., illus. 45–46. For the Ptoion: Pausanias IX, 23, 6. The Ptoion was an Apollo sanctuary high in the mountains near Akraiphia (formerly Karditsa, present-day Akraiphnion). The temple and other structures stand on various terraces. For the sanctuary and the kouroi, see Ducat 1971, map A, pl. 146. For Akraiphia, see also P. Roesch in Stillwell 1976, pp. 27f.

[4] Richter 1968, p. 27; Ducat 1971, p. 83; Martini 1990, p. 136.

[5] M. Holleaux, *BCH* 10 (1886), pp. 77ff., pl. 7; Jeffery 1961, p. 92, no. 4, pl. 7.

[6] Ducat 1971, p. 232.

Richter dates the kore to around 520, Ducat to the period 520/10.[7] Her head shows a great similarity to the Akropolis kore 673 (plates 164–65, 260–61). One can therefore assume that it was carved by either an Attic sculptor or a Boeotian artist influenced by the art of Attica. Given the astonishing quantity of sculpture from the Ptoion, there must have been constant contact among artists from the various regions. As the kouroi show, a number of Ionic and Attic artists must have worked in the service of Boeotian dedicators along with native ones.[8] Moreover, it is documented by an inscription that the Boeotian Thebades, son of Krynos, created the votive gift of Lyson, presented to the Athena Pallas as a first-fruits offering. The inscription:

> Παλάδι ᾽Αθαναίαι Λύσον ἀνέθεκεν ἀπαρχὲν
> hον αὐτό κτ[εά]νον τεῖ δὲ θεοῖ χαρίεν
> Θεβάδες ἐπ[οίεσεν ʾ῀ Κ]ύ[ρ]νο παῖς τόδ᾽ ἄγαλμα

was carved on the base of a votive pillar found on the Akropolis in Athens.[9] Judging from the material, namely Pentelic marble, and from the Attic alphabet,[10] it is likely that the artist Thebades produced his work in Attica, specifically in Athens. And he must also have found models for it there. Nevertheless, the kore Akr. 612[11] with the feet and plinth belonging to her (plate 172) cannot be ascribed to his oeuvre with any certainty.[12]

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[7] Richter 1968, p. 87; Ducat 1971, p. 234.

[8] Steuben 1980, pp. 40ff. "The only donations in the Ptoion from elsewhere that we know of were probably not kouroi. The dedicators were prominent Athenians: Alkmaionides, from the family of the Alkmaionids, and Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos," ibid., p. 41 withos n. 111. For the Boeotian kouroi organized by material and style, see Ducat 1971, pp. 271ff., summarized in the table on p. 459; for the group from Naxos, see Kokkorou-Alewras 1974, pp. 57ff.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, p. 38 with n. 16.

[9] Raubitschek 1949, pp. 308ff., no. 290; Jacob-Felsch 1969, p. 121, no. 20.

[10] A. E. Raubitschek, *BSA* 40 (1939/40), p. 21.

[11] For the kore: Langlotz 1939, p. 85, no. 39, pl. 106.

[12] Raubitschek 1949, pp. 308f.

Afterword

With the exception of the dedication of Nikandre (650/25) from Delos, the famous religious center of the Greek world, the earliest korai come from the Heraion on Samos (675/50). In Attica they make their first appearance roughly a century later, and the earliest of them were funerary korai, of which none are as yet known from Samos.

The first korai dedications in Didyma date from around 600, on Chios and in Miletus around 580/75, while the earliest korai from Paros come only from the middle of the 6th century. The first kouroi were dedicated on Samos in around 600, roughly half a century after the appearance of korai. In the other Ionic sites korai and kouroi appear at roughly the same time. In Attica, too, kouroi first appear around 600, as both votive statues and funerary statues. These come roughly two decades before the first funerary kore, whereas the kore statues on the Akropolis and in the Demeter sanctuary at Eleusis begin only later, around 570.

There is as yet no satisfactory explanation for the fact that in Ionia female figures were first dedicated and not their male counterparts, which one would have expected to contribute greatly to the prestige of their donors. For Samos, however, there are a few hints that shed light on this problem. The veneration of the goddess Hera could have been so fundamental and important in the lives of the Samians in the 7th century that it seemed only natural to them to choose only female figures as votive gifts to that patroness of marriage and protectress of fertility. This custom may be documented by the limestone statuette of a female figure from the first quarter of the 7th century that is considered a precursor of monumental sculpture on Samos.

The strange break in the kore dedications on Samos for a period of more than fifty years (630–575) probably has to do with the island's economic situation. In this period the Samians controlled the most important sea lanes, were known as thalassokrats, and functioned as wealthy traders. One could assume that their votive gifts to the goddess Hera were now more closely linked to the sources of their wealth. Bases for votive offerings of ships, for example, were discovered in the Heraion from precisely this time.

Korai were dedicated almost exclusively to female deities, specifically those considered to be guardians of marriage, fertility, and growth and of the well-being of the polis. It was mainly to Athena, Hera, Artemis, and Aphrodite that korai were presented, though they could also be dedicated to nature deities such as Demeter or the Nymphs.

The attributes in the korai's hands do not truly "define" specific goddesses, but are rather to be thought of generally as fertility symbols and/or gifts of thanks.

In Apollo sanctuaries there was as a rule a temple to his sister Artemis next to his own. For that reason one must treat with suspicion the notation "Apollo sanctuary" frequently met with in the literature in descriptions of kore finds. There is only a single kore known from its inscription to have been dedicated to Apollo, an early statue from the last quarter of the 7th century found in the Ptoion in Boeotia. We must assume that the majority of korai from Apollo sanctuaries were gifts to Artemis, like the dedication of Nikandre. Moreover, inscriptions in Klaros clearly document that the kouroi found there were dedicated to Apollo, the korai to Artemis.

For the majority of korai, sculptors chose native marble, the most economical and easily obtained material. The only imports were Parian and Naxian marble, whose quality was so famous and esteemed that these materials were used everywhere. And it was not only Cycladic artists who worked in insular marble, though they appear to have preferred it even when working far from home, for example in Athens. Sculptors from Paros were valued not only for the quality of their marble but also for their art. Their influence can be seen in various regions. They were among the most well-traveled artists of the time, doubtless because there were few patrons in their homeland owing to the island's political situation.

Placing kore dedications in the context of historical events, we find that political circumstances could influence the number and size of korai as well as their ultimate location. It is possible to determine that once tyrants had solidified their hold on power and extended it to religious centers, they sought to exclude the aristocracy as competing rivals and drive them away from sanctuaries as potential donors. This is particularly true of the tyrants Peisistratos, Lygdamis, and Polykrates. Under their rule the numbers of votive gifts in their respective main sanctuaries declined, and the sizes of korai were reduced to statuette format. In addition, dedications were often relegated to more remote sanctuaries, while in the private sphere the production of funerary kouroi tended to increase.

On Samos the first colossal kore statues (675–30) can be linked to the geomoroi, the aristocratic landowners; however, the actual flourishing of dedications falls in the period from the middle of the 6th century to 540. There is no definite indication of a tyranny in this period. The political situation was apparently such that private donors might even glorify themselves with elaborate votive statues of their families. Under the tyranny of Polykrates (538–22), kore dedications decreased dramatically, despite the island's prosperity at the time, and statues were again reduced in size.

Both on Samos and on Naxos the tyrants undertook ambitious building projects to demonstrate their authority not only in secular matters but also in the religious sphere. On Naxos Lygdamis erected a temple to Apollo of huge proportions similar to those of Polykrates' temple to Hera on Samos, in the process requisitioning the space where votive gifts had formerly stood accessible to all. Naxian aristocrats were left with little opportunity to set up votive offerings, and in fact during the tyrant's reign only a single kore dedication is known, and this in a modest, remote sanctuary. Significantly, the number of votive kouroi also decreased during this time, and as a rule they were produced only in statuette format. It is uncertain whether the few life-size Naxian kouroi of the period should be interpreted as funerary kouroi. This situation contrasts sharply with that of the preceding period, in which the wealthy Naxian upper class set up larger than life-size, even colossal votive statues in the most famous of Greek sanctuaries on the neighboring island of Delos. There the Naxian dedications end completely around the middle of the 6th century, to be replaced by gifts from Paros once Lygdamis had come to power.

On the Ionic mainland quarrels between the aristocracy and the people did not have such dramatic effects. There is no evidence of tyrants with the kind of influence enjoyed by those on Samos or Naxos, so that korai could be dedicated without interruption.

In Attica the first two kore dedications come from the time of the beginning of the Great Panathenaea. Funerary korai (beginning around 580) and funerary kouroi (beginning around 600) had been produced before that time, while votive kouroi are known only from Sounion. During the time when Peisistratos was making his first attempts to gain power over Athens there were still six dedications of korai on the Akropolis. These could well have been dedicated during that period of shifting power relationships when Peisistratos was banished from Athens for a time. After he had solidified his tyranny once and for all, the number of votive gifts declined dramatically. The erection of funerary kouroi around the periphery of his sphere of influence nevertheless continued. After the tyrant's death the number of gifts of korai on the Akropolis again increased. This revival of dedications could have to do with the policies of the Peisistratids, which aimed at a reconciliation between the people and the nobility. Their reign in fact saw the dedications of the largest and most elaborate korai, for example the much larger than life-size Antenor kore (Akr. 681).

The number of korai erected increases yet again with Kleisthenes and his efforts to establish a democracy, though now they are no longer so lavishly ornamented and are smaller in format. Even ordinary citizens now apparently had an opportunity to commemorate themselves on the citadel with the gift of a kore.

The absence of funerary korai in Attica after 540 cannot be satisfactorily explained by historical events. Perhaps once the Akropolis was opened up, as it were, it seemed more important to the aristocracy to make an appearance there with a splendid votive gift that all could see than to make do with a mere funerary monument outside the city center.

As I have repeatedly emphasized in the preceding chapters, the korai's festive appearance, their jewelry, their elaborate and extremely costly garments, and their artistic hairstyles conform to descriptions of young women in literary sources from the archaic period. It has become clear that the korai can be considered to be images of actual people. This is attested not least by the inscriptions that identify the korai by name, whether as members of a family dedication in the Heraion on Samos or as deceased young women in a necropolis in Attica.

APPENDIX

Preface to the Tables

All the korai of relevance to this study are included in the tables, that is, the larger groups of korai from a find spot. Identifying numbers are based on the catalogue numbering used by each kore's first standard publication. New finds, from Samos for example, are assigned numbers preceded by the letter "A." For groups of korai like those from Miletus and Erythrai that have yet to be published in a comprehensive catalogue, I have provided my own numbering. Finally, for isolated finds the inventory numbers from the respective museums are adopted. The tables are laid out systematically to present as much information as possible. The headings correspond to those used in the text chapters: date, condition, reconstructed size, surviving size, meniskos, ornament, attributes, clothing, marble, artists, and find spot.

The "Dates" tables present datings generally accepted in the literature. In those cases where dates are disputed, I have offered my own.

The "Size" tables attempt to reconstruct the original dimensions of the statues preserved for the most part only in fragments. For expediency, five basic formats are distinguished:

I more than 1.65 m tall: larger than life-size
II 1.65 m–1.40 m tall: life-size
III 1.40 m–1.00 m tall: smaller than life-size
IV 1.00 m–0.75 m tall: larger statuette
V less than 0.75 m tall: smaller statuette

The "Ornament" and "Attributes" tables have to do with the korai's appointments. They incorporate all the information relating to statues preserved virtually complete; uncertain objects are indicated by a question mark.

The "Marble" and "Artists" tables are mainly intended to show which types of marble were used when.

The "Find Spots" tables indicate whether the site where a kore was found is identical to its original location, and what this can tell us. In those instances where specific appointments have not been found on the korai of a specific site, I have of course omitted the corresponding tables, for example, "Ornament" from Samos or "Attributes" from Paros.

Abbreviations Used in the Tables

Agr.	Agora Museum, Athens
Akr.	Akropolis Museum, Athens
art mkt.	Art market
BS	Antikenmuseum, Basel
brac.	bracelet
Brit.M.	British Museum, London
Brl.	Berlin
chit.	chiton
coll.	collection
D.	G. Dickins
Degir.	Değirmentepe
diad.	diadem
Did.	Didyma
e.	east
ear.	earring
epibl.	epiblema
Epig.M.	Epigraphical Museum, Athens
Erech.	Erechtheion
f.k.	funerary kore
frag.	fragment
Getty	J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu
Glypt.	Glyptothek, Munich
h.	head
H.	E. Harrison
him.	himation
isl.	island
Ist.M	Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
k.	kore
Kal.	Kalabaktepe
Kaz. necr.	Kazartepe necropolis
Ker.M.	Kerameikos Museum, Athens
L.	E. Langlotz
lg.	large
loc.	location
M.	museum
Mil.	Milesian
mkt.	market
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
n.	north
Nax.	Naxian
NCG	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen
neckb.	neckband
neckl.	necklace
n.k.	number of korai and kouroi
NM	National Museum, Athens
NMC	Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen
Par.	Parian
Par.M.	Paros Museum
Parth.	Parthenon
Pent.	Pentelic
pepl.	peplos
PM	Piraeus Museum
pol.	polos
pom.	pomegranate
Prop.	Propylaea
R.	G. Richter
rec.	reconstructed
s.	south
Sam.	Samian
sm.	small
st.	statue
stat.	statuette
str.	street
surv.	surviving
Thas.M.	Thasos Museum
undet.	undetermined
w.	west
wh. g.	whitish-gray
w/	with
w/o	without

1. SAMOS

DATES

Table 1.1

DATE	n.k.	
675–650	1	no. 1
650	1	no. 2ABC
630	1	no. 3AB
575	1	no. 5
570–560	2	no. 6, no. 6A
560	4	no. 7, no. 8, no. 9, no. 9A
560–550	3	no. 60ABCD, no. 61, no. 62 (Geneleos Group)
550	9	no. 10, no. 11AB, no. 12, no. 13, no. 14, no. 15, no. 16, no. 16A, no. 17
550–540	1	no. 18
540	3	no. 19, no. 20, no. 21
540–530	3	no. 22, no. 23, no. 24
530	1	no. 25
530–520	2	no. 26, no. 27
520	1	no. 28
TOTAL	33	

SIZE

Table 1.2

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >165 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	n.k.	SMALL STATUETTE <75 cm
675–650	1	no. 1		—		—		—		—
650	1	no. 2ABC		—		—		—		—
630	1	no. 3AB		—		—		—		—
575		—				—		—	1	no. 5
570–560	2	no. 6, no. 6A		—		—		—		—
560	2	no. 7, no. 8		—		—		—	2	no. 9, no. 9A
560–550		—	3	no. 60ABCD, no. 61, no. 62		—		—		—
550		—	5	no. 11AB, no. 12, no. 13, no. 15, no. 16	2	no. 10, no. 14		—	2	no. 17, no. 16A
550–540		—		—		—		—	1	no. 18
540		—	2	no. 21AB, no. 20		—		—	1	no. 19
540–530		—		—		—	3	no. 22, no. 23, no. 24		—
530		—	1	no. 25*		—		—		—
530–520		—	1	no. 26*	1	no. 27		—		—
520		—	1	no. 28*		—		—		—
TOTAL	7		13		3		3		7	

* found outside the Heraion

ATTRIBUTES

Table 1.3

ATTRIBUTE	n.k.		DATE
pomegranate	2	no. 6 (hypothetically restored pomegranate), no. 6A	570–560
flower	1	no. 25	530
hare	2	no. 7, no. 9A	560
dove	1	no. 21AB	540
bird		—	—
partridge	1	no. 20	540
uncertain	3	no. 13, no. 16A, no. 24	550, 540–530
TOTAL	10		

MARBLE

Table 1.4

DATE	n.k.	NAXIAN	n.k.	WHITISH-GRAY	n.k.	WHITE
675–650	1	no. 1		—		—
650	1	no. 2ABC		—		—
630	1	no. 3AB		—		—
575		—	1	no. 5		—
570–560		—	1	no. 6	1	no. 6A
560		—	4	no. 7, no. 8, no. 9, no. 9A		—
560–550		—	3	no. 60ABCD, no. 61, no. 62		—
550		—	9	no. 10, no. 11AB, no. 12, no. 13, no. 14, no. 15, no. 16, no. 16A, no. 17		—
550–540		—		—	1	no. 18
540		—	2	no. 20, no. 21	1	no. 19
540–530		—	2	no. 23, no. 24	1	no. 22
530		—	1	no. 25		—
530–520		—	2	no. 26, no. 27		—
520		—	1	no. 28		—
TOTAL	3		26		4	

ARTIST

Table 1.5

DATE	n.k.	
675–650		—
650	1	no. 2ABC produced on Samos
630		—
575	1	no. 5 Milesian work?
570–560	2	no. 6, no. 6A Samian
560	1	no. 9A
560–550	3	no. 60ABCD, no. 61, no. 62 Geneleos
550		—
550–540		—
540	1	no. 20 Samian tradition
540–530	1	no. 21AB Samian or Milesian
530		—
530–520		—
520		—
TOTAL	10	

FIND SPOTS

Table 1.6

DATE	n.k.	HERAION	n.k.	HERAION NORTH OF TEMPLE	n.k.	HERAION WEST OF TEMPLE	n.k.	SACRED WAY	n.k.	SOUTH OF ROMAN PERIPTEROS	n.k.	OUTSIDE THE HERAION	n.k.	HERAION SOUTH OF TEMPLE
675–650	1	no. 1		—		—		—		—		—		—
650	1	no. 2ABC		—		—		—		—		—		—
630	1	no. 3AB		—		—		—		—		—		—
575		—		—		—		—	1	no. 5				—
570–560		—	1	no. 6		—	1	no. 6A		—		—		—
560	2	no. 7, no. 9		—		—		—		—	1	no. 8 (east of the Heraion)	1	no. 9A
560–550	1	no. 62		—		—	2	no. 60ABCD, no. 61		—		—		—
550	7	no. 10, no. 11AB, no. 12, no. 13, no. 14, no. 15, no. 16	1	no. 17 (in foundation of great altar)		—		—		—		—	1	no. 16A
550–540	1	no. 18		—		—		—		—		—		—
540	2	no. 19, no. 20		—		—		—		—	1	no. 21AB (east of the Heraion)		—
540–530	2	no. 23, no. 24		—	1	no. 22		—		—		—		—
530		—		—		—		—		—	1	no. 25 (near Myli bridge)		—
530–520	1	no. 27		—		—		—		—	1	no. 26 (Myli)		—
520		—		—		—		—		—	1	no. 28 (surfaced in Tigani)		—
TOTAL	19		2		1		3		1		5		2	

FIND SPOTS – DATES

Table 1.7

DATE	n.k.	HERAION	n.k.	OUTSIDE THE HERAION
675–650	1	no. 1		—
650	1	no. 2 ABC		—
630	1	no. 3 AB		—
575	1	no. 5		—
570–560	2	no. 6, no. 6A		—
560	4	no. 7, no. 8, no. 9, no. 9A		—
560–550	3	no. 60ABCD, no. 61, no. 62		—
550	9	no. 20, no. 11 AB, no. 12, no. 13, no. 14, no. 15, no. 16, no. 16A, no. 17		—
550–540	1	no. 18		—
540	3	no. 19, no. 20, no. 21 AB		—
540–530	3	no. 22, no. 23, no. 24		—
530		—	1	no. 25 (near Myli bridge)
530–520	1	no. 27	1	no. 26 (Myli)
520		—	1	no. 28 (surfaced in Tigani)
TOTAL	30		3	

KOUROI

Table 1.8

DATE	n.k.	HERAION		ELSEWHERE	n.k.	VOTIVE GIFT	n.k.	FUNERARY STATUE	n.k.	FUNERARY STATUE?	n.k.	NO INFORMATION
600–575	5	no. 29 CA no. 30+no. 34, no. 31 AB, no. 32, no. 33, no. 65		—	5	no. 29AC + no. 30 +no. 34, no. 31 AB, no. 32, no. 33, no. 65		—		—		—
575–550	3	no. 42, no. 43, no. 44		—		—		—		—		—
560	2	no. 35, no. 36AC		—	1	no. 35 Glyphada		—		—	1	no. 36AC
560–550	3	no. 37AC, no. 39, no. 40	1	no. 38 Mytilini	1	no. 39		—	1	no. 38	2	no. 37AC, no. 40
550–540	4	no. 42AB, no. 47AB, no. 48, no. 49AB	2	no. 45 Myli bridge no. 46 Chora	3	no. 45, no. 47AB, no. 49AB		—		—	3	no. 41 AB, no. 46, no. 48
550–525	2	no. 50, no. 51	1	no. 56 Tigani	1	no. 50	1	no. 56		—	1	no. 56
540–530		—	3	no. 52 Misokambos no. 53 Tigani no. 76 Misokambos		—	1	no. 53	1	no. 52	1	no. 76
540–525	1	no. 54		—		—		—		—		—
530–520		—		—		—		—		—	1	no. 55
520		—	1	no. 57		—	1	no. 57		—		—
TOTAL	20		8		11		3		2		9	

2. DIDYMA

DATES

Table 2.1

DATE	n.k.	
600–580	1	K36
600–575	1	K36bis
560–550	1	K37
550	2	K38, K39
540	2	K40, K40A
530	1	K41
?	1	K42 (lost)
TOTAL	9	

SIZE

Table 2.2

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >165 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm
600–580	1	K36		—		—		—
600–575	1	K36bis		—		—		—
560–550		—	1	K37		—		—
550	1	K39		—		—	1	K38
540		—	2	K40, K40A		—		—
530		—		—	1	K41		—
?		—		—	1	K42		—
TOTAL	3		3		2		1	

MARBLE

Table 2.3

DATE	n.k.	BLUISH	n.k.	YELLOWISH WHITE	n.k.	MARBLE, UNDETERMINED	n.k.	WHITE
600–580	1	K36		—		—		—
600–575		—	1	K36bis		—		—
560–550		—		—	1	K37		—
550	1	K39		—	1	K38		—
540		—		—		—	2	K40, K40A
530		—		—	1	K41		—
?		—		—	1	K42		—
TOTAL	2		1		4		2	

FIND SPOTS

Table 2.4

DATE	n.k.	TEMPLE AREA EAST FRONT	n.k.	TEMPLE AREA SOUTH SIDE	n.k.	FROM THE WALL SURROUNDING THE STATION HOUSE	n.k.	UNKNOWN	n.k.	BENEATH THE ANCIENT GROUND LEVEL	n.k.	SACRED WAY
600–580		—		—	1	K36		—		—		
600–575		—	1	K36bis		—		—		—		
560–550	1	K37		—		—		—		—		
550	1	K39 west of votive gift terrace	1	K38		—		—		—		
540		—		—		—	1	K40		—	1	K40A
530		—	1	K41		—		—		—		
?		—		—		—		—	1	K42		
TOTAL	2		3		1		1		1		1	

KOUROI

Table 2.5

DATE	n.k.	TEMPLE	n.k.	ELSEWHERE	n.k.	VOTIVE GIFTS	FUNERARY STATUES
600–550	2	K1, K3		—	2	K1, K3	—
575–550	4	K2, K4, K5, K8ab	1	K8b	4	K2, K4, K5, K8ab	—
550	2	K6, K7	1	K9bis (in village)	4	K6, K7, K9, K9bis	—
?	1	K9 (lost)		—	1	K9	—
550–540	2	K11, K12	1	K10	3	K10, K11, K12	—
540	2	K13, K14		—	2	K13, K14,	—
540–530	2	K16a, K16	1	K15 (from house of ruins caretaker)	3	K15, K16, K16a	—
530	1	K18	1	K17	2	K17, K18	—
530–520	1	K19		—	1	K19	—
525–500	1	K20		—	1	K20	—
TOTAL	18		5		23		

3. MILETUS

DATES

Table 3.1

DATE	n.k.	
575–550	5	M1, M1A, M2, M3, M4
550	1	M5
550–540	2	M6, M7
540	2	M8, M9
550–525	1	M10
525–500	5	M11, M12, M13, M14, M15
TOTAL	16	

SIZE

Table 3.2

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THEN LIFE-SIZE >165 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 160–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	n.k.	SMALL STATUETTE >75 cm
575–550	1	M4	2	M1, M1A		—		—	2	M2, M3
550		—		—	1	M5		—		—
550–540		—		—	2	M6, M7		—		—
540		—		—	2	M8, M9?		—		—
550–525		—		—		—	1	M10		—
525–500		—	2	M11, M12	3	M13, M14, M15		—		—
TOTAL	1		4		8		1		2	

ATTRIBUTES

Table 3.3

ATTRIBUTE	n.k.		DATE
partridge	1	M4	575–550
bird	1	M11	525–500
staff?	1	M10	550–525
TOTAL	3		

ORNAMENT AND VEIL

Table 3.4

DATE	n.k.	ORNAMENT	n.k.	VEIL
575–550		—	2	M3, M4
550	1	M5		—
550–540		—	1	M7
540		—	1	M8
550–525		—	1	M10
525–500	3	M11, M12, M13	1	M13
TOTAL	4		6	

MARBLE

Table 3.5

DATE	n.k.	MARBLE	n.k.	WHITE	n.k.	GRAY
575–550	2	M1, M4	2	M2, M3	1	M1A
550	1	M5		—		—
550–540	1	M6	1	M7		—
540	1	M8	1	M9		—
550–525		—	1	M10		—
525–500	3	M11, M12, M13	1	M15	1	M14
TOTAL	8		6		2	

FIND SPOTS

Table 3.6

DATE	n.k.	MILETUS	n.k.	COURTYARD OF BOULEUTERION	n.k.	DEPOT	n.k.	NEAR ATHENA TEMPLE	n.k.	DEĞIRMEN-TEPE	n.k.	KAZARTEPE NECROPOLIS	n.k.	KALABAK-TEPE	n.k.	UNKNOWN
575–550	3	M3, M4, M1A	1	M1		—		—		—		—		—	1	M2
550	1	M5		—		—		—		—		—		—		—
550–540		—		—	1	M6		—	1	M7		—		—		—
540		—		—	1	M9	1	M8		—		—		—		—
550–525	1	—		—		—		—		—		—		—		M10
525–500	2	M11, M14		—		—		—		—	1	M12	1	M15	1	M13
TOTAL	7		1		2		1		1		1		1		2	

4. ERYTHRAI

DATES

Table 4.1

DATE		ATTRIBUTES
560–550	E1, E2, E3, E4, E5	E5: pomegranate

SIZE

Table 4.2

DATE	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >160 cm	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	SMALL STATUETTE <75 cm
560–550	E1	E2	E5	E4	E3

MARBLE

Table 4.3

DATE	WHITE	GRAYISH-WHITE	GRAY
560–550	E1, E4	E2, E3, E5	—

FIND SPOTS

Table 4.4

DATE	ATHENA TEMPLE	VILLAGE OF ILDIRI
560–550	E1, E2, E4, E5	E3

5. CYCLADES AND OTHER REGIONS

DATES

Table 5

DATE	n.k.	DELOS	n.k.	PAROS	n.k.	CHIOS	n.k.	THASOS	n.k.	NAXOS	n.k.	THERA	n.k.	KYRENE	n.k.	AIGINA	n.k.	ANDROS	n.k.	AMORGOS	n.k.	ERETRIA	n.k.	RHODES
650–625	1	NM 1		—		—		—		—	2	no. 318, Sellada		—		—		—		—		—		—
580	1	A4062		—	2	225, 226		—		—		—		—	2	S59, S1		—		—		—		—
580–550	1	A3996		—		—		—		—		—	3	I, II, 76-810	2	NM 73, S151		—		—		—	2	Ist.M. 2357, NMC 12199
550–540		—	3	163, 791, 802	—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		1	Symi
550–525	1	A2386	4	MMA 07.306, Getty 39.AA.24, Par.M. 719, Par.M. 166		—	2	BS245, Thas.M 678		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—
525–500	7	A4063, A4064, A4065, A4067, A4068, A 100, NM 12		—	1	Metochi		—	2	no. 62, no. 78	1	no. 25	2	14008, 14009		—	1	NCG 1544	1	305	1	NM 1972	2	Γ131, B326
500–475	1	A4945		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—
TOTAL	12		7		3		2		2		3		5		4		1		1		1		5	

6. DELOS

DATES

Table 6.1

DATE	n.k.	
650–625	1	NM 1
580	1	A4062
575–550	1	A3996
550–525	1	A2386
525–500	7	A4063, A4064, A4065, A4067, A4068, A 100, NM 12
500–475	1	A4945
TOTAL	12	

SIZE

Table 6.2

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >165 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	n.k.	SMALL STATUETTE <75 cm
650–625	1	NM 1		—		—		—		—
580		—	1	A4062		—		—		—
575–550		—		—	1	A3996		—		—
550–525		—		—		—		—	1	A2386
525–500		—	7	A4063, A4064, A4067, A4068, A 100, NM 12, A4065		—		—		—
500–475		—	1	A4945		—		—		—
TOTAL	1	—	9		1	—		—	1	—

PROVENANCE

Table 6.3

DATE	n.k.	NAXIAN	n.k.	PARIAN
650–626	1	NM 1		—
580		—	1	A4062
575–550	1	A3996?		—
550–525		—	1	A2386
525–500		—	7	A4063, A4064, A4065, A4067, A4068, A100, NM12
500–475		—	1	A4945?
TOTAL	2		10	

FIND SPOTS

Table 6.4

DATE	n.k.	ARTEMIS-APOLLO SANCTUARY	n.k.	NEAR PROPYLAEA	n.k.	PALAESTRA	n.k.	NEAR THE ITALIAN AGORA	n.k.	DELOS
650–626	1	NM 1		—		—		—		—
580	1	A4062		—		—		—		—
575–550		—		—		—		—	1	A3990
550–520		—		—	1	A2386		—		—
525–500	4	A4064, A4067, A4068	1	A4063		—	2	A100, NM22	1	A4065
500–475		—	1	A4945		—		—		—
TOTAL	6		2		1		2		2	

KOUROI OF DELOS, NAXOS,* AND PAROS

Table 6.5

DATE	n.k.	DELOS (NAXIAN)	n.k.	NAXOS	n.k.	DELOS (PARIAN)	n.k.	PAROS
650–625	2	A4085+A4293, A334		—		—		—
625–600	3	A333, A4052+A728, A2464	1	K17		—		—
600–590	2	A4094 (Colossos) + K61, K62		—		—		—
600–550	1	A4114	2	K21, K22		—		—
575–550	4	A4048, A1742, A4051, A4083	7	K20, K23, K24, K25, K26, K29, K30		—		—
550–540		—	7	K31, K32, K33, K34, K35, K36, K37	5	A4045, A4047, A3997, A1741, A3990	3	Louvre MND 888, NCG 2030, Par.M. 13
550–525		—	4	K41, K45, K47, K60		—	1	A157
525–500		—	11	K40, K42, K43, K44, K46, K48, K49, K50, K52, K54, K79	1	A4084	1	A1282
			2	K39 and K51: undated				
TOTAL	12		34		6		5	

* numbering follows Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, pp. 80ff.

7. PAROS

DATES

Table 7.1

DATE	n.k.	
550	1	163
550–540	2	791, 802
530	4	MMA07.306, Getty 39.AA.24, Par.M. 719, Par.M. 166
TOTAL	7	

SIZE

Table 7.2

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >160 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	n.k.	SMALL STATUETTE <75 cm
550		—		—		—		—	1	163
550–540		—	1	802	1	791		—		
530		—	4	MMA 07.306, Getty 93.AA.24, Par.M. 719, Par.M. 166		—		—		
—										
TOTAL			5		1		—		1	

FIND SPOTS

Table 7.3

DATE	n.k.	HAGIOS IOANNIS	n.k.	NAOUSSA	n.k.	ANTIPAROS	n.k.	PAROS
550	1	163		—		—		—
550–540		—	1	802	1	791		—
530		—		—		—	4	MMA 07.306, Getty 93.AA.24, Par.M. 719, Par.M. 166
TOTAL	1		1		1		4	

8. KYRENE

DATES – FIND SPOTS

Table 8.1

DATE	n.k.	ZEUS LYKIOS TEMPLE	n.k.	DEMETER SANCTUARY	n.k.	APOLLO TEMPLE
560–550	2	I, II	1	76–810		—
525–500		—			2	14008, 14009
TOTAL	2		1		2	

SIZE

Table 8.2

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >165 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	n.k.	SMALL STATUETTE <75 cm
560–550	—	—	2	I, II	1	76–812	—	—	—	—
522–500	—	—	2	14008, 14009	—	—	—	—		—
TOTAL	—		4		1		—		—	—

9. AIGINA

DATES

Table 9.1

DATE	n.k.	
600–575	2	S 59, S 1
575–550	2	NM 73, S 151
TOTAL	4	

SIZE

Table 9.2

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >165 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	n.k.	SMALL STATUETTE <75 cm
600–575			—		—		2	S 59, S 1	—	—
575–550	1	NM 73	—		—		—	—	1	S 151
TOTAL	1		—		—		2		1	—

10. ATTICA

ATTICA – DATES

Table 10.1

DATE	n.k.	AKROPOLIS	n.k.	AGORA	n.k.	ELEUSIS	n.k.	FUNERARY STATUES	n.k.	NO INFORMATION
580		—		—		—	1	PM2530 Rentis		—
570–560	2	582, 589	1	Agr.72	1	NM5	2	NM3859 Moschato Brl.1800 Keratea		—
560–550	3	677, 619, 593		—		—		—		—
550–540	3	269, 654, 656		—		—	2	NM4889 Merenda NM81 Vourva		—
540–530	2	626,585		—		—		—		—
530	7	602, 679, 678, 669, 660, 1361, 253		—		—		—		—
530–520	2	614, 680		—		—		—	1	MMA07.286.110 Laurion?
525	3	682, 681, 672		—		—		—		—
525–500		—	3	Agr.74, Agr.76, Agr.80	3	NM25, NM26, NM27		—		—
520	8	670, 611, 612, 598, 639, 645, 652, 671		—		—		—		—
520–510	3	673, 666, 659	2	Agr.81, Agr.77		—		—		—
510	4	683, 643, 636, 661	1	Agr.75		—		—		—
510–500	6	3511, 1360, 613, 675, 584, 603		—		—		—		—
500	7	696+493, 674, 668, 594, 595, 667, 662		—		—		—		—
500–490	7	601, 605, 676, 600, 604, 685, 303	4	Agr.73, Agr. 73A Agr.78, Agr.79	1	NM60		—		—
490	9	687, 628, 684, 641, 650, 616, 651, 649, 588		—		—		—		—
490–480	1	615		—	1	NM24		—		—
480	7	688, 686/609, 627, 646, 640, 664, 648		—		—		—		—
TOTAL	74		11		6		5		1	

ATTICA (without Akropolis) – SIZE

Table 10.2

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >165 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	n.k.	SMALL STATUETTE <75 cm
580		—	1	PM2530 f.k.				—		—
570–560	1	Brl.1800 f.k.	1	NM3859 f.k.		—		—	1	NM5
560–550		—		—		—		—		—
550–540	1	NM4889 f.k.	1	NM81 f.k.				—		—
540–530		—		—		—		—		—
530–520		—		—		—	1	MMA07.286.110		—
525–500		—		—	1	NM27	2	NM25, NM26		—
520–510		—		—		—		—		—
510–500		—		—		—		—		—
500–490		—		—	1	NM60		—		—
490–480		—		—		—		—	1	NM24
TOTAL	2		3		2		3		2	

AKROPOLIS – SIZE

Table 10.3

DATE	n.k.	LARGER THAN LIFE-SIZE >165 cm	n.k.	LIFE-SIZE 165–140 cm	n.k.	SMALLER THAN LIFE-SIZE 140–100 cm	n.k.	LARGE STATUETTE 100–75 cm	n.k.	SMALL STATUETTE <75 cm
570–560		—		—	1	582*		—	1	589*
560–550	1	619	1	677	1	593*		—		—
550–540		—	1	269		—	1	654*	1	656*
540–530		—		—		—	2	626*, 585*		—
530	1	669		—	4	679, 678, 660, 1361*	1	602*	1	253*
530–520		—	1	680		—		—	1	614*
525	2	681, 682		—	1	672		—		—
520	1	671		—	3	670, 645, 652*	1	611*	3	612, 598*, 639
520–510		—	2	659*, 673		—		—	1	666
510		—		—	1	643	1	683	1	636
510–500	1	1360*		—	2	3511*, 613*	3	675, 584*, 603*		—
500	1	696*+493	1	662	3	674, 594*, 595*		—	2	668*, 667*
500–490	1	604*		—	2	685, 303	3	605*, 676*, 600*	1	601*
490		—	2	684, 616	3	628*, 588*, 651	3	687*, 650, 649	1	641
490–480		—		—	1	615*		—		—
480		—		—	5	688, 686, 627*, 664, 648	2	646, 640		—
TOTAL	8		8		27		17		13	

* without head or with only part of head

AKROPOLIS – MENISKOI

Table 10.4

DATE	n.k.	KORAI WITH MENISKOS	n.k.	KORAI WITHOUT MENISKOS	n.k.	KORAI WITHOUT HEAD OR CROWN OF HEAD
570–560		—		—	2	582, 589
560–550		—	2	677, 619/3699	1	593
550–540	1	269		—	2	654, 656
540–530		—		—	2	626, 585
530	3	669, 679, 660	1	678	2	602, 1361, 253
530–520		—	1	680	1	614
525	3	682, 681, 672		—		—
520	3	671, 670, 645	2	612, 639	3	611, 598, 652
520–510	1	673	1	666	1	659
510	1	643	2	683, 636		—
510–500		—	1	675	5	3511, 1360, 613, 584, 603
500	1	674	1	662	5	696, 668, 594, 595, 667
500–490	1	685	1	303	5	601, 605, 676, 600, 604
490	1	684	5	641, 650, 616, 651, 649	3	687, 628, 588
490–480		—		—	1	615
480		—	6	688, 686/609, 646, 640, 664, 648	1	627
TOTAL	15		23		34	

ATTICA (without Akropolis) – ORNAMENT

Table 10.5

DATE	n.k.	CARVED ORNAMENT	n.k.	METAL ORNAMENT	WITH MENISKOS	n.k.	WITHOUT MENISKOS	n.k.	WITHOUT HEAD
580		—		—	—		—	1	PM2530 f.k.
570–560	1	Brl. 1800 f.k.		—	—	1	Brl. 1800 f.k.	2	NM3859 f.k., NM5
560–550		—		—	—		—		—
550–540	1	NM4889 f.k.		—	—	1	NM4889 f.k.	1	NM81 f.k.
540–530		—		—	—		—		—
530–520		—		—	—		—	1	MMA07.286.110 (head restored in 5th century)
525–500	1	NM27		—	—	1	NM27	2	NM25, NM26
520–510		—		—	—		—		—
510–500		—		—	—		—		—
500–490	1	NM60		—	—	1	NM60		—
490–480	1	NM24	1	NM24	—	1	NM24		—
TOTAL	5		1		—	5		7	

AKROPOLIS – ORNAMENT

Table 10.6

DATE	n.k.	CARVED ORNAMENT	n.k.	METAL ORNAMENT	n.k.	PAINTED ORNAMENT
570–560		—		—		—
560–550	3	677, 619, 593		—		—
550–540	2	269, 654		—	1	656?
540–530		—		—		—
530	4	678, 669, 660, 679	3	679, 678, 669	3	679, 678, 602
530–520	1	680		—		—
525	3	681, 682, 672	1	681		—
520	6	670, 671, 612, 639, 645, 652	2	670, 671	1	670
520–510	3	673, 666, 659	2	659, 673	1	673
510	3	683, 643, 636	1	643		—
510–500	2	1360, 675	2	675, 1360	1	675
500	5	696, 674, 668, 595, 662	1	662	1	668
500–490	3	676, 685, 303	2	685, 303		—
490	7	687, 684, 641, 650, 616, 651, 649		—		—
490–480		—		—		—
480	6	688, 686, 646, 640, 664, 648	1	627		—
TOTAL	48		15		8	

ATTICA – ATTRIBUTES

Table 10.7

ATTRIBUTES	n.k.	AKROPOLIS	n.k.	ATTICA		FUNERARY STATUE
wreath and pomegranate	1	593		—		—
pomegranate		—	1	MMA07.286.110	1	Brl.1800
apple	3	619?, 677, 680		—		—
branchlike object	1	679		—		—
flower		—		—	1	NM4889
dove	3	269, 683, 685		—		—
hare		—	1	MMA07.286.110 (head and hare restored in 5th century)		—
TOTAL	8		2		2	

ATTICA – MARBLE

Table 10.8

DATE	n.k.	ATTIC	n.k.	PENTELIC	n.k.	UNDETERMINED	n.k.	ISLAND	n.k.	PARIAN	n.k.	NAXIAN
580		—		—		—		—		—		—
570–560	1	Brl.1800	2	582, NM5		—	1	NM3859	1	589		—
560–550		—	1	593		—		—		—	2	677, 619
550–540		—	1	269	1	NM81 (Phile)	1	656	2	654, NM4889		—
540–530		—		—		—	1	585	1	626		—
530		—		—	1	253	2	602, 680	5	669, 679, 678, 660, 1361		—
530–520		—		—	1	MMA07.286.110	1	614		—		—
525		—		—		—	3	681, 682, 672		—		—
525–500		—	1	NM27		—	1	NM25	1	NM26(?)		—
520	2	612 (L.), 639 (L.)	2	671, 670 (arm)		—	2	670, 598	5	611, 652, 612 (D.) 638 (D.), 645		—
520–510		—	1	673 (L.)		—	1	666	2	659, 673 (D.)		—
510		—	1	683		—		—	2	643, 636		—
510–500	1	603 (L.)		—	1	3511	1	613	4	1360, 675, 584, 603 (D.)		—
500		—	2	696, 667		—	1	594	4	674, 595, 662, 668		—
500–490	2	601 (L.), 303	2	676, 600 (L.)		—	3	604, 605, NM60	3	685, 601 (D.), 600 (D.)		—
490	1	687 (L.)	2	684 (L.) (arm) 641 (L.) (forearm)		—	4	684, 650, 616, 588	5	628, 651, 649, 687 (D.), 641 (D.)		—
490–480		—		—		—	1	615	1	NM24		—
480		—	2	688, 627, base of 686	1	686/609	2	640, 648	2	646, 664		—
TOTAL	7		17		5		25		38		2	

ATTICA – ARTISTS

Table 10.9

DATE	n.k.	ATTICA	n.k.	PELOPONNESE	n.k.	IONIA	n.k.	CHIOS	n.k.	CYCLADES	n.k.	PAROS	n.k.	NAXOS	n.k.	ISLANDS	n.k.	NO INFORMATION
580		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—	1	PM 2530
570–560	4	Brl. 1800 NM 3859 582, 589		—		—		—		—		—		—		—	1	NM 5
560–550	1	593		—		—		—		—		—	2	619, 677		—		
550–540	3	NM 81 269, 654		—		—		—		—	1	NM 4889		—		—	1	656
540–530		—		—		—		—	1	585	1	626		—		—		—
530	6	602?, 679, 660, 680, 678, 669		—	1	253?		—	1	602?	1	1361		—		—		—
530–520		—		—	1	614		—		—	1	MMA07.286.110		—		—		—
525	1	681		—		—		—		—		—		—	2	672, 682		—
525–500		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—	3	NM 25, NM 26, NM 27
520	4	671, 670, 652, 639		—	1	598	1	612		—		—		—	2	645, 611		—
520–510	1	673		—	1	666	1	659?		—		—		—		—		—
510	2	643, 636	1	683?		—		—		—		—		—		—		—
510–500	4	3511, 613, 584, 603		—		—	1	675		—	1	1360		—		—		—
500	3	696, 667, 674		—		—		—	3	668, 594, 595		—		—		—	1	662
500–490	5	601, 605, 600, 604, 685	1	676?		—		—		—		—		—		—	2	NM 60 (L.), 303
490	7	616, 628, 684, 687, 588, 651, 641		—		—		—		—		—		—	2	650, 649		—
490–480	1	615		—		—		—		—		—		—		—	1	NM 24
480	5	688, 686/609, 664, 646, 648		—		—		—	1	627		—		—		—		—
TOTAL	47	43 Akr. 3 Attica	2	2 Akr. —	4	4 Akr. —	3	3 Akr. —	6	6 Akr —	5	3 Akr. 2 Attica	2	2 Akr. —	6	6 Akr —	10	3 Akr. 7 Attica

AKROPOLIS – FIND SPOTS

Table 10.10

DATE	n.k.	NORTH WALL	n.k.	NEAR ERECHTHEION	n.k.	NEAR PARTHENON	n.k.	NEAR PROPYLAEA	n.k.	UNKNOWN
570–560	1	582		—		—		—	1	589
560–550		—	3	677, 593, 619		—		—		—
550–540		—	1	654		—	1	656	1	269
540–530	1	585		—		—		—	1	626
530		—	4	669, 679, 678, 660		—		—	3	602, 1361, 253
530–520		—	1	680		—		—	1	614
525		—	3	681 (upper body), 682, 672		681 (lower leg)		—		—
520		—	5	671, 670, 639, 645, 652		—		—	3	611, 612, 598
520–510		—	3	673, 666, 659		—		—		—
510		—	2	643, 636	1	683		—		—
510–500	1	584		—	1	675		—	4	3511, 1360, 613, 603
500		—	4	594, 595, 662, 667	3	674, 696, 668		—		—
500–490		—		—	6	685, 605, 601, 604, 600, 676		—	1	303
490		—	3	641, 650, 649	4	628, 651, 687, 684		—	2	588, 616
490–480		—		—		—		—	1	615
480		—	4	609 (lower body), 640, 646, 664		686 (upper body)	1	688	2	627, 648
TOTAL	3		33		15		2		20	

ATTICA – KOUROI

Table 10.11

DATE	n.k.	AKR. KOUROI	n.k.	VOTIVE GIFTS SOUNION	n.k.	FUNERARY STATUES	n.k.	PRESUMABLY FUNERARY STATUES	n.k.	UNDETERMINED FUNCTION
600–590		—	3	NM3863, NM3939c, NM3939d	3	NY32111, Dipylon NM3372 +Agr. S530+ S287+S1739+S1908, coll. M. Kalliga		—		—
590–580		—	2	NM2720, NM3645	1	NM71		—		—
590–570		—		—		—	1	NM3858	1	NM4181
570–560		—		—	2	Orpheus head Str. M1078, NM 1906		—		—
575–550	1	Akr. 617		—		—	1	Louvre MNC748	2	Boston, M. Fine Arts 39.552, Brit.M. B473
560–550		—		—		—	1	NM3860		—
550		—		—	1	Xenokles tomb Ker.M.	3	NM72, Therylides tomb, tomb of ?, Epigr.M. 10644	1	MMA (Sounion) 21.88.16
555–540		—		—	1	NM1904		—	5	NM4509, NM4545 Eleusis M61, Eleusis M, Agr. S1440
540	1	Akr. 665+596		—	4	Antilochos tomb Epigr.M. 10647+ 10648, Brit.M., Xenophantos Epigr.M. 10642, Merenda NM4890		—	2	NM13 Agr. S815
540–530		—		—	2	Glypt. 169, NM3851,		—	2	Louvre MNC 1357, Boston M. Fine Arts 34.169
540–520		—		—		—		—	2	Louvre 171, Agr. S158
530	1	Akr. 653		—	1	NM38516		—		—
530–520	1	Akr. 663		—	1	NCG418		—		—
520–485		—		—	1	Ker.M.		—	2	W. Rockhill Gallery of Art, Louvre MNC 890
520–510		—		—	1	Neilonides Epigr.M. 12870		—	1	Agr. S30
510–500		—		—	1	base of funerary kouros NM3476		—	1	Brit.M. B 475
500		—		—	3	NM3938 Aristodikos, base NM3477, P1455		—	1	NM3370 Agr. S1890
490	1	Akr. 692		—		—		—	1	Agr. S1185
base of uncertain date		—		—	3	tomb of the Carian Tymnes Ker.M., tomb of Nausistratos, tomb of Aischros	2	tomb of Antistasis of Samos Epigr.M. 10637, Ker.M.		—
TOTAL	5		5		25		8		17	

11. SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW OF THE SAMIAN KORAI

NO.	SAMOS NO.	MUSEUM	DATE	SURVIVING CONDITION	RECONSTRUCTED SIZE	SURVIVING SIZE	ATTRIBUTE	CLOTHING	VEIL	MARBLE	ARTIST	FIND SPOT
1.	no. 1	Vathy	675–650	frag.	over life	885 cm, w/plinth	—	chit.	—	Nax.?	—	Heraion
2.	no. 2 ABC	Vathy	650	frag.	over life	41, 30, 155 cm	—	—	—	Nax.	Samian	Heraion
3.	no. 3 AB	Vathy	630	frag.	over life	42, 215 cm	—	chit.	x	Nax.?	—	Heraion
4.	no. 5	Vathy	575	frag.	sm. stat.	111 cm	—	chit.	x	wh. g.	Mil.	Heraion
5.	no. 6	Louvre MA 686	570–560	st. w/o h.	over life	172 cm	pom.?	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	Samian	Heraion
6.	no. 6A	Vathy	570–560	st. w/o h.	over life	182 cm	pom.?	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	Samian	Sacred Way
7.	no. 7	Brl. 1750	560	st. w/o h.	over life	167 cm	hare	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	Samian	Heraion
8.	no. 8	Vathy	560	frag.	over life	50 cm	—	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
9.	no. 9	Vathy	560	frag.	sm. stat.	15 cm	—	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
10.	no. 9A	Vathy	560	st. w/o h.	lg. stat.	45 cm	hare	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	Samian	Heraion
11.	no. 60A–D	Vathy	560–550	frag.	over life	39, 22, 45, 20 cm	—	chit.	—	wh. g.	Geneleos	Heraion
12.	no. 61	Vathy 768	560–550	st. w/o h.	life size	159.2 cm	—	chit.	—	wh. g.	Geneleos	Sacred Way
13.	no. 62	Brl. 1739	560–550	st. w/o h.	over life	168 cm	—	chit.	—	wh. g.	Geneleos	Heraion
14.	no. 10	Vathy	550	frag.	under life	27 cm	—	chit. him.	—	wh. g.	—	Heraion
15.	no. 11 AB	Brl. 1743 and Vathy	550	frag.	over life	28 cm	—	chit.	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
16.	no. 12	Vathy	550	frag.	over life	35 cm	—	chit.	—	wh. g.	—	Heraion
17.	no. 13	Brl. 1743	550	torso	life size	30 cm	uncertain	chit. him.	—	wh. g.	—	Heraion
18.	no. 14	Vathy	550	frag.	under life	135 cm	—	chit.	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
19.	no. 15	missing	550	frag.	over life	13 cm	—	—	—	undetermined	—	Heraion
20.	no. 16	Vathy	550	st. w/o h.	over life	51 cm	—	chit.	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
21.	no. 16A	Vathy	550	torso	sm. stat.	19 cm	uncertain	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
22.	no. 17	Vathy	550	head	sm. stat.	8 cm	—	—	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
23.	no. 18	missing	550–540	head	sm. stat.	13 cm	—	—	x	white	—	Heraion
24.	no. 19	missing	540	head	sm. stat.	11 cm	—	—	x	white	—	Heraion
25.	no. 20	Vathy	540	torso	life size	115 cm	partridge	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	Samian	Heraion
26.	no. 21 A/B B	Vathy missing	540	torso frag.	life size life size	32 cm 12.5 cm	bird	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	—	east of Heraion
27.	no. 22	Brl. 1744	540–530	torso	lg. stat.	52 cm	—	chit. him.	x	white	—	west of Heraion
28.	no. 23	Vathy	540–530	frag.	life size	27 cm	—	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
29.	no. 24	Vathy	540–530	torso	lg. stat.	23 cm	bird?	chit. him.	x	wh. g.	—	Heraion
30.	no. 25	Vathy	530	torso	life size	83 cm	flower	chit. him.	x?	gray	—	Myli bridge
31.	no. 26	Vathy	530–520	frag.	life size	74.5 cm	—	chit. him.	—	wh. g.	—	Myli bridge
32.	no. 27	Vathy	530–520	frag.	under life	14 cm	—	—	—	wh. g.	—	Heraion
33.	no. 28	Tigani	530–520	torso	life size	32 cm	—	chit. him.	—	wh. g.	—	unknown

12. SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW OF THE DIDYMA KORAI

NO.	n.k.	MUSEUM	DATE	SURVIVING CONDITION	REC. SIZE	SURV. SIZE	CLOTHING	VEIL	MARBLE	ARTIST	FIND SPOT
1.	K36	Did. Di S8	600–580	frag.	over life	28.5 cm	belt	—	bluish	—	Didyma
2.	K36bis	Did. Di S2	600–575	head	over life	35.5 cm	—	x	wh. g.	—	s. Didyma
3.	K37	Did. Di S15	560–550	frag.	life size	21 cm	chit.	—	undetermined	—	e. Didyma
4.	K38	Did. Di S20	550	frag.	sm. stat.	14.2 cm	chit. him.	x	undetermined	—	Didyma
5.	K39	Did. Di S19	550	frag.	over life	46 cm	—	—	bluish	—	e. Didyma
6.	K40	Brit.M B284	540	head	under life	21.5 cm	—	x	white	—	—
7.	K40A	Did. S332, S333	540	torso	life size	96 cm	chit. him.	x	white		Sacred Way
8.	K41	Brl. 1793	530	frag.	life size	58 cm	chit.	—	undetermined	—	Didyma
9.	K42	lost	—	head	life size	—	—	—	undetermined	—	—

13. SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW OF THE MILESIAN KORAI

NO.	n.k.	MUSEUM	DATE	SURVIVING CONDITION	REC. SIZE	SURV. SIZE	ORNAMENT	ATTRIBUTE	CLOTHING	VEIL	MARBLE	ARTIST	FIND SPOT
1.	M1	Brl. 1599	575–550	frag.	life size	71 cm	—	—	chit.	—	undet.	Sam.-Mil.	Bouleuterion
2.	M1A	Brl. 1740	575–550	frag.	life size	35 cm	—		chit.	—	wh. g.	—	Miletus
3.	M2	Brl. 1898	575–550	torso	sm. stat.	15 cm	—	—	chit. him.	—	white	Mil.	unknown
4.	M3	Balat	575–550	torso	sm. stat.	21 cm	—	—	chit. him.	x	white	Mil.	Balat
5.	M4	Brl. 1791	575–550	st. w/o h.	over life	141 cm	—	partridge	chit. him.	x	undet.	Mil.	Miletus
6.	M5	Brl. 1634	550	head	under life	21 cm	earring	—	—	—	undet.	—	Miletus
7.	M6	Balat	550	torso	under life	—	—	—	chit.	—	undet.	—	depot
8.	M7	Balat	550–540	head	under life	—	—	—	—	x	white	—	Degir.
9.	M8	Brl. 1631	550–540	head	under life	21 cm	—	—	—	x	undet.	—	Miletus
10.	M9	Balat	550–540	frag.	under life	—	—	—	chit.	—	white	—	depot
11.	M10	—	550–525	torso	lg. stat.	31.5 cm	—	staff?	chit. him.	x	white	—	art mkt.
12.	M11	Brl. 1577	550–525	torso	life size	106 cm	bracelet	bird/bag	chit. him.	—	undet.	—	Miletus
13.	M12	Balat	550–525	torso	life size	—	bracelet	bag	chit. him.	—	undet.	—	Kaz. necr.
14.	M13	Louvre MA4546	525–500	head	under life	14.8 cm	earring	—	—	x	undet.	—	—
15.	M14	Balat	525–500	frag.	under life	16.2 cm	—	—	chit.	—	gray	—	Balat
16.	M15	Balat 3078	525–500	frag.	under life	12.5 cm	—	—	him.	—	white	—	Kal.

14. SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW OF THE ATTIC KORAI

NO.	MUSEUM NO.	L. NO., R. NO.	DATE	SURVIVING CONDITION	RECONSTRUCTED SIZE	SURVIVING SIZE	MENISKOS
f.k. 1.	PM2530	—	580	st. w/o h.	under life	104 cm	w/o head
2.	NM3859	R.40	570–560	torso	life size	41 cm	w/o head
f.k. 3.	Brl. 1800	R.42	570–560	statue	over life	193 cm, w/plinth	—
4.	NM5	R.75	570–560	stat. w/o h.	sm. stat.	28 cm	w/o head
5.	Akr. 582	L.6	570–560	frag.	under life	53 cm, w/plinth	w/o head
6.	Akr. 589	L.1	570–560	stat. w/o h. w/o feet	lg. stat.	44.5 cm	w/o head
7.	Akr. 619	L.22, R.58	560–550	st. w/o h. w/o feet	over life	145 cm	w/o head
8.	Akr. 677	L.23, R.59	560–550	torso w/ h.	life size	53.5 cm	—
9.	Akr. 593	L.2, R.43	560–550	st. w/o h. w/o feet	life size	99.5 cm	w/o head
10.	Akr. 656	L.3	550–540	torso	sm. stat.	11 cm	w/o head
11.	Akr. 269/163/164	L.25, R.89	550–540	st. w/o feet	life size	113 cm	x
12.	Akr. 654	L.85, R.65	550–540	head	lg. stat.	11.7 cm	—
f.k. 13.	NM4889	—	550–540	statue	over life	176 cm	—
f.k. 14.	NM81	R.91	550–540	base w/ feet	under life	135 cm	—
15.	Akr. 626	L.26	540–530	st. w/o h. w/o feet	under life	70 cm	w/o head
16.	Akr. 585	L.13	540–530	stat. w/o h. w/o feet	lg. stat.	53 cm	w/o head
17.	Akr. 602	L.7	530	st. w/o h. w/o feet	under life	66 cm	w/o head
18.	Akr. 679	L.4, R.13	530	statue	life size	118 cm, w/o plinth	x
19.	Akr. 678	L.10, R.112	530	st. w/o feet	under life	96.4 cm	—
20.	Akr. 669	L.28, R.109	530	torso	over life	169 cm	x
21.	Akr. 660	L.87, R.114	530	head	under life	168 cm	x
22.	Akr. 1361	L.30	530	torso	under life	23 cm	w/o head
23.	Akr. 253	L.125	530	torso	sm. stat.	28.5 cm	—
24.	Akr. 614	L.27	530–520	stat. w/o h. w/o feet	sm. stat.	37 cm	w/o head
25.	Akr. 680	L.45, R.122	530–520	st. w/o feet	life size	114 cm	—
26.	MMA07.286.110	R.138	530–520	st. w/o feet	lg. stat.	69 cm	—
27.	Akr. 682	L.41, R.116	525	statue	over life	182 cm	x
28.	Akr. 681	L.38, R.110	525	statue	over life	201 cm	x
29.	Akr. 672	L.42, R.118	525	stat.	under life	102 cm, w/plinth	x
30.	NM25	R.139	525–500	stat. w/o h. w/o feet	sm. stat.	45 cm	w/o head
31.	NM26	R.140	525–500	stat. w/o h. w/o feet	lg. stat.	55 cm	w/o head
32.	NM27	R.142	525–500	head	under life	13 cm	—
33.	Akr. 671	L.14, R.111	520	st. w/o feet	over life	177 cm	x
34.	Akr. 670	L.8, R.119	520	st. w/o feet	under life	114 cm	x
35.	Akr. 611	L.11	520	stat. w/o h. w/o feet	under life	52 cm	w/o head
36.	Akr. 612	L.39	520	st. w/o feet	sm. stat.	34 cm	—
37.	Akr. 598	L.40, R.115	520	stat. w/o h.	lg. stat.	57 cm	w/o head
38.	Akr. 639	L.94	520	head	sm. stat.	94 cm	—
39.	Akr. 645	L.93	520	head	under life	14.2 cm	x
40.	Akr. 652	L.91	520	head	lg. stat.	12.4 cm	—
41.	Akr. 673	L.51, R.117	520–510	st. w/o feet	life size	91 cm	x
42.	Akr. 666	L.15	520–510	st. w/o feet	sm. stat.	32.7 cm	—
43.	Akr. 659	L.95	520–510	head	life size	24 cm	—
44.	Akr. 683	L.9, R.120	510	statue	lg. stat.	81.4cm	—
45.	Akr. 643/307	L.96, R.128	510	head	under life	14.2 cm	x
46.	Akr. 636	L.100	510	head	sm. stat.	8.7 cm	—
47.	Akr. 661	L.98, R.131	510	head	life size	24 cm	—
48.	Akr. 3511	L.16	510–500	torso	under life	19 cm	w/o head
49.	Akr. 1360	L.29	510–500	st. w/o h.	over life	170 cm	w/o head
50.	Akr. 613	L.31, R.121	510–500	st. w/o h. w/o feet	under life	82 cm	x
51.	Akr. 675	L.43, R.123	510–500	st. w/o feet	lg. stat.	54.5 cm	—
52.	Akr. 584	L.53	510–500	torso	lg. stat.	18 cm	w/o head
53.	Akr. 603	L.46	510–500	torso	lg. stat.	39 cm	w/o head
54.	Akr. 696/493	L.20, R.126	500	head + feet	over life	27.5 cm	—
55.	Akr. 674	L.44, R.127	500	st. w/o feet	under life	92 cm	x
56.	Akr. 668	L.48	500	stat. w/o feet	sm. stat.	27 cm	x
57.	Akr. 594	L.54, R.124	500	st. w/o h. w/o feet	life size	122 cm	w/o head
58.	Akr. 595	L.32	500	st. w/o h. w/o feet	under life	98 cm	w/o head
59.	Akr. 667	L.33	500	stat. w/o h. w/o feet	sm. stat.	22.5 cm	w/o head
60.	Akr. 662	L.102	500	head	under life	18.1 cm	—
61.	Akr. 601	L.34	500–490	stat. w/o h. w/o feet	sm. stat.	44 cm	w/o head

CARVED ORNAMENT	METAL ORNAMENT	PAINTED ORNAMENT	ATTRIBUTE	CLOTHING	MARBLE	ARTIST	FIND SPOT
—	—	—	—	chit.	—	—	Athens
—	—	—	—	chit.	undetermined	Attic	Moschato
pol. neckl. ear.	—	—	pomegranate	pepl. mantle	undetermined	Attic	Keratea
—	—	—	—	pepl.	undetermined	—	Eleusis
—	—	—	—	chit.	Pent.	Attic (D.)	north wall
—	—	—	—	pepl. mantle	Parian	Attic/Ionic (D.)	—
—	—	—	apple?	chit.	Naxian	Nax./Samian	e. of Erech.
taenia	—	—	apple	chit.	Naxian	Naxian	w. of Erech.
neckb. ear.	—	—	wreath/pom.	chit. pepl.	Attic	—	e. of Erech.
—	—	—	flower	pepl.	island	—	n. e. of Prop.
pol. ear.	—	—	dove	chit. him.	Attic	Attic	—
diad. ear.	—	—	—	—	Parian	Attic	Erech.
pol. neckb.	—	—	flower	pepl.	Parian	Aristion of Paros	Merenda
—	—	—	—	—	undetermined	Phaidimos	Vourva
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	Parian	Parian?	—
—	—	—	—	chit. mantle	island	Cycladic	north wall
—	—	neckl.	—	chit.	island	Philermos?	—
—	ear. diad.	neckb.	branch	chit. pepl.	Parian	Attic	w. of Erech.
taenia	ear. diad.	neckb.	—	chit. mantle	Parian	Attic	w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	ear. diad.	—	—	chit. him.	Parian	Attic	e. of Erech.
diad.	—	—	—	—	Parian	Attic	n. w. of Erech.
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	Parian	Parian	—
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	island	Ionic	—
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	—	Attic	—
ear. diad. brac.	—	—	apple	chit. him.	island	Attic	n. w. of Erech.
—	—	—	pomegranate	chit.	undetermined	Parian	Laurion
ear. diad. armb.	—	—	—	chit. him.	island	Ionic	n. w. of Erech.
diad. armb.	ear. diad.	—	—	chit. him.	island	Antenor	w. of Erech.
diad. ear.	—	—	—	chit. him.	island	Ionic	w. of Erech.
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	undetermined	—	Eleusis
—	—	—	—	chit. epibl.	undetermined	—	Eleusis
ear.	—	—	—	—	undetermined	—	Eleusis
diad.	ear.	—	gift?	chit. mantle	Pent.	Attic/Ionic	w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	diad. brac.	neckl.	—	chit.	Pent.	Attic	n. w. of Erech.
—	—	—	—	chit. mantle	Parian	insular	—
ear.	—	—	—	chit. him.	Attic/Parian (D.)	Chian	—
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	island	Ionic	—
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	Attic/island (D.)	Attic	n. w. of Erech.
diad.	—	—	—	—	Parian	Boeotian	n. w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	Parian	Cycladic	n. w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	diad.	neckb.	—	chit. him.	Pent./island (D.)	Attic	w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	chit. mantle	island	Ionic	n. w. of Erech.
diad.	ear.	—	—	—	Parian	Ionic	n. w. of Erech.
diad.	—	—	dove	chit.	undetermined	Attic/Ionic (D.)	e. of Parth.
diad.	diad.	—	—	—	Parian	Attic	n. w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	Parian	Attic/Ionic (D.)	n. w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	undetermined	Attic	—
—	—	—	—	chit. mantle	undetermined	Attic	—
neckb.	ear.	—	—	chit. him.	Parian	Parian	—
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	island	Attic	—
ear. diad.	ear. diad.	neckb.	—	chit. him.	Par. (D.)	Chian	e. of Parth.
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	Parian	Attic	north wall
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	island (D.)	Attic/Ionic (D.)	—
pol. diad.	—	—	—	chit. mantle	Pent.	Attic/Chios?	w. of Parth.
ear.	—	—	—	chit. him.	Parian	Attic/Ionic (D.)	s. w. of Parth.
taenia	—	neckb.	—	chit. him.	Parian	Cycladic	w. of Parth.
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	island	Cycladic	e. of Erech.
neckl.	—	—	—	chit. him.	Parian	Cycladic	e. of Erech.
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	Pent.	Attic	—
ear. diad.	diad.	—	—	—	Parian	—	n. w. of Erech.
—	—	—	—	—	Attic/island (D.)	Attic	w. of Parth.

SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW OF THE ATTIC KORAI (continued)

NO.	AKR. NO.	L. NO., R. NO.	DATE	SURVIVING CONDITION	REC. SIZE	SURV. SIZE	MENISKOS
62.	Akr. 605	L. 12	500–490	stat. w/o h. w/o ft.	lg. stat.	47 cm	w/o head
63.	Akr. 676	L. 49, R. 183	500–490	stat. w/o ft.	lg. stat.	68.7 cm	—
64.	Akr. 600	L. 52	500–490	stat. w/o h. w/o ft.	under life	59 cm	w/o head
65.	Akr. 604	L. 35	500–490	st. w/o h. w/o ft.	life size	99 cm	w/o head
66.	Akr. 685	L. 47, R. 181	500–490	st. w/o ft.	life size	122 cm	x
67.	Akr. 303	L. 111	500–490	head	under life	16.5 cm	—
68.	NM 60	R. 186	500–475	head	under life	16.5 cm	—
69.	Akr. 687	L. 19	490	stat. w/o ft.	lg. stat.	61 cm	—
70.	Akr. 628	L. 36	490	torso	under life	29 cm	w/o head
71.	Akr. 684	L. 55, R. 182	490	st. w/o ft.	life size	119 cm	x
72.	Akr. 588	L. 17	490	torso	under life	16 cm	w/o head
73.	Akr. 641	L. 104, R. 187	490	head	sm. stat.	6.7 cm	—
74.	Akr. 650	L. 105	490	head	lg. stat.	12.4 cm	—
75.	Akr. 616	L. 106, R. 129	490	head	life size	23 cm	—
76.	Akr. 651	L. 107	490	head	lg. stat.	16 cm	—
77.	Akr. 649	L. 108	490	head	lg. stat.	13.3 cm	—
78.	NM 24	R. 185	490–480	stat. w/o ft.	sm. stat.	69 cm	w/o head
79.	Akr. 615	L. 56, R. 125	490–480	st. w/o ft.	under life	92 cm	w/o head
80.	Akr. 688	L. 21, R. 184	480	st. w/o ft.	under life	51.5 cm	—
81.	Akr. 686/609	L. 37, R. 180	480	statue	life size	58.9 cm, w/o basis 41 cm, basis	—
82.	Akr. 627	L. 50	480	torso	under life	46.5 cm	w/o head
83.	Akr. 646	L. 99	480	head	lg. stat.	11.9 cm	—
84.	Akr. 640	L. 113	480	head	sm. stat.	11.9 cm	—
85.	Akr. 664	L. 114	480	head	sm. stat.	14 cm	—
86.	Akr. 648	L. 109, R. 130	480	head	under life	11.9 cm	—
87.	Agr. S 1358	H. no. 72	600–550	frag.	under life	12.5 cm	—
88.	Agr. S 205	H. no. 74	525–500	frag.	life size	22.2 cm	—
89.	Agr. S 2026	H. no. 76	525–500	frag.	under life	17 cm	—
90.	Agr. S 1957	H. no. 80	525–500	frag.	under life	18 cm	—
91.	Agr. S 1931	H. no. 81	520–510	frag.	life size	11.5 cm	—
92.	Agr. S 2106	H. no. 77	520–510	frag.	life size	11.5 cm	—
93.	Agr. S 1131	H. no. 75	510–500	frag.	lg. stat.	8.8 cm	—
94.	Agr. S 1071	H. no. 73	500–490	head	life size	23.5 cm	—
95.	Agr. S 2476	— no. 73A	500–490	head	half life size	—	x
96.	Agr. S 1785	H. no. 78	500–490	frag.	life size	20 cm	—
97.	Agr. S 1483	H. no. 79	500–490	frag.	lg. stat.	14.5 cm	—

CARVED ORNAMENT	METAL ORNAMENT	PAINTED ORNAMENT	ATTRIBUTE	CLOTHING	MARBLE	ARTIST	FIND SPOT
—	—	—	—	chit. mantle	island	Attic	w. of Parth.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	chit. him.	Pent.	Attic	e. of Parth.
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	Pent./island (D.)	Attic	w. of Parth.
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	island	Attic	w. of Parth.
ear. diad. brac.	diad.	—	dove	chit. him.	Parian	Attic/Ionic (D.)	s. w. of Parth.
diad.	ear.	—	—	—	Attic	—	—
diad.	—	—	—	—	island?	—	Eleusis
ear. diad.	—	—	—	chit. mantle	Attic island (D.)	Attic/Ionic (D.)	e. of Parth.
—	—	—	—	chit. him.	island/Parian (D.)	Attic	w. of Parth.
ear. diad. brac.	—	—	—	chit. him. mantle	island	Attic/Chios?	e. of Parth.
—	—	—	—	—	island	Attic/Ionic (D.)	—
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	island	Cycl./Att./Ion. (D.)	n. w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	island	Attic/Ionic (D.)	n. w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	island	Attic	—
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	Parian	Attic/Ionic (D.)	w. of Parth.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	Parian	insular	n. w. of Erech.
diad.	diad.	—	—	chit. him.	undetermined	—	Eleusis
—	—	—	—	chit. him. mantle	island (D.)	Attic	—
diad.	—	—	—	chit. cloak	Pent.	Attic	Prop.
taenia	—	—	—	chit. him.	Pent.	Attic	e. of Parth. Erech.
—	neckl.	—	—	chit. him.	island/Pent. (D.)	Cycladic/Attic	—
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	Parian	Attic/Ionic (D.)	n. w. of Erech.
diad.	ear.	—	—	—	island	Attic/Ionic (D.)	n. w. of Erech.
kerchief	—	—	—	—	Parian	Attic	n. w. of Erech.
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	island/Parian?	Attic	—
—	—	—	—	—	island	Attic	Agora
—	—	—	—	him.	Parian	Attic	w. of Agora
—	—	—	—	—	Parian	Attic	Agora
—	—	—	—	—	island	Attic	e. of Odeion
—	—	—	—	—	Parian?	Attic	S Agora
—	—	—	—	—	Parian	Attic	Agora
—	—	—	—	—	Pent.	Attic	Agora
ear. diad.	stephane	—	—	—	Parian?	Attic	Agora
ear. diad.	—	—	—	—	—	Attic	Agora
—	—	—	—	him.	Parian?	Attic	Agora
—	—	—	—	him.	Parian?	Attic	Agora

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12a–b, 1743 no. 11A, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. SK7583, DAI Athens neg. Samos 6634
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13, no. 14, Vathy, DAI Athens neg. Samos 6612
13, no. 15, Vathy (missing), DAI Athens neg. Samos 1076
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224a, A4068, Delos: K. Karakasi
225b, A4068, Delos: K. Karakasi
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240, Akr. 654, Athens: K. Kontos, Athens
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Abbreviations Used in Cited Sources

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAA	*Archaiologika analekta ex Athenon*
AbhMainz	*Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz*
ADelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion*
Aegina 1906	A. Furtwängler et al., *Aegina. Das Heiligtum der Aphaia* (1906)
AEphem	*Archaiologike Ephemeris*
AErgoMak	*To archailogiko ergo ste Makedonia kai Thrake*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
Akurgal 1961	E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (1961)
Akurgal 1987	E. Akurgal, *Griechische und römische Kunst in der Türkei* (1987)
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
AMA	*Archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*
AntK	*Antike Kunst*
AntPl	*Antike Plastik*
AnzAW	*Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft*
ArchHom	F. Matz and H. G. Buchholz, eds., *Archaeologia Homerica*
ARepLond	*Archaeological Reports. Supplement to the Journal of Hellenic Studies*
Athens 1986	*Archaische und Klassische griechische Plastik – Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22.–25. April 1985 in Athen* (1986)
Athens 1988	*Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June 1986* (1988)
AWarsz	*Archeologia* (Warsaw)
AZ	*Archäologische Zeitung*
Bakalakis 1990	G. Bakalakis, Οἶνος Ἰσμαρικός. Τιμητικός τόμος γιά τόν καθηγητή Γ. Μπακαλάκη II (1990)
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BEFAR	*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
Beloch 1912ff.	K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* I–IV (1912–27)
Bengtson 1960	H. Bengtson, "Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit," *HdArch* III 4 (2nd ed. 1960)
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BMC	*Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1873–)
Boardman 1967	J. Boardman, "Excavations in Chios 1952–1955. Greek Emporio," *BSA* suppl. 6 (1967)
Boardman 1981a	J. Boardman, *Griechische Plastik. Die archaische Zeit* (1981)
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Boreas	*Boreas. Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie*
Boschung 1985	D. Boschung, "Ein thasischer Korenkopf in Basel," *AntK* 28 (1985), pp. 146ff.
Brouskari 1974	M. Brouskari, Μουσείον'Ακροπόλεως. Περιγραφικός Κατάλογος (1974)
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Bruneau/Ducat	Ph. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (3rd ed. 1983)
BSA	*Annual of the British School in Athens*
Burkert 1977	W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion* (1977)
Burkert 1990	W. Burkert, *Wilder Ursprung* (1990)
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Chios 1986	*Chios. A Conference at the Homereion in Chios 1984*, ed. J. Boardman and C. E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson (1986)
Chiron	*Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
ClQu	*Classical Quarterly*
ClRh	*Clara Rhodos*
Courbin 1980	P. Courbin, "L'oikos des Naxiens," *Délos* XXXIII (1980)
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris)
Croissant 1983	F. Croissant, *Les protomés féminines archaïques. Recherches sur les représentations du visage dans la plastique grecque de 550 à 480 avant J.-C.* (1983)
Daux 1967	G. Daux, *Guide de Thasos* (1967)

Délos	*Exploration archéologique de Délos*
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Deyhle 1969	W. Deyhle, "Meisterfragen der archaischen Plastik Attikas," *AM* 84 (1969), pp. 1ff.
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Ergon	*Ergon tes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*
Ehrhardt 1983	N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (1983)
EpigrAnat	*Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens*
Ergon	*Ergon tes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*
Fos Kykladikon 1999	Φώς Κυκλαδικόν. Τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη του Νίκου Ζαφειρόπουλου (1999)
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GGA	*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger*
Gnomon	*Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft*
Goodchild 1971	R. G. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia* (1971)
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Hermes	*Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*
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IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873–)
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IstForsch	*Istanbuler Forschungen*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
Jacob-Felsch 1969	M. Jacob-Felsch, *Die Entwicklung griechischer Statuenbasen und die Aufstellung der Statuen* (1969)
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
Jeffery 1961	L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (1961)
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
Johansen 1994	F. Johansen et al., *Greece in the Archaic Period,* catalogue, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (1994)
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LibyaAnt	*Libya antiqua*
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich and Munich 1974–)
Lippold 1950	G. Lippold, "Die griechische Plastik," *HdArch* III 1 (1950)
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Marble 1990	*Marble. Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture. Symposium J. Paul Getty Museum April 1988* (1990)
MarbWPr	*Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*
Martini 1990	W. Martini, *Die archaische Plastik der Griechen* (1990)
MdI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

Meletemata	*Meletemata Series.* L. G. Mendoni and A. Mazarakis Ainian, eds. Research Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Department of History, Ionian University
MemLinc	*Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie*
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Milet I 3	G. Kawerau and A. Rehm, "Das Delphinion in Milet," *Milet* I 3 (1914)
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Milet II 2	Th. Wiegand, "Die milesische Landschaft," *Milet* II 2 (1929)
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Milet III 5	A. Philippson, "Das südliche Ionien," *Milet* III 5 (1936)
Mnemosyne	*Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca classica batava*
MonPiot	*Monuments et mémoires. Fondation E. Piot*
MüJb	*Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*
Muthmann 1982	F. Muthmann, *Der Granatapfel, Symbol des Lebens in der Alten Welt* (1982)
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OxfJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
Özgan 1970	R. Özgan, *Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik Ioniens* (1978)
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Philologus	*Philologus. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*
Pötscher 1987	W. Pötscher, *Hera* (1987)
Poulsen 1960	V. Poulsen in Ch. Blinckenberg and K. F. Kinch, *Lindos, Fouilles et L'Acropole 1902–1914* (1960)
Prakt	*Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias*
Pryce 1928	F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum* I 1 (1928)
RA	*Revue archéologique*
Raubitschek 1949	A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis. A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries* B.C. (1949)

RE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1893–)
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
Reuterswärd 1960	P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik, Griechenland und Rom* (1960)
RheinMus	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
Richter 1968	G. M. A. Richter, *Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens* (1968)
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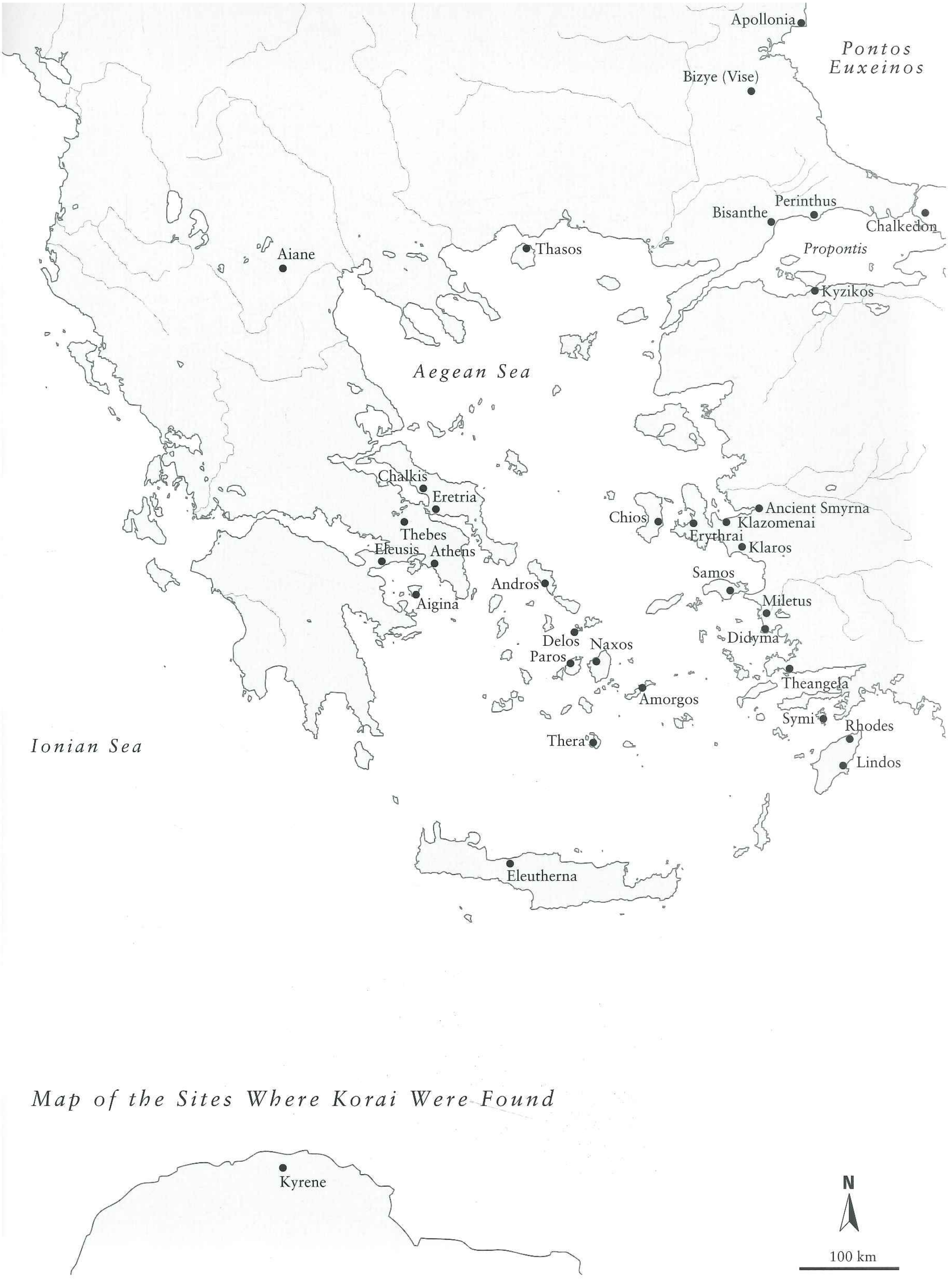

Apollonia
Pontos Euxeinos
Bizye (Vise)
Perinthus
Bisanthe
Chalkedon
Propontis
Kyzikos
Thasos
Aiane
Aegean Sea
Chalkis
Eretria
Thebes
Eleusis
Athens
Aigina
Andros
Chios
Erythrai
Klazomenai
Ancient Smyrna
Klaros
Samos
Miletus
Didyma
Delos
Naxos
Paros
Amorgos
Theangela
Symi
Rhodes
Lindos
Thera
Ionian Sea
Eleutherna
Kyrene
N
100 km

Map of the Sites Where Korai Were Found

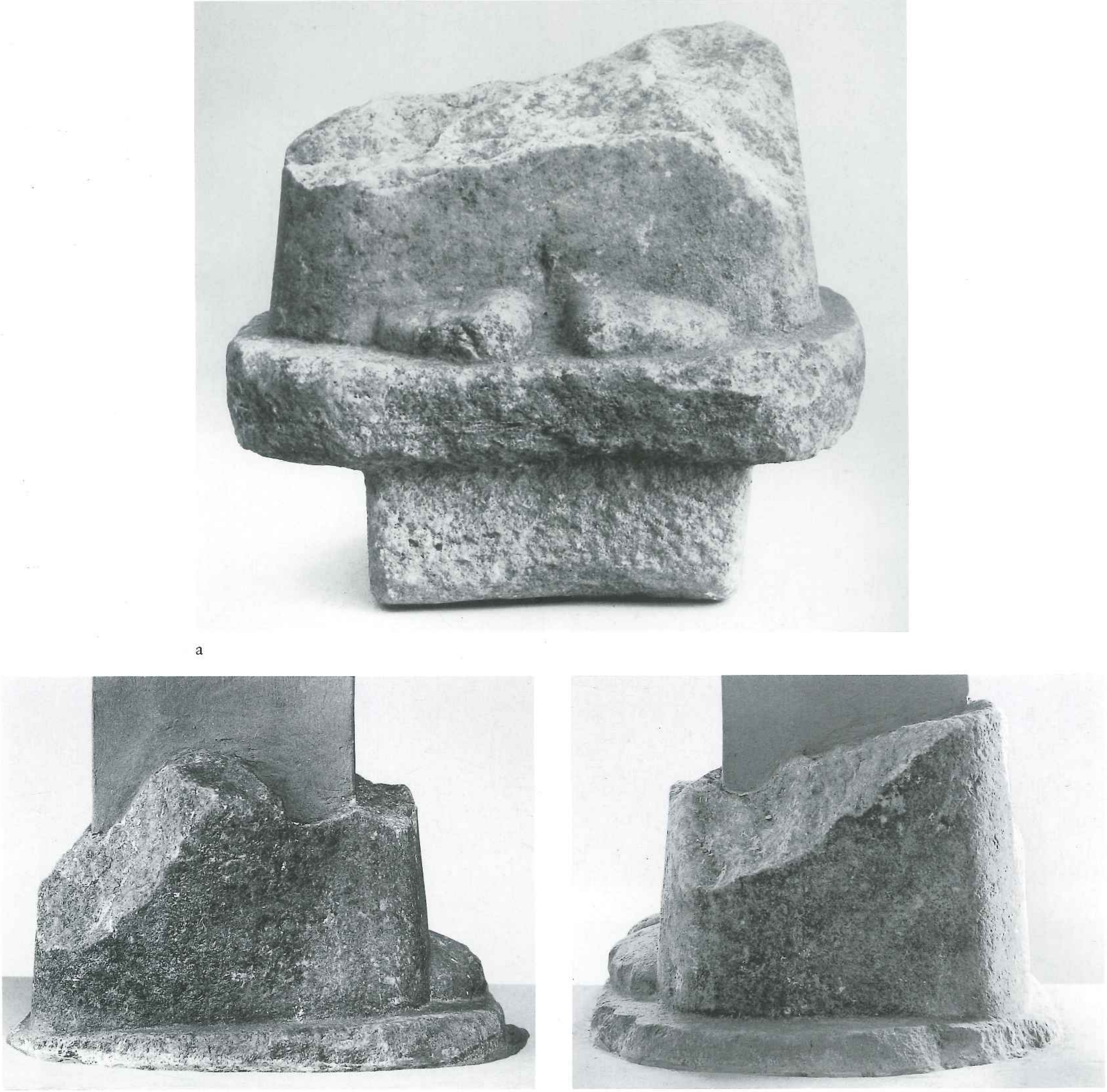
PLATES

Black-and-White Plates:

Samos	Plates 1–30
Didyma	Plates 31–35
Miletus	Plates 36–49
Ancient Smyrna	Plate 50
Theangela	Plate 51
Klaros	Plate 52
Crete	Plate 53
Erythrai	Plates 54–56
Klazomenai	Plate 57
Raidesto	Plates 58–59
Kyzikos	Plate 60
Chalkedon	Plate 61
Delos	Plates 62–73
Naxos	Plate 74
Andros	Plate 75
Thera	Plate 76
Paros	Plates 77–84
Amorgos	Plate 85
Thasos	Plates 86, 90
Delphi	Plates 87–88
Athens	Plates 88–89
Chios	Plates 91–94
Kyrene	Plates 95–101
Aigina	Plates 102–104
Rhodes	Plates 105–107
Attika:	
Rentis	Plates 108–109
Moschato	Plate 110
Keratea	Plates 111–113
Myrrhinous/Merenda	Plates 114–115
Vourva	Plate 116
Eleusis	Plates 117–123
Laurion (?)	Plate 124
Athens	Plates 88–89, 125–209
Boeotia	Plates 210–211
Aiane	Plate 212

Color Plates:

Delos	Plates 213–227
Andros	Plates 228–229
Attika:	
Rentis	Plates 230–233
Keratea	Plate 234
Myrrhinous/Merenda	Plates 235–237
Athens	Plates 238–278

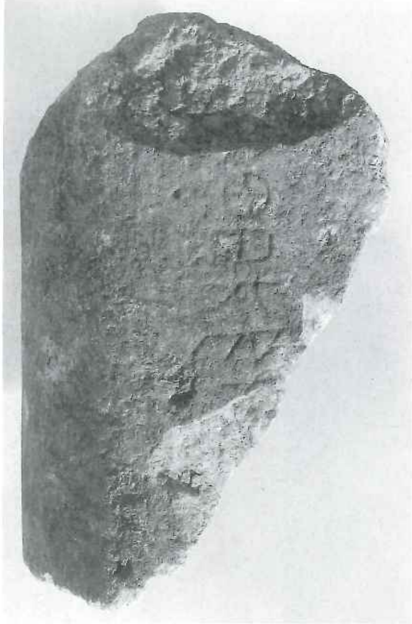


a

b

c

1 *Vathy, Museum*



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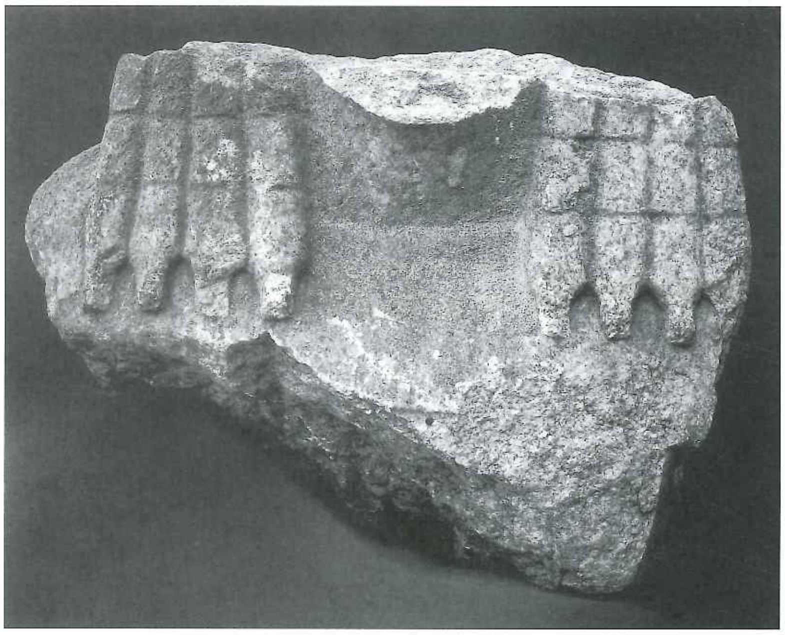

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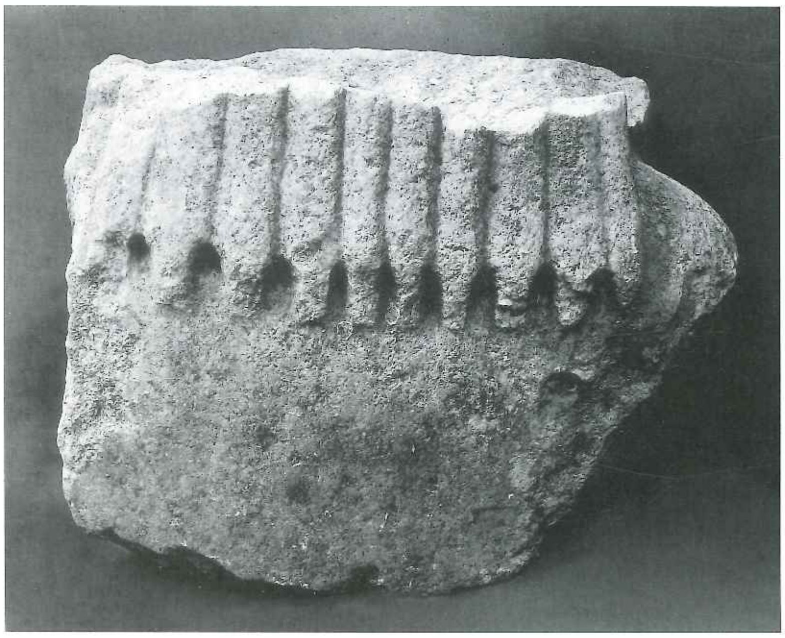

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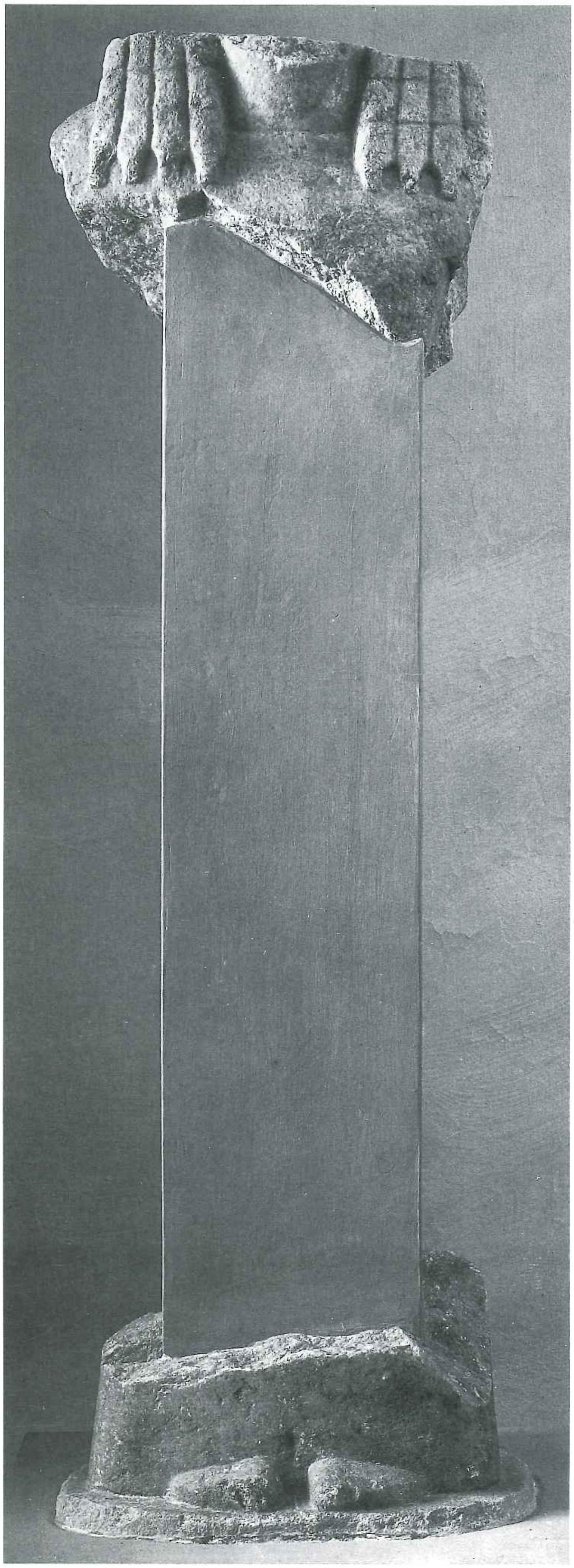
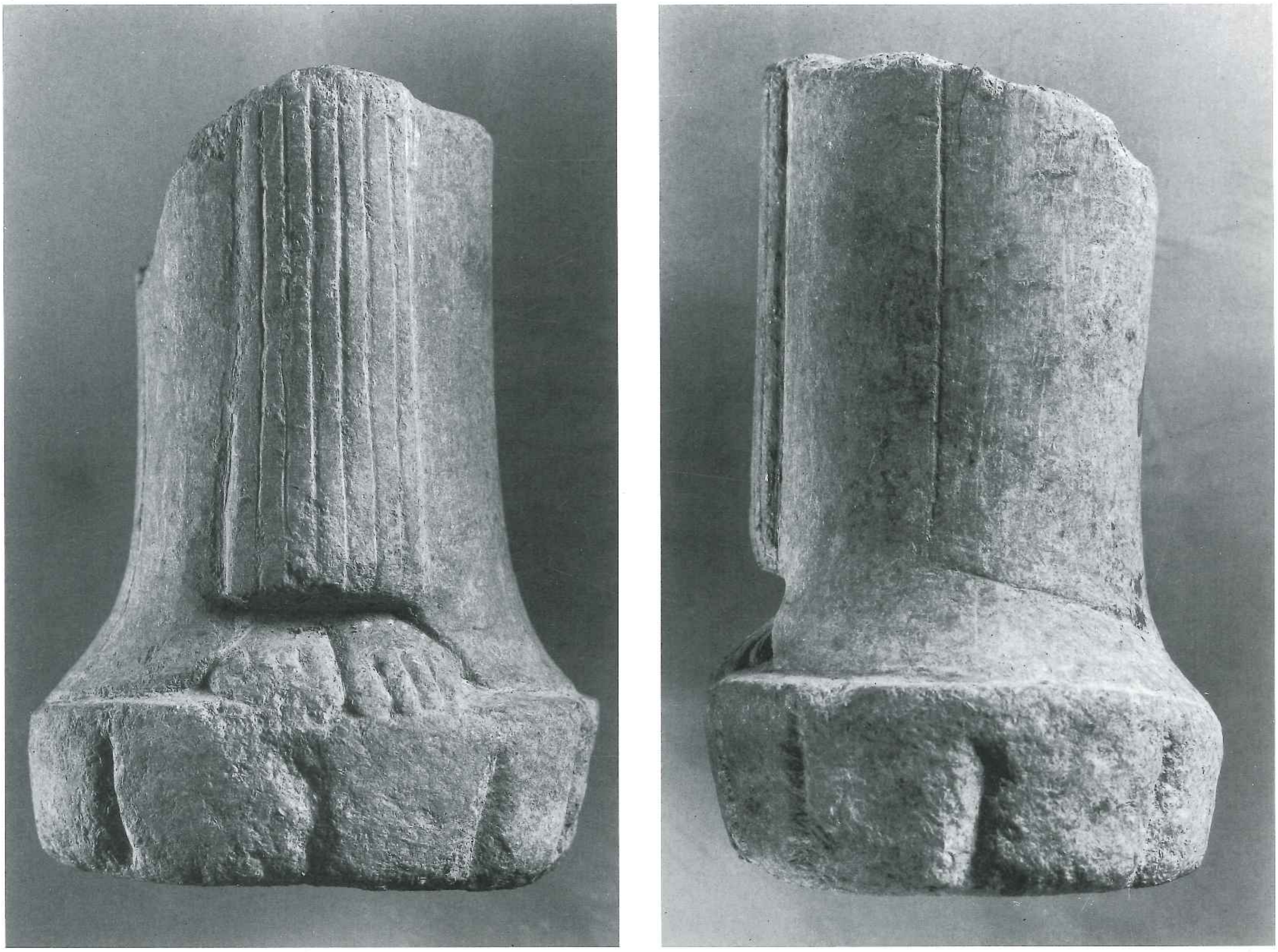


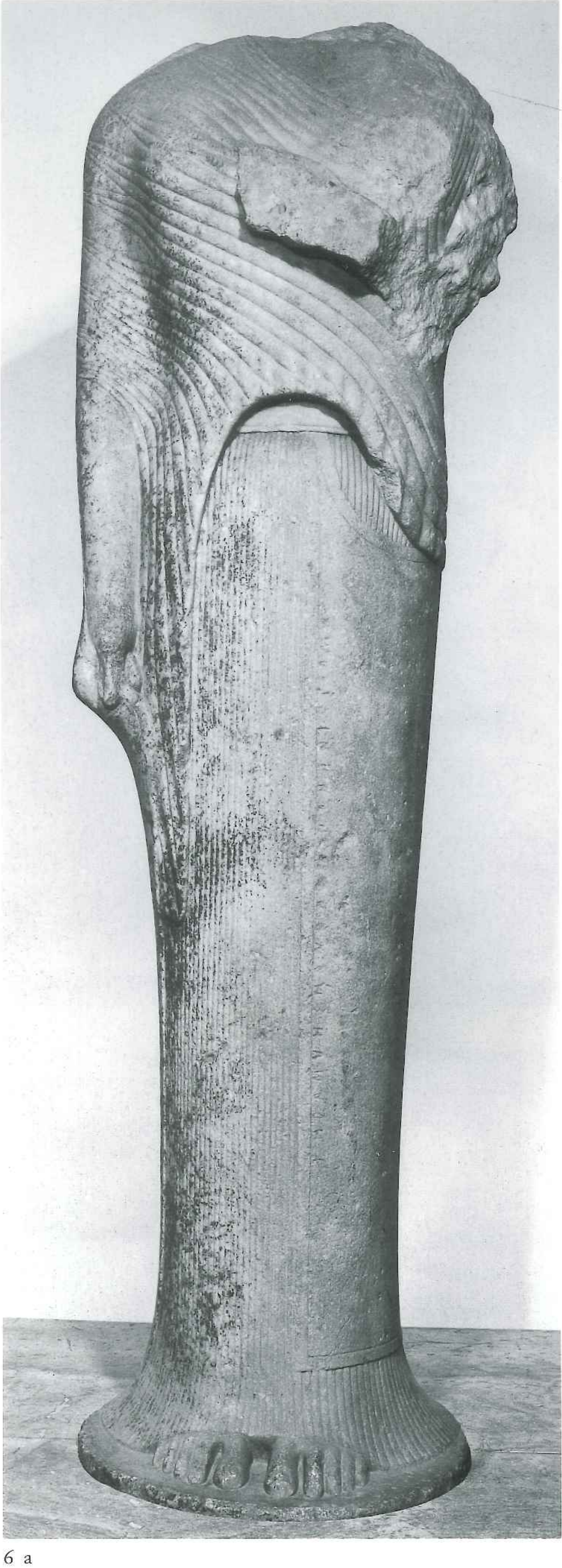
3A c

2B and 3A *Vathy, Museum*



a b

5 *Vathy, Museum*



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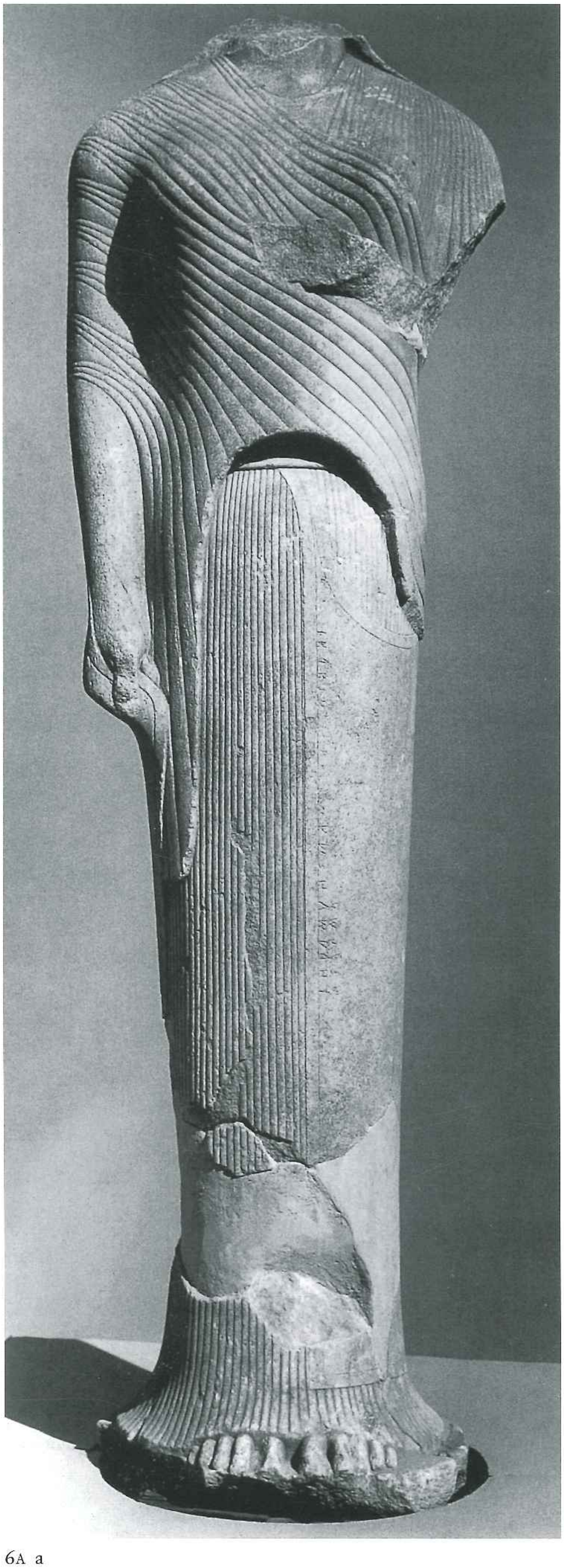
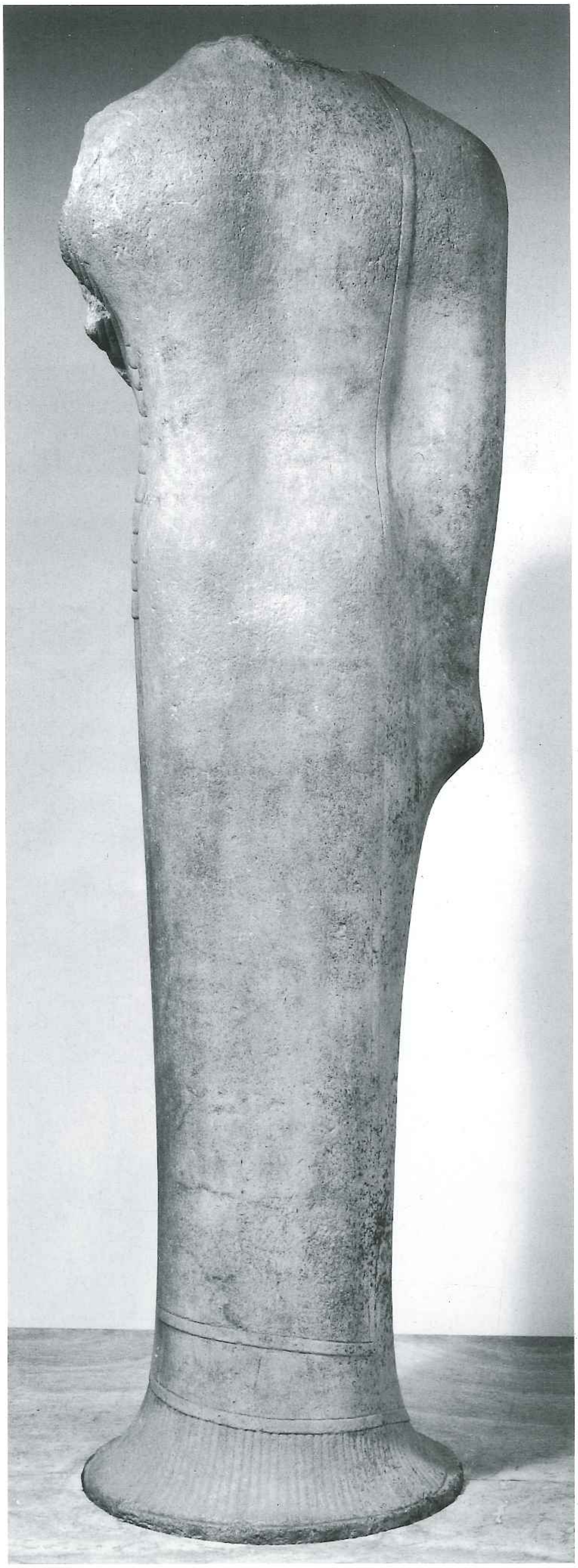


6A a

6 Paris, Louvre · 6A Vathy, Museum



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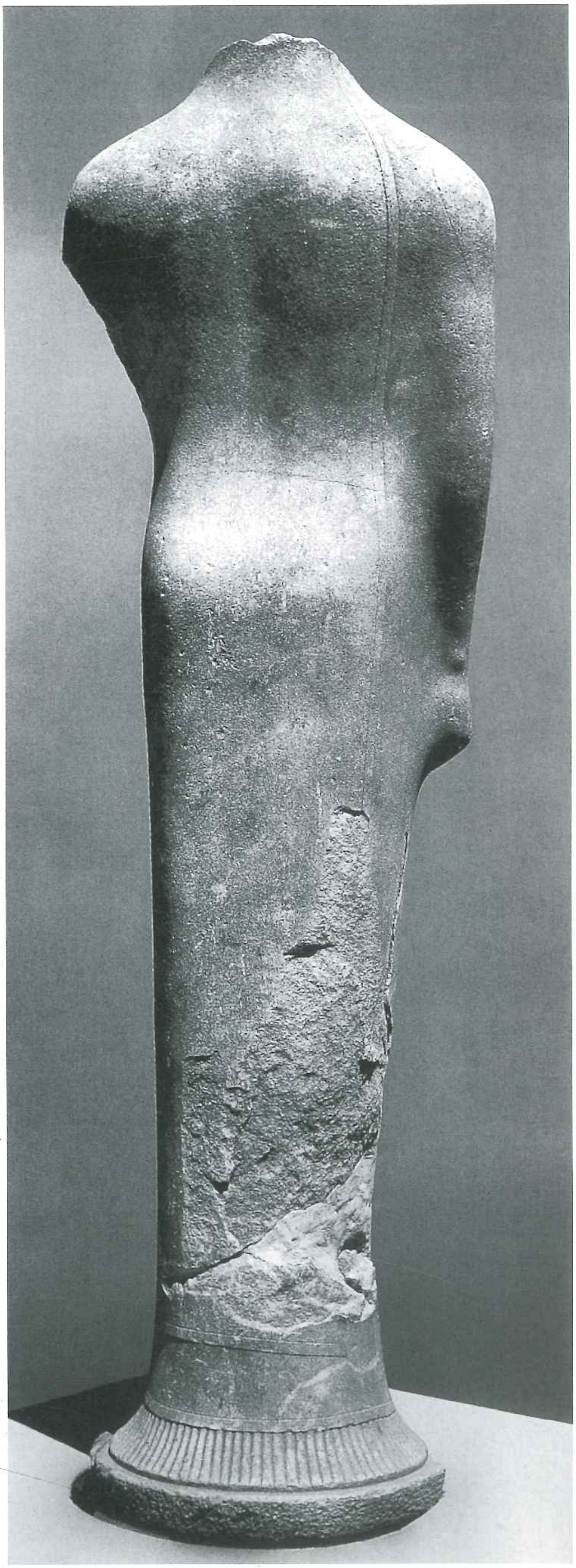

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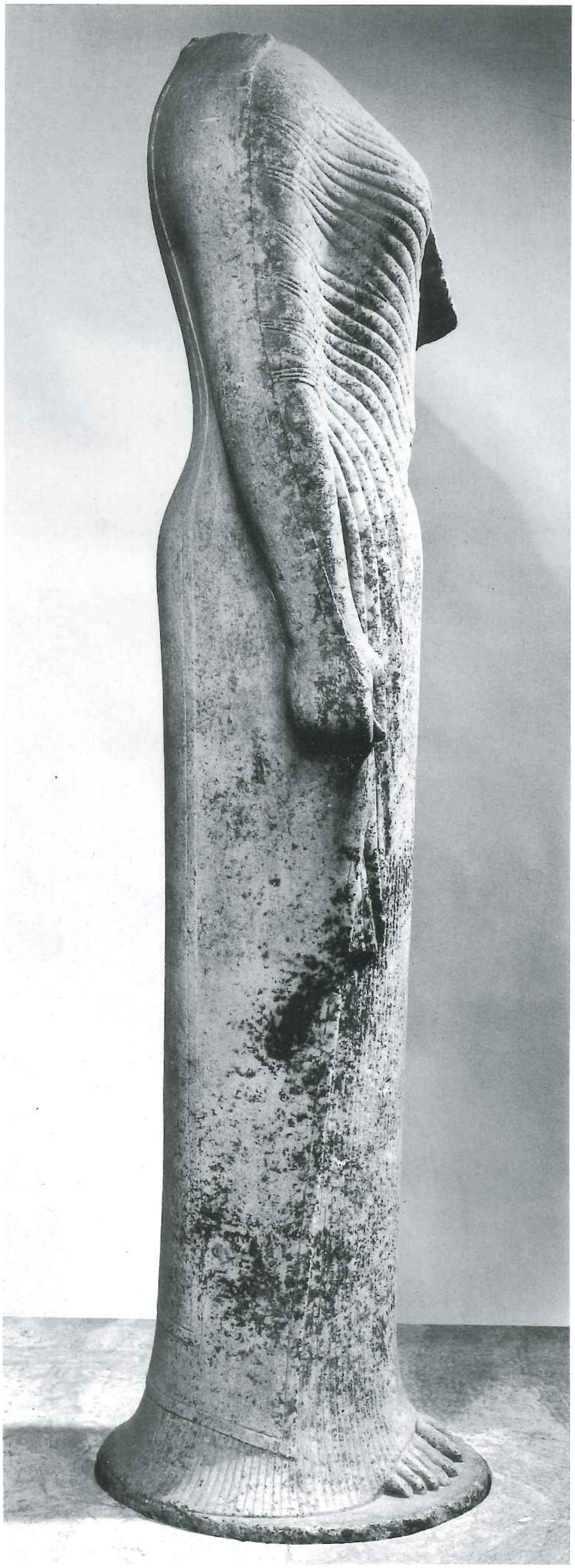
6 Paris, Louvre · 6A *Vathy, Museum*



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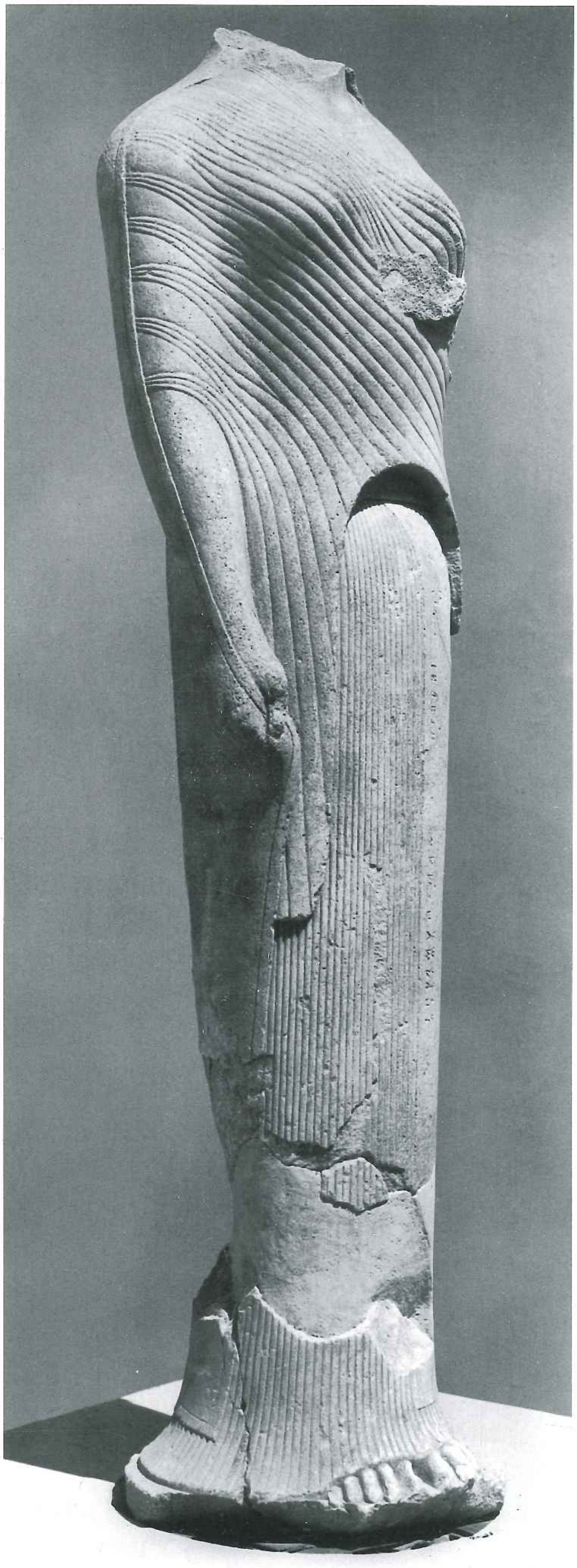

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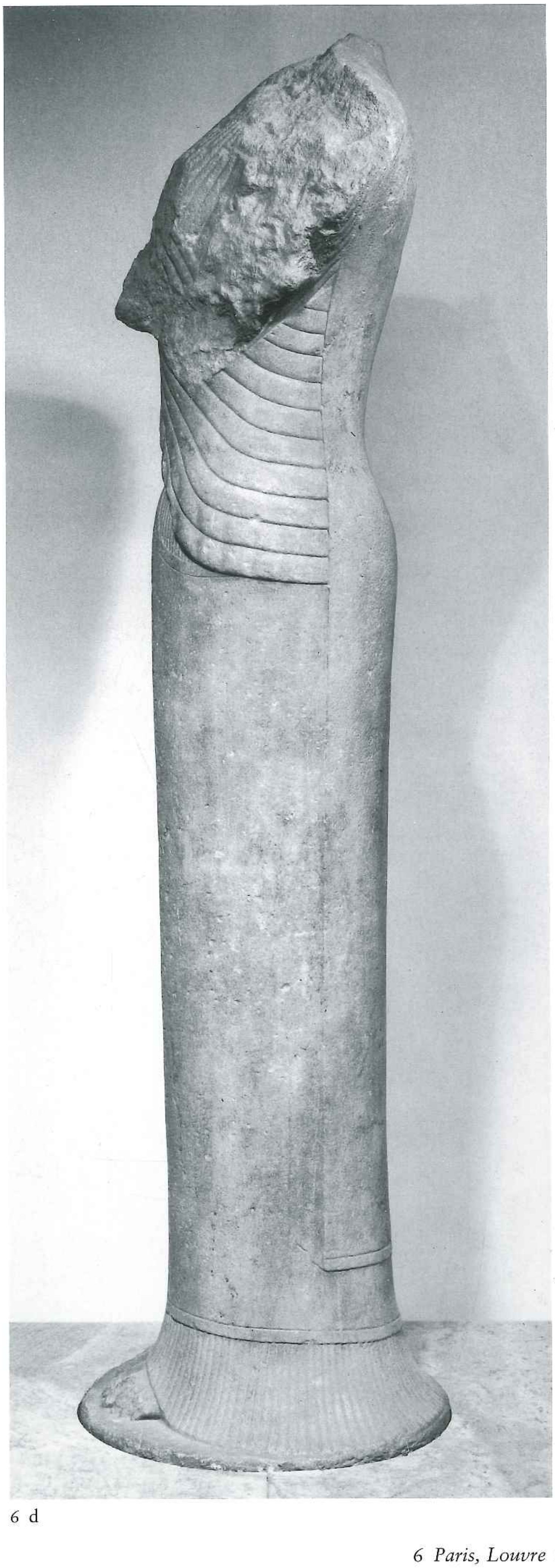
6 *Paris, Louvre* · 6A *Vathy, Museum*



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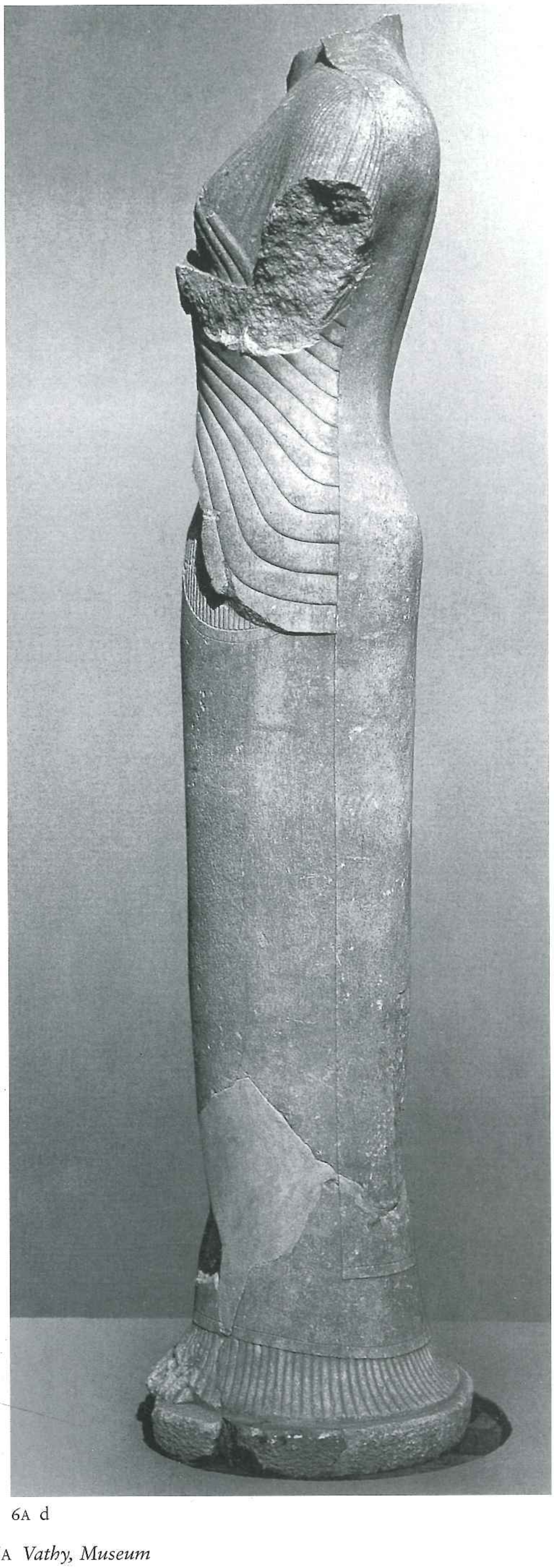
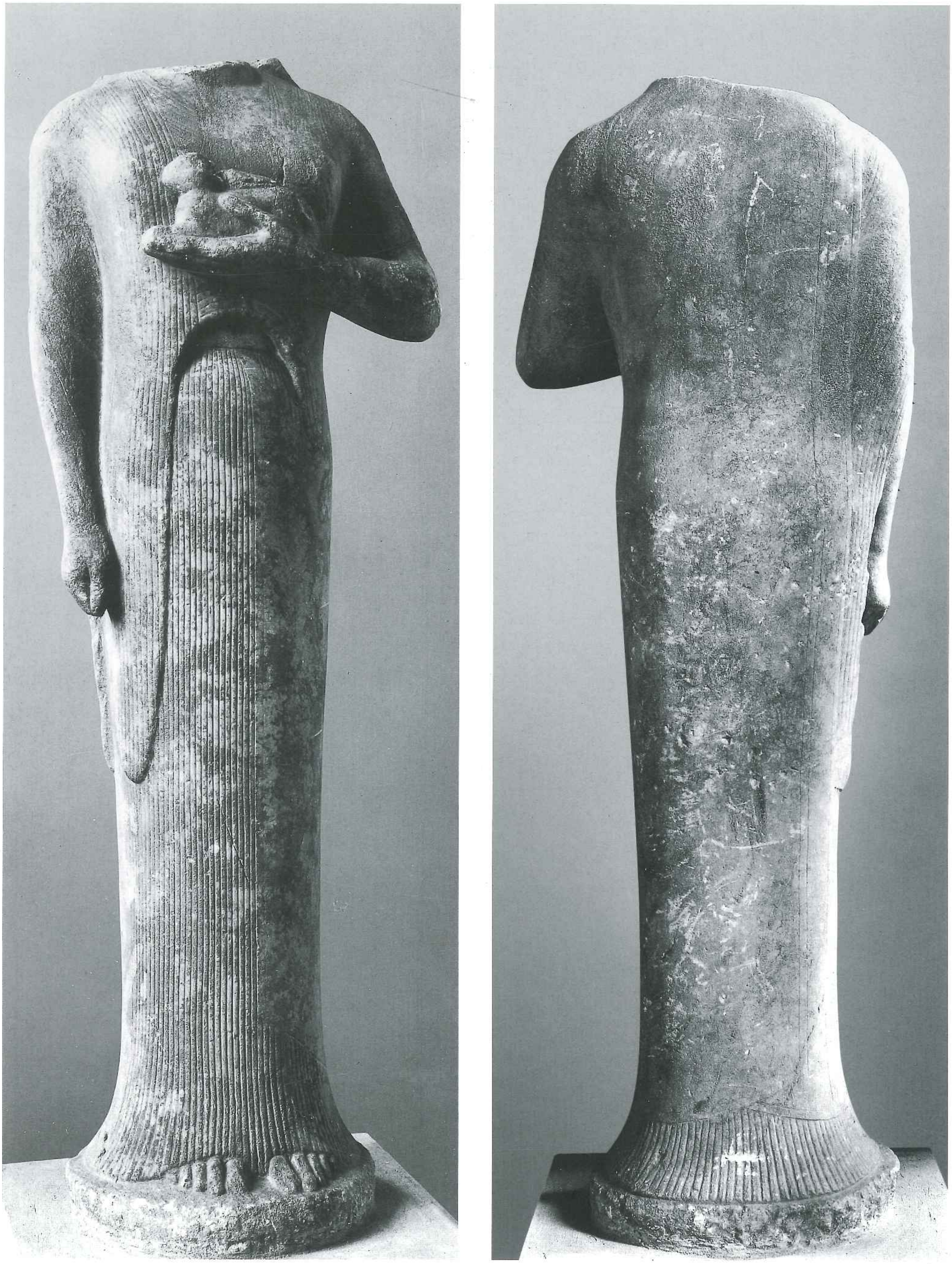


6A d

6 Paris, Louvre · 6A *Vathy, Museum*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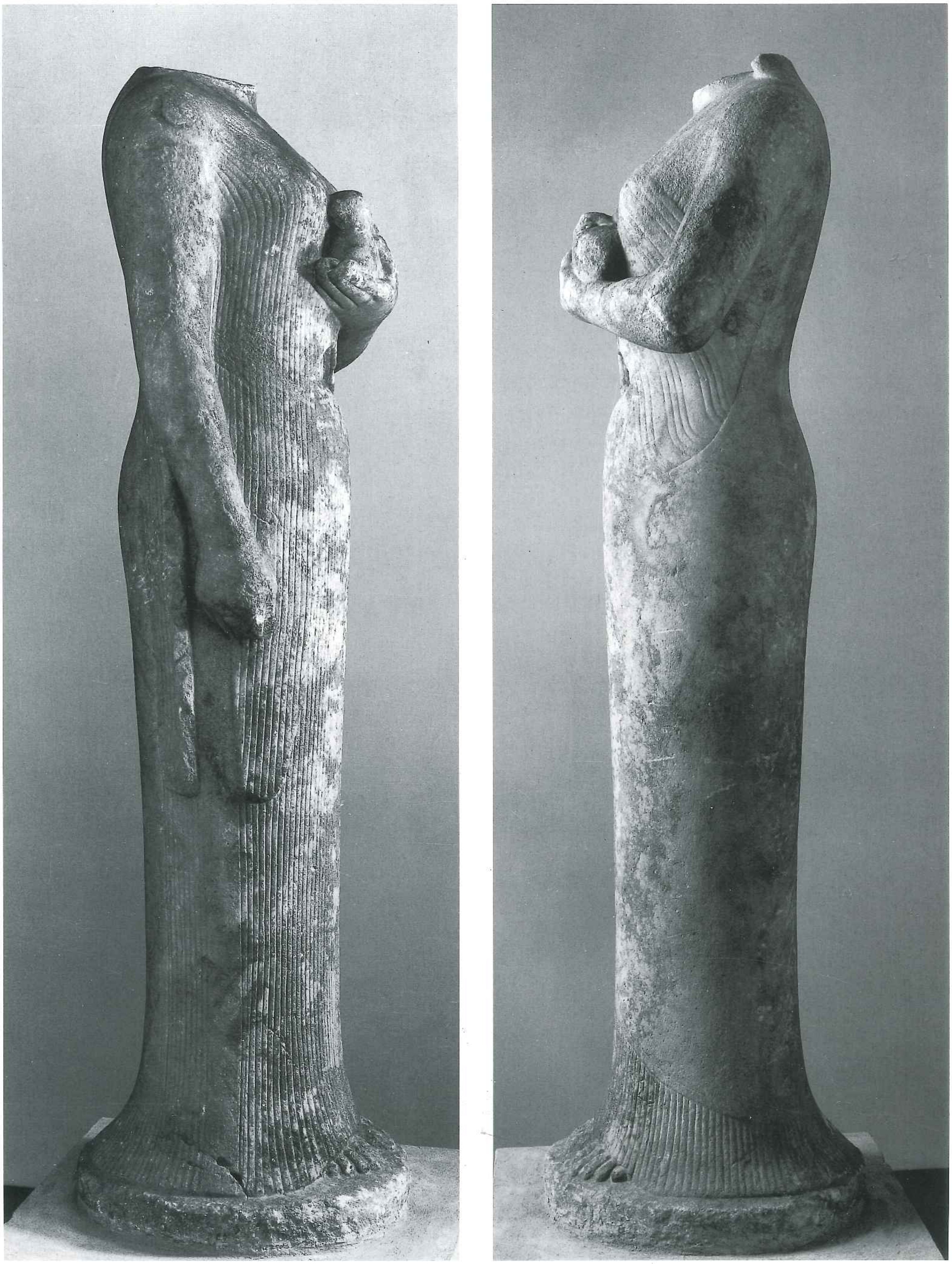
7 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



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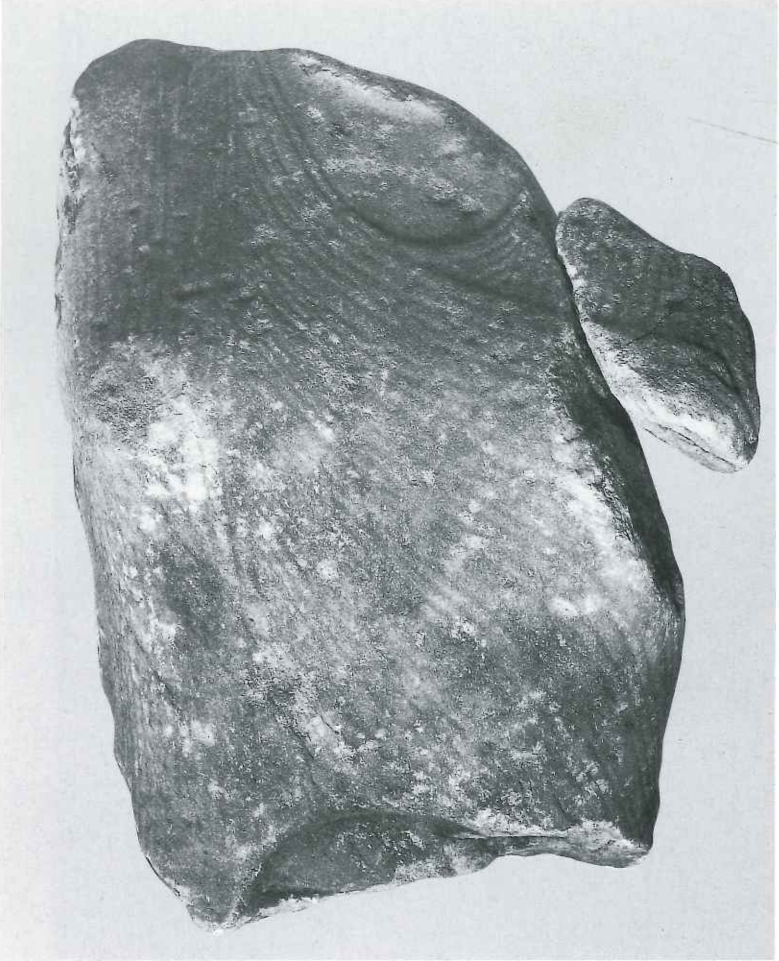

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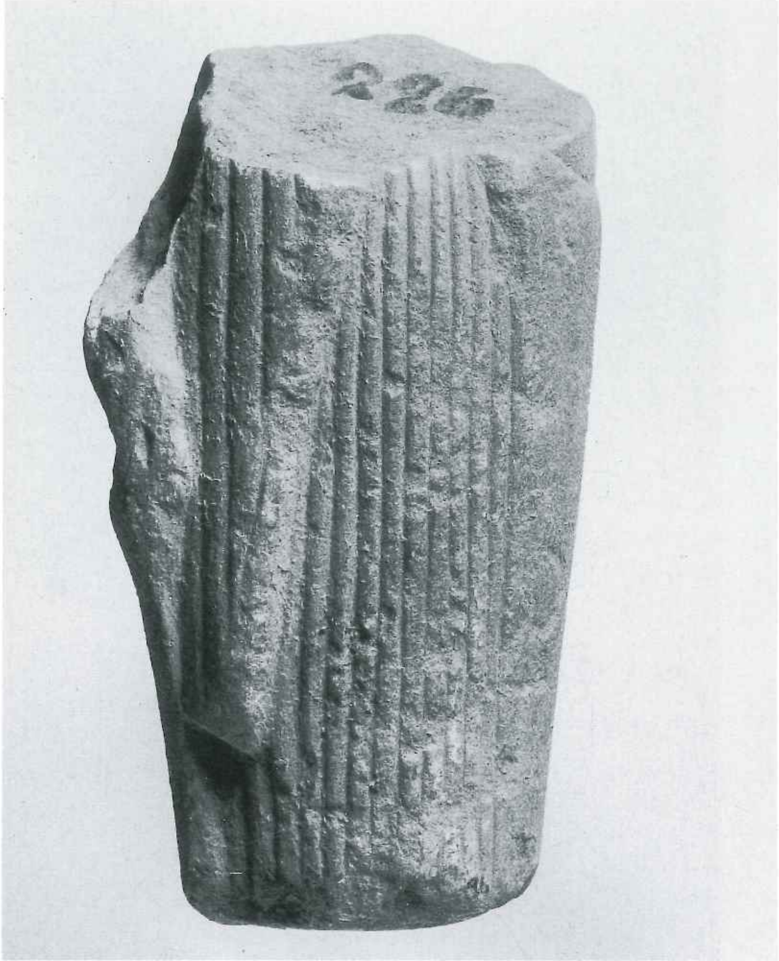

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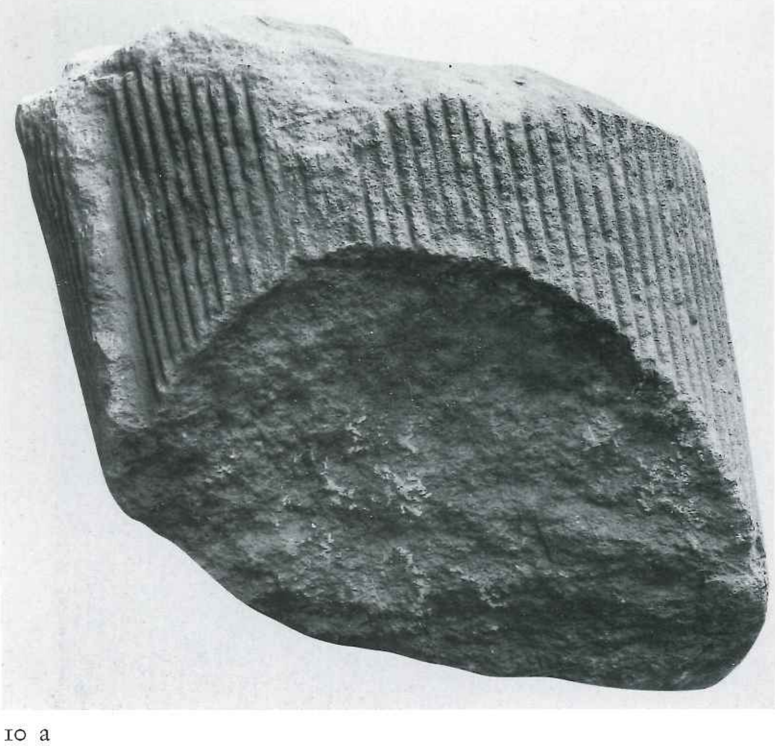

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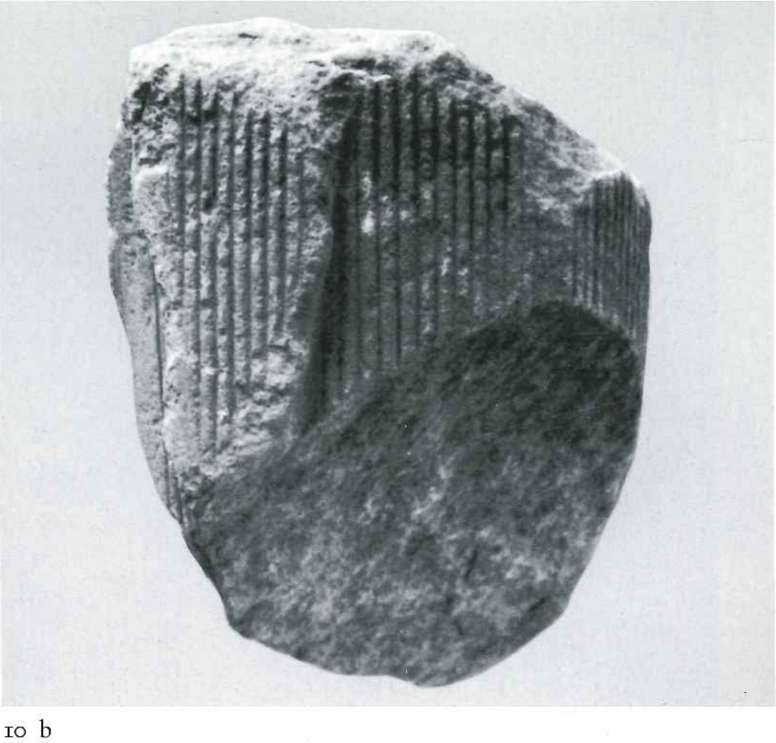

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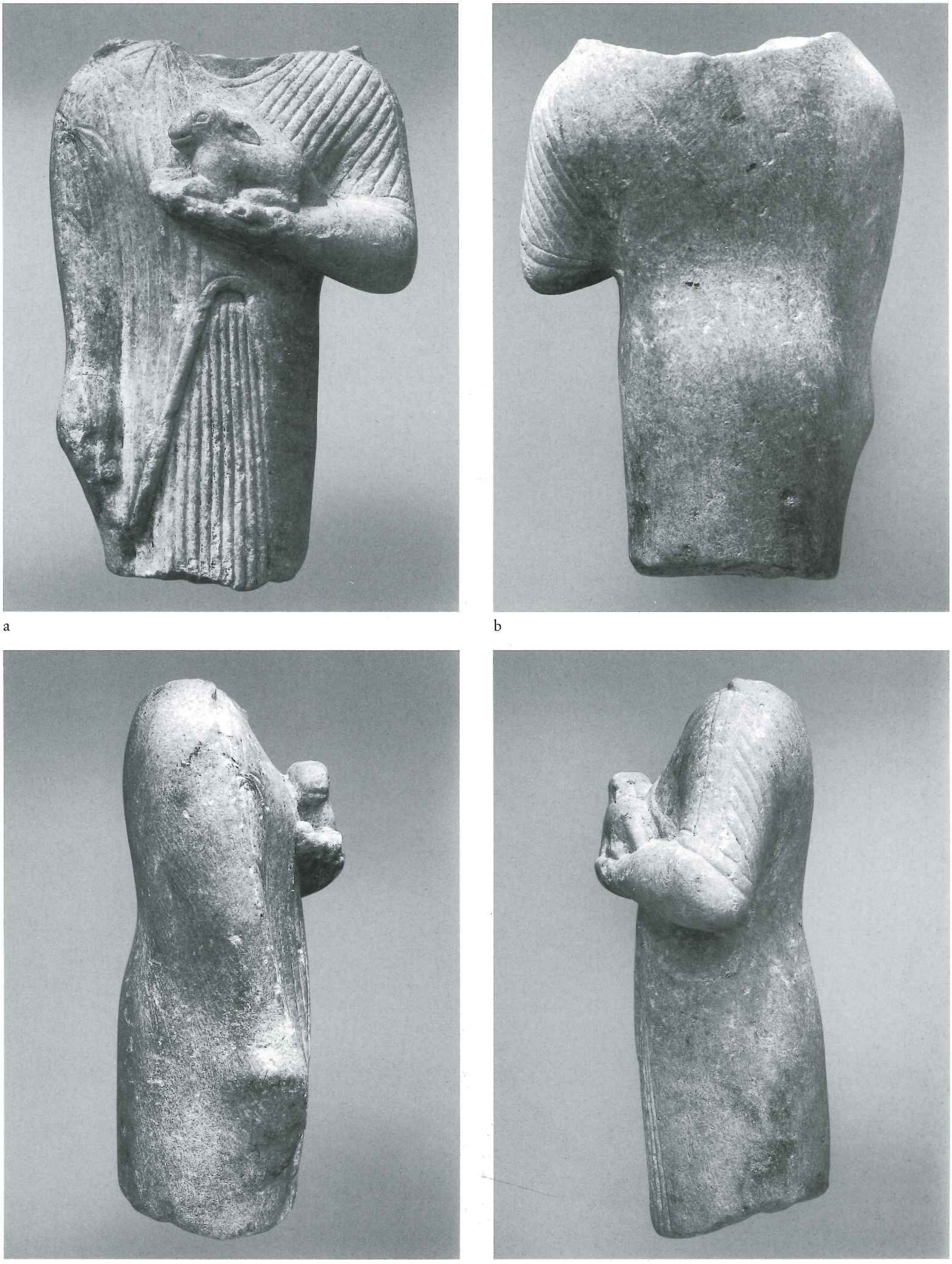
8, 9, and 10 *Vathy, Museum*



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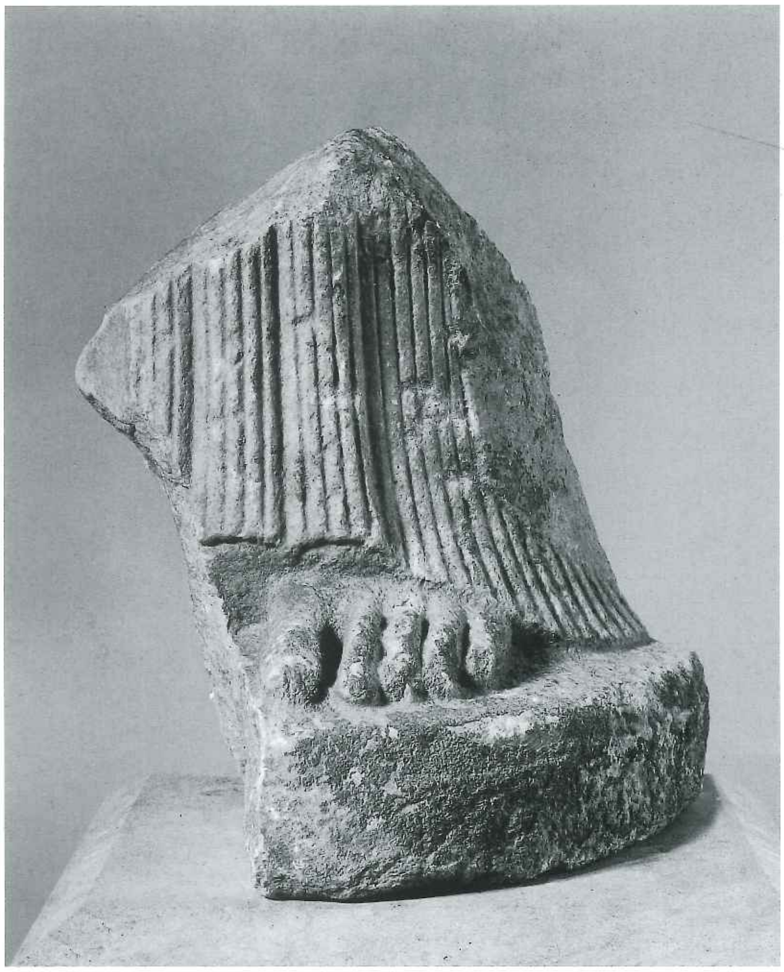
9A *Vathy, Museum*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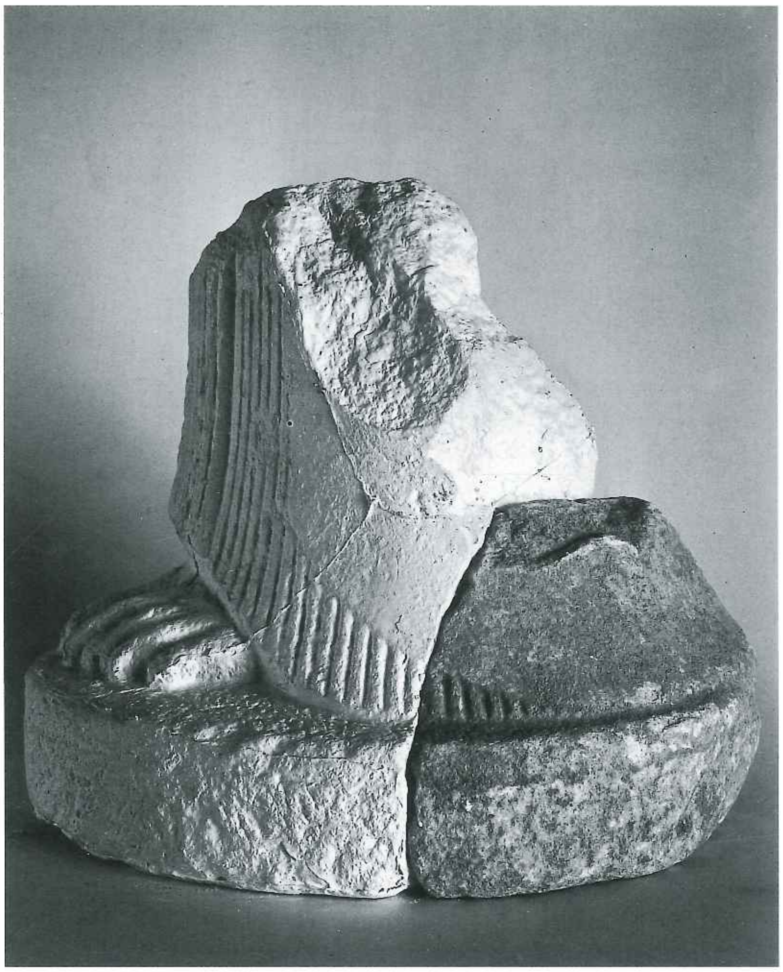
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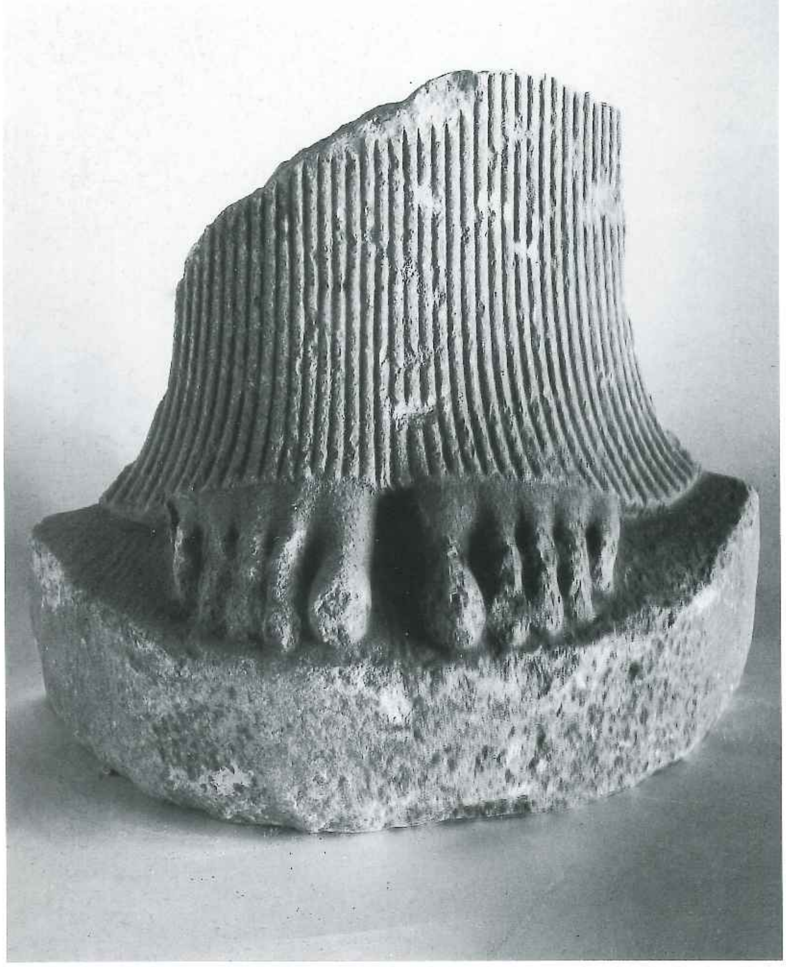
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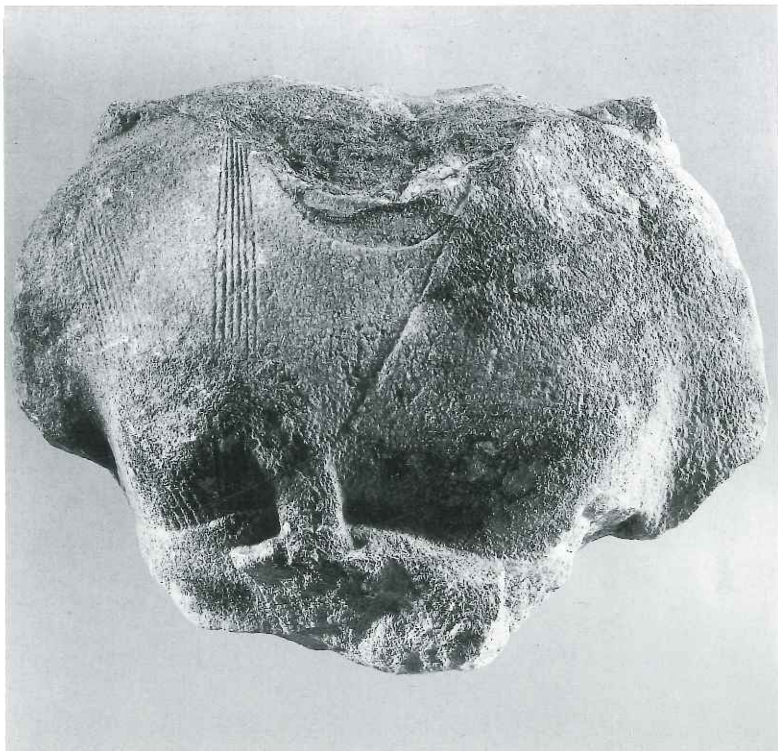

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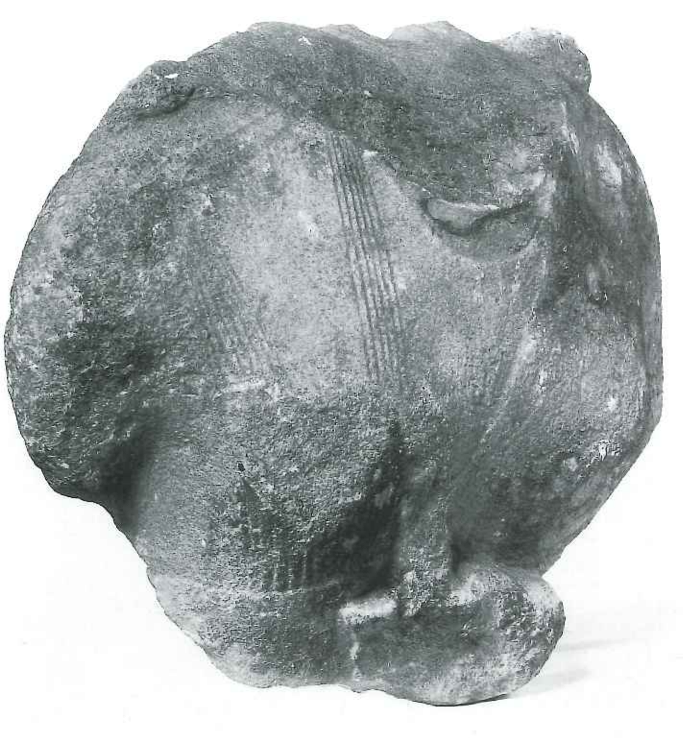

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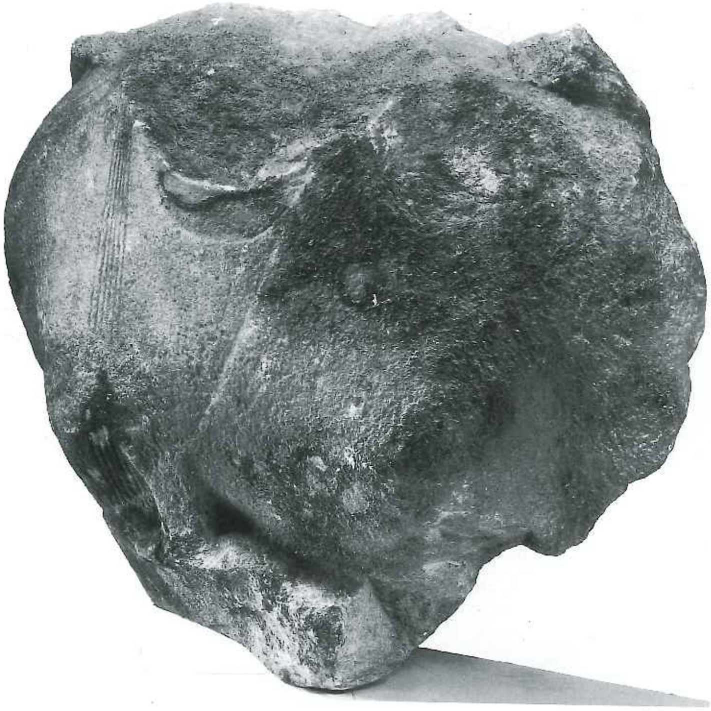

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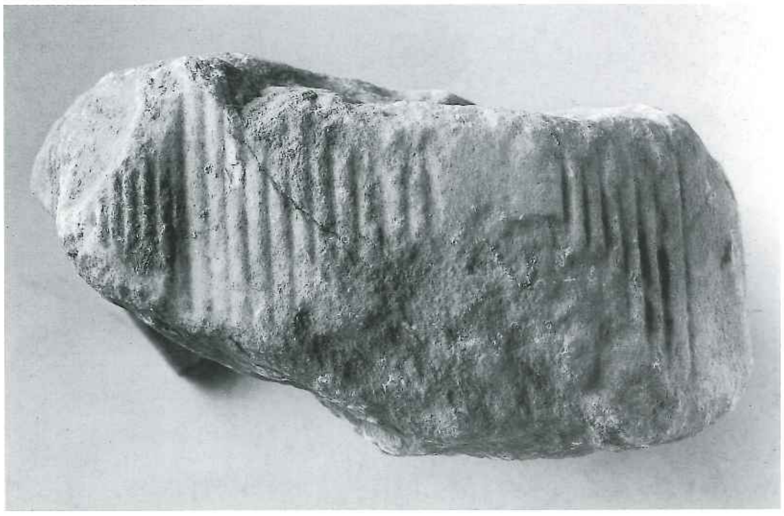

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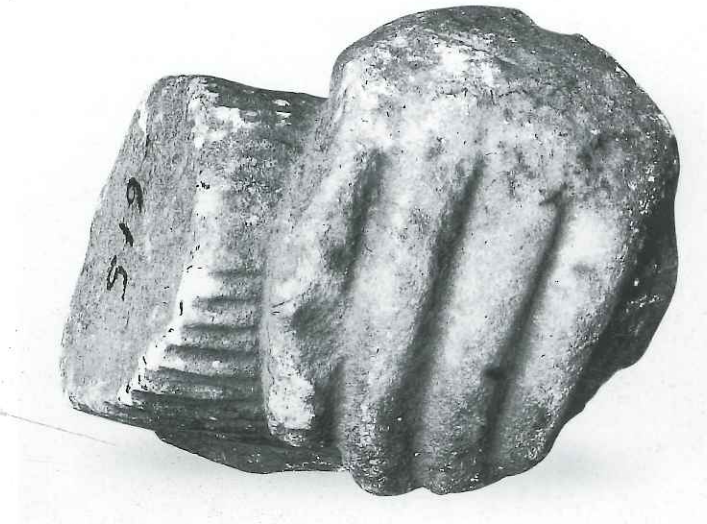

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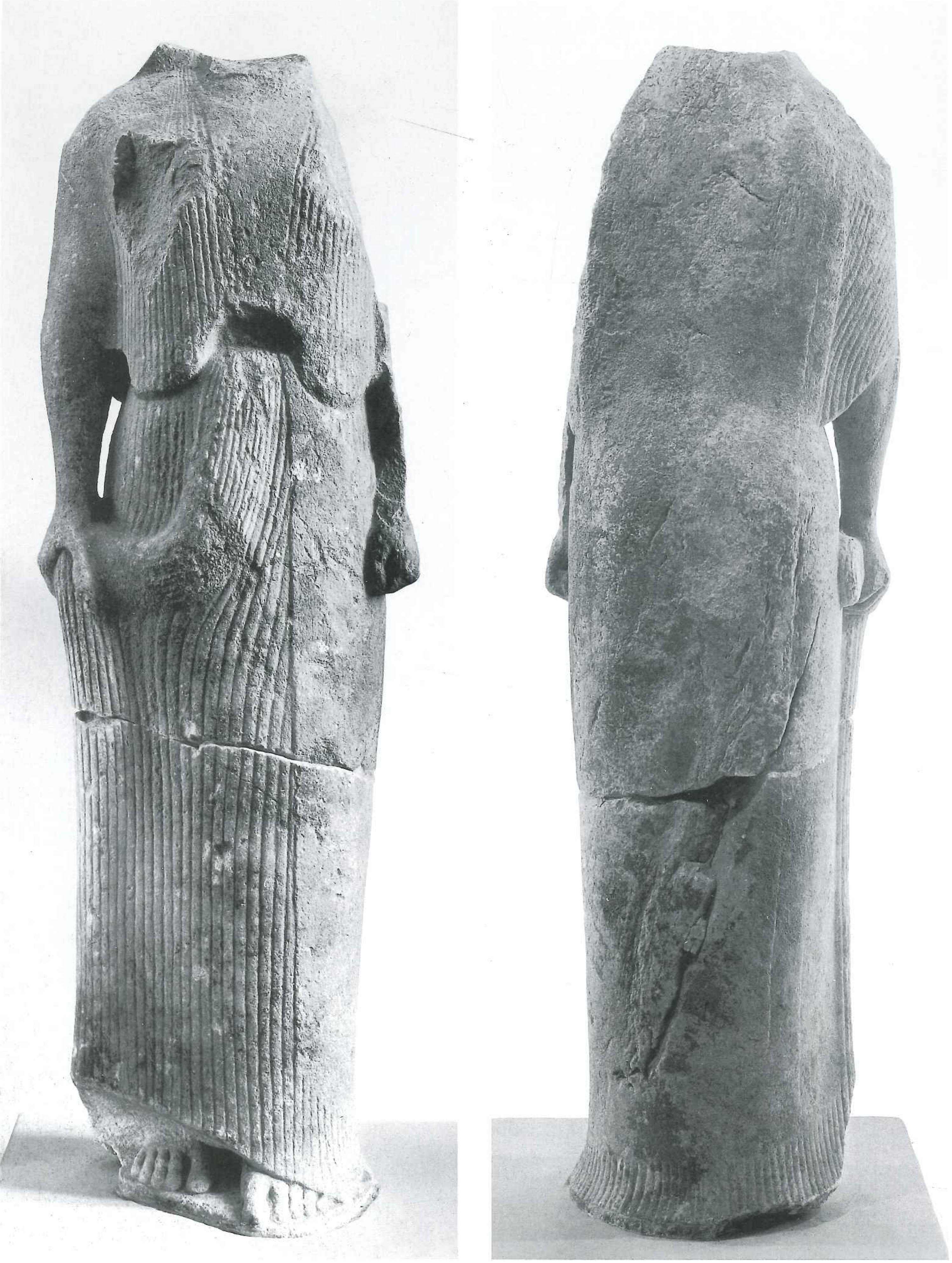
13 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung* · 14 *Vathy, Museum* · 15 *Missing (formerly Vathy)*



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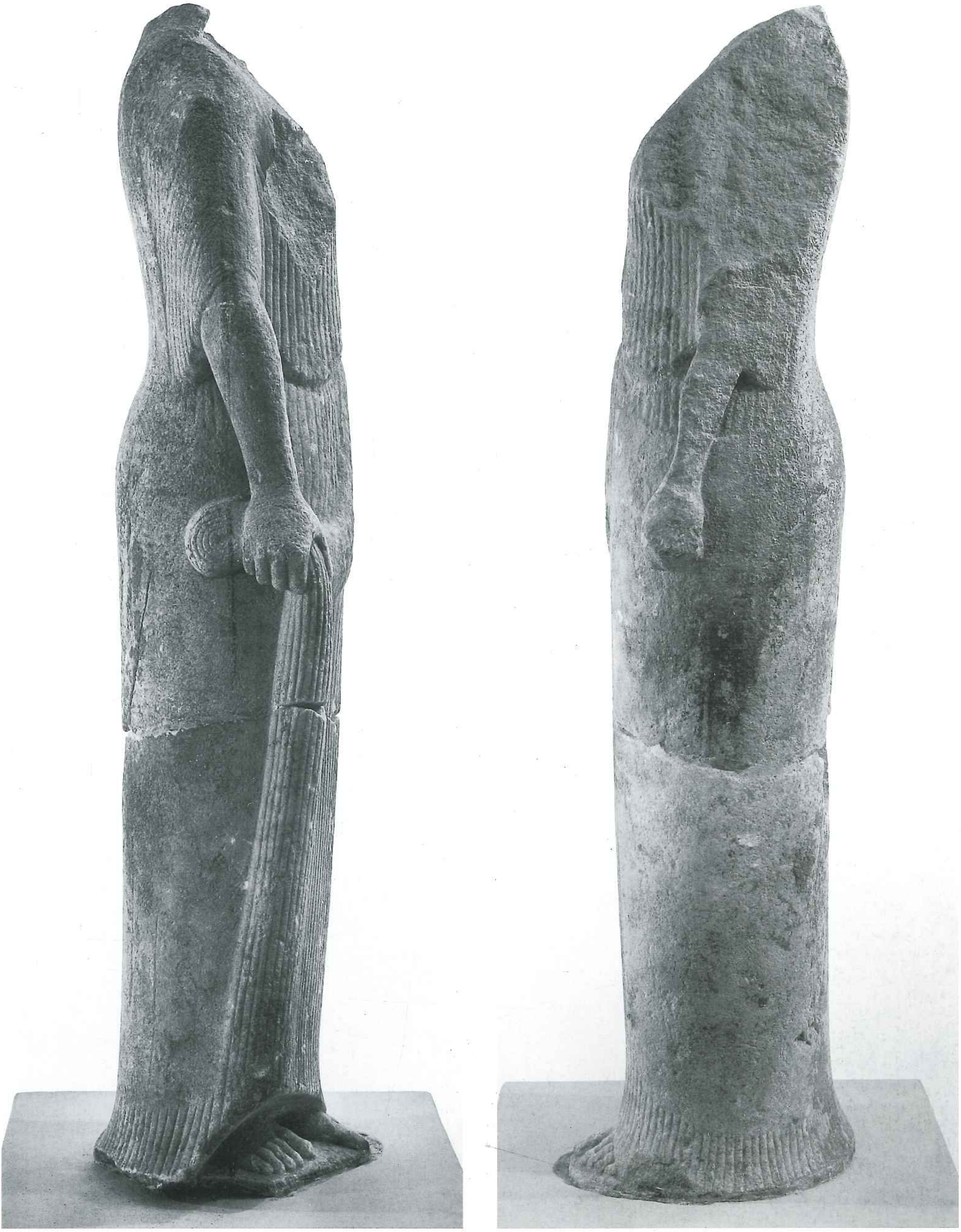
16 *Vathy, Museum*



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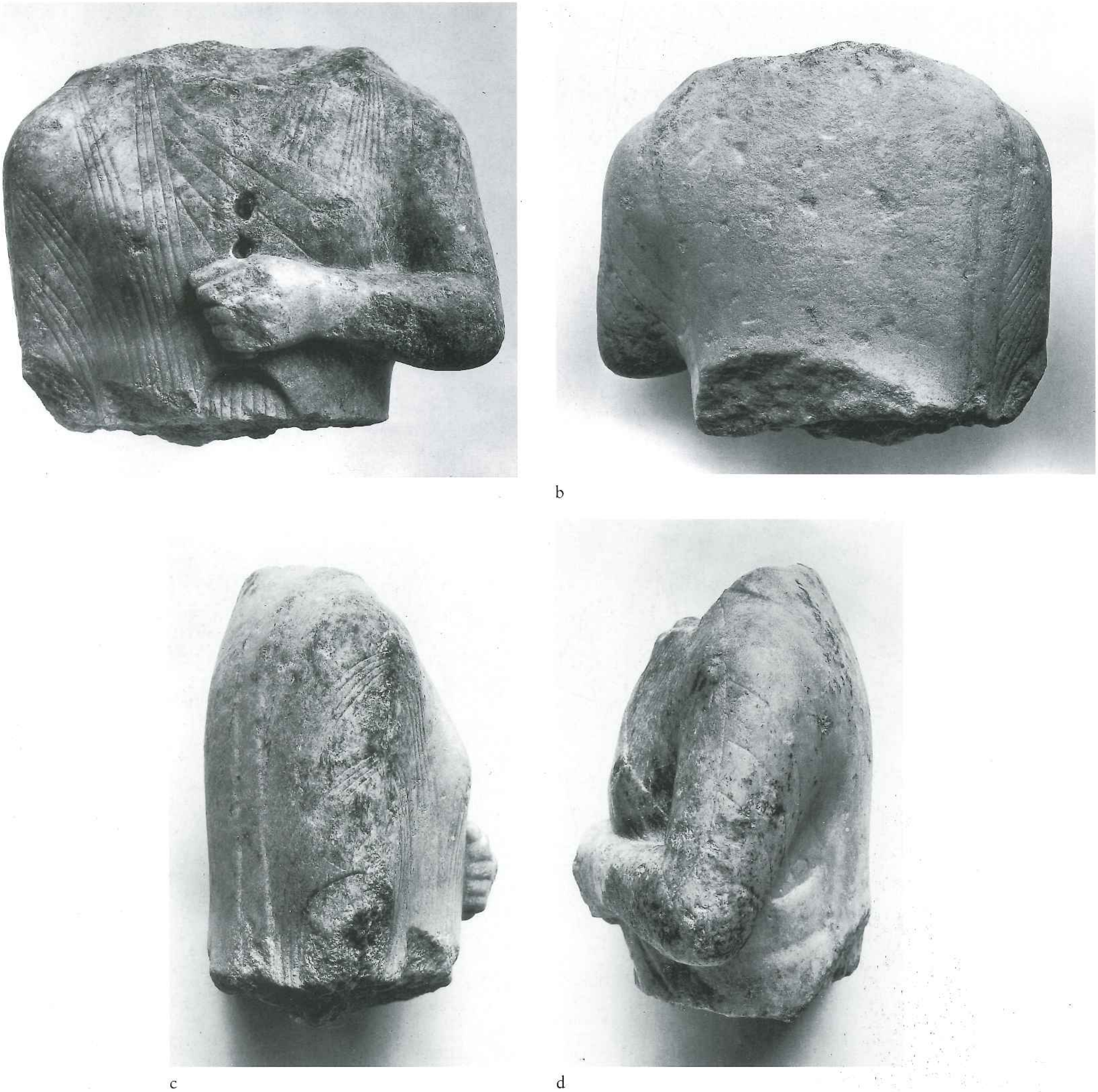

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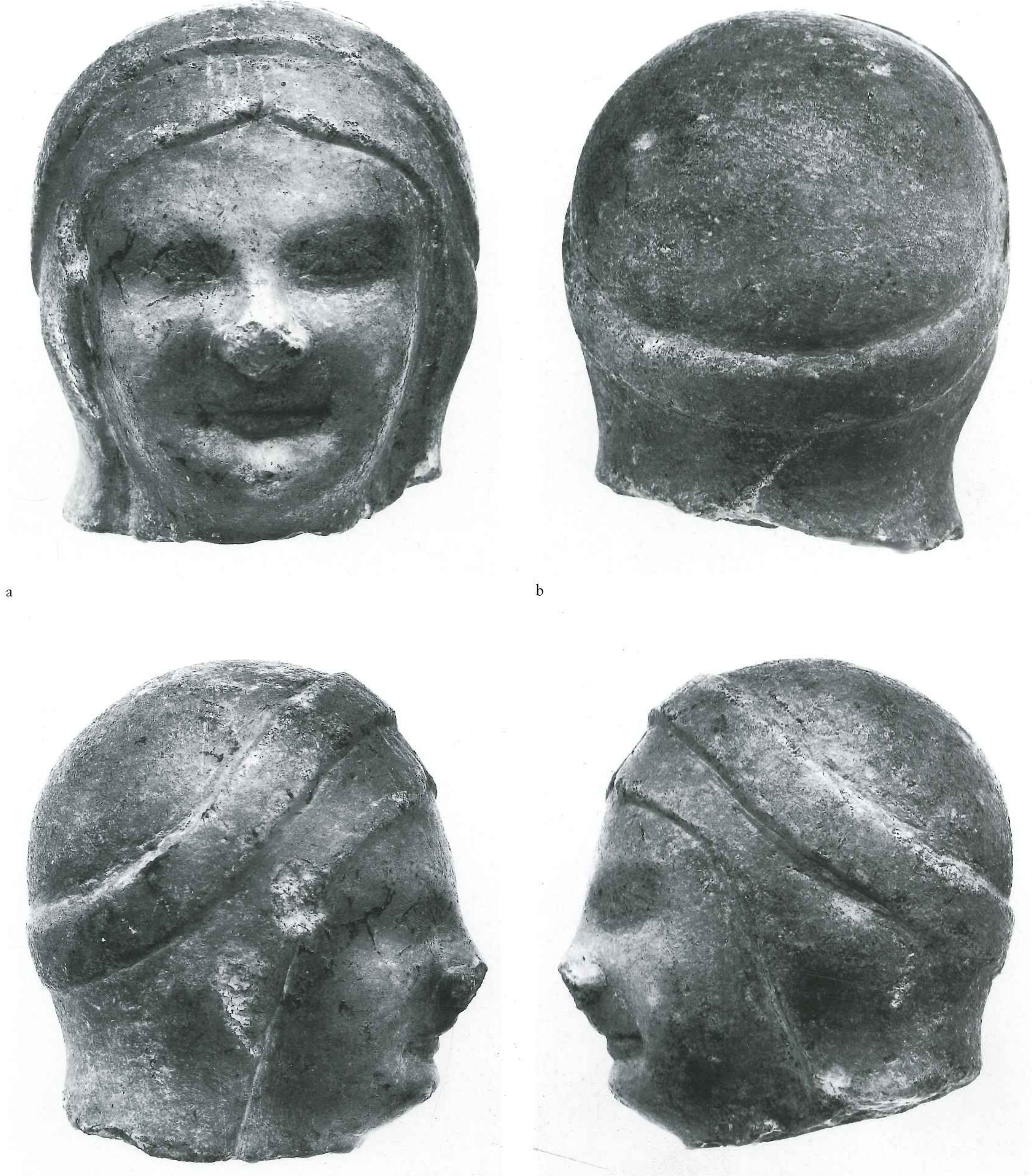

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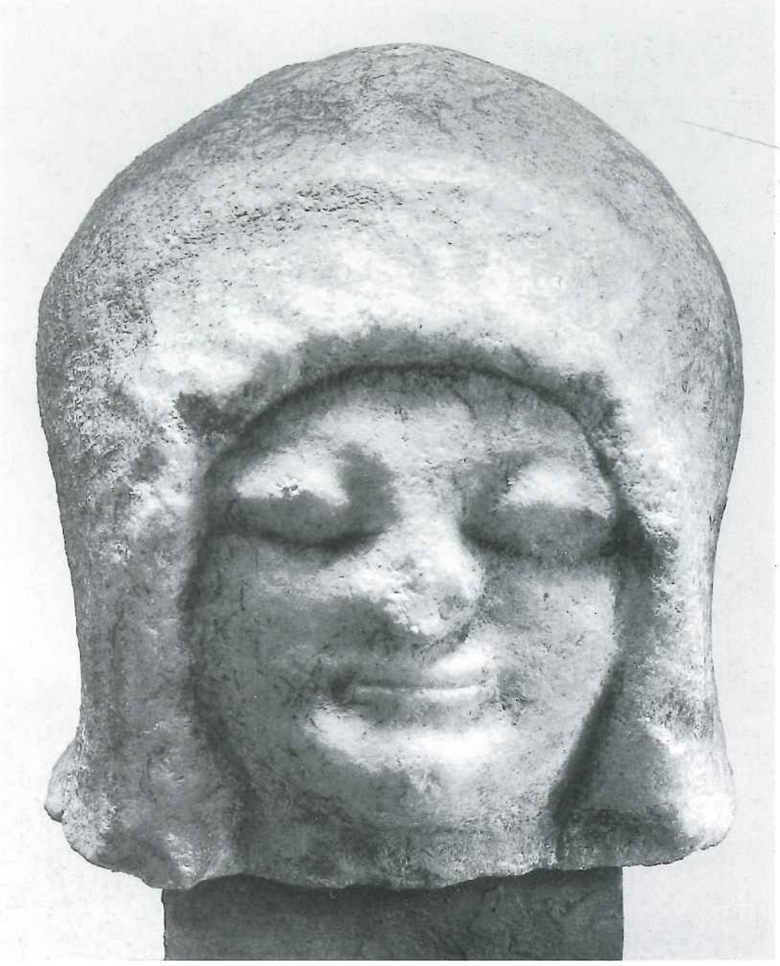

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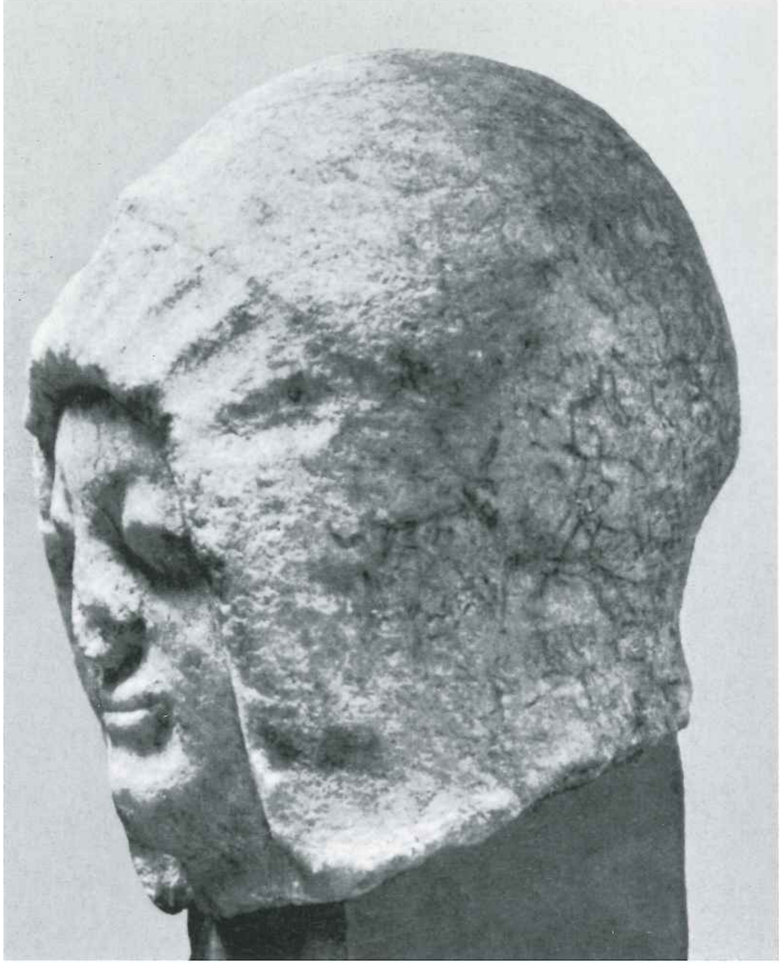

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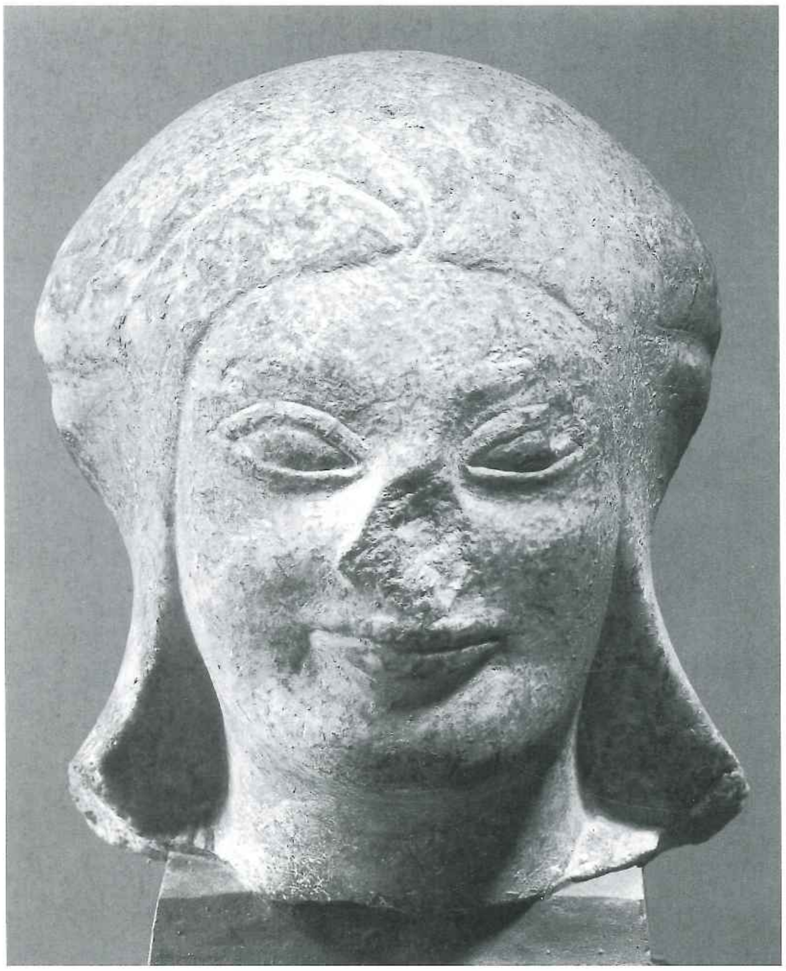

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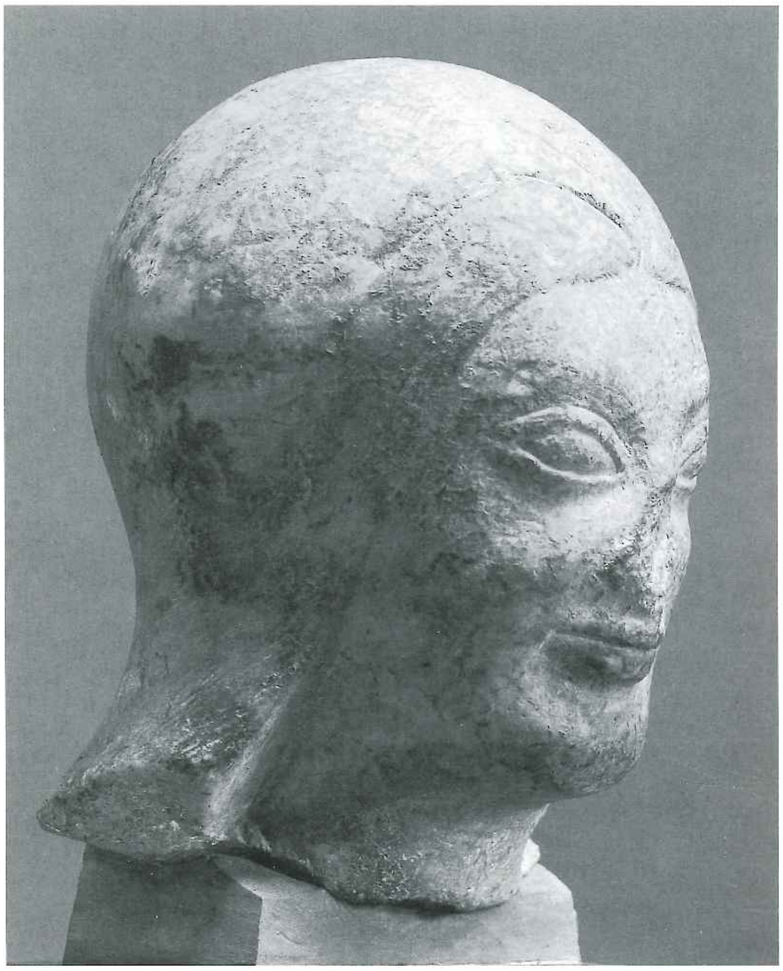
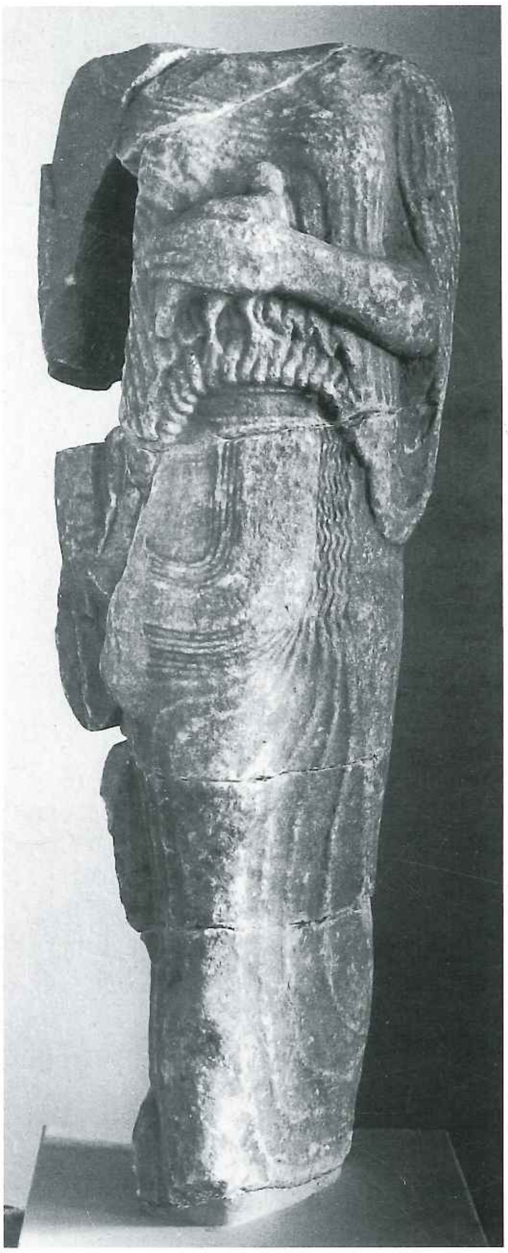


19 b

18 and 19 *Both missing (formerly Berlin)*



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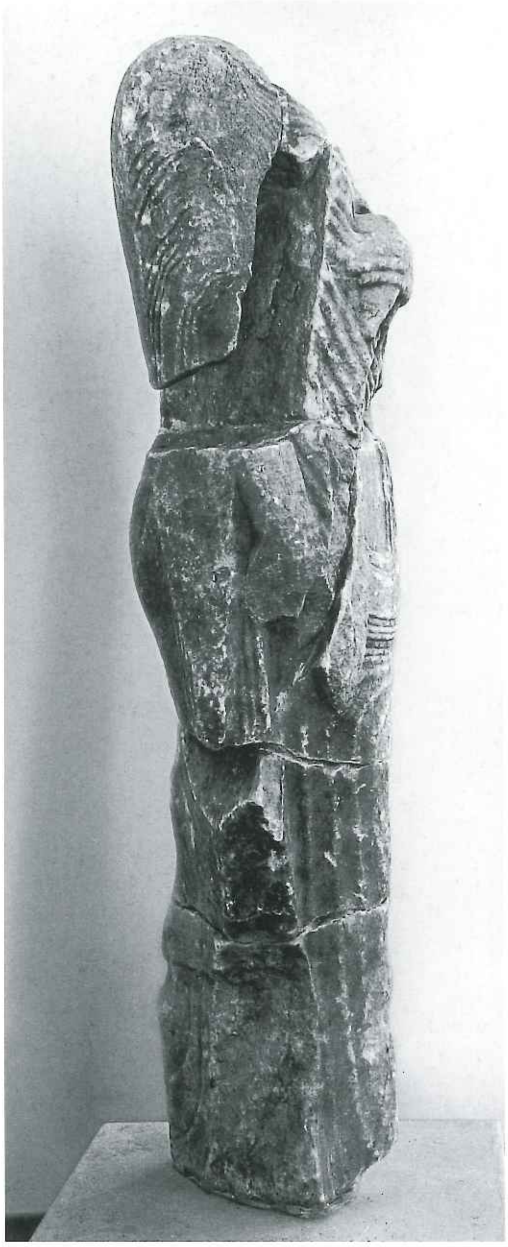

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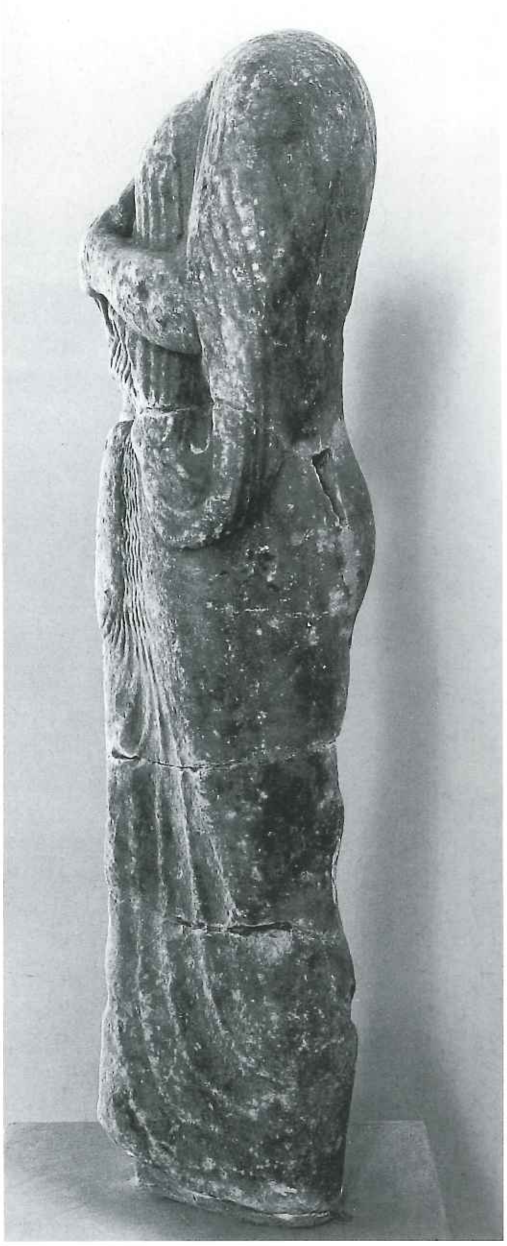

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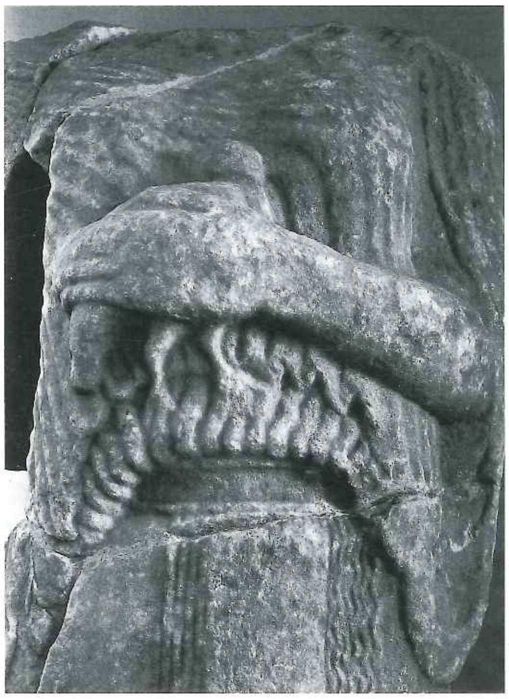

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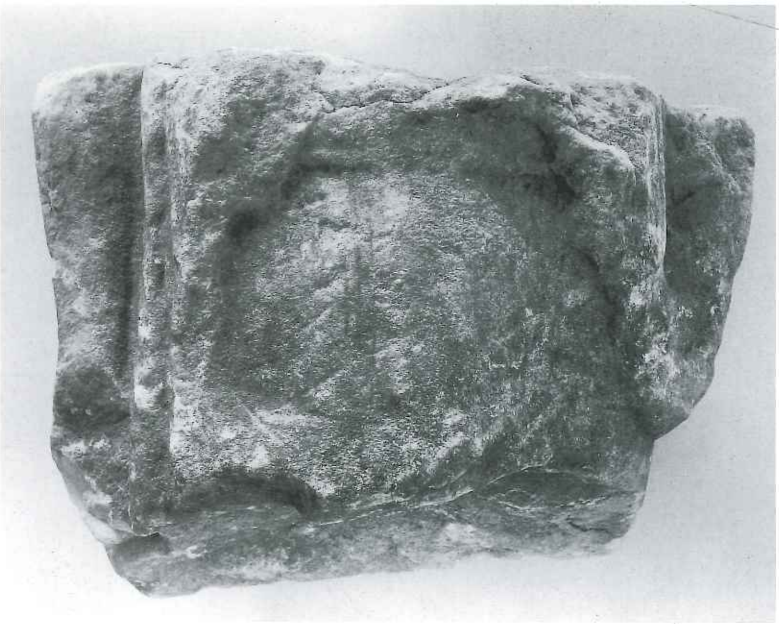

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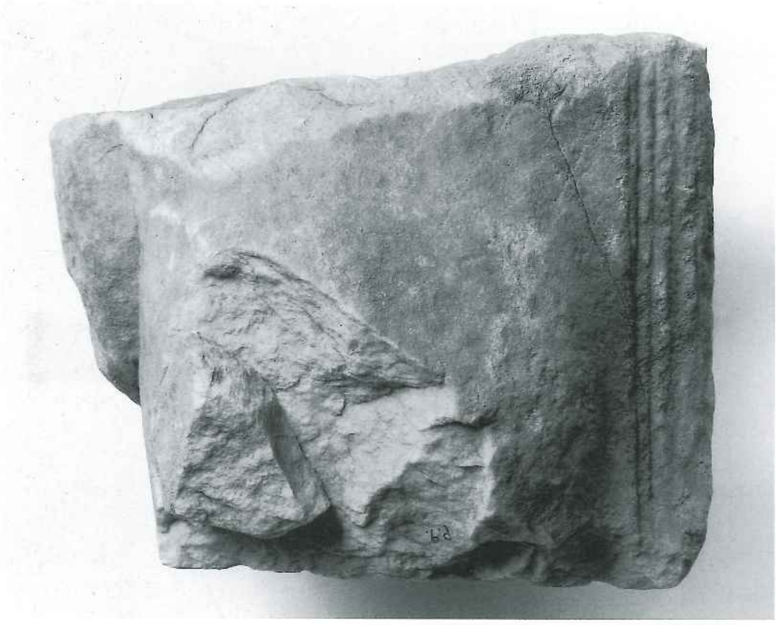

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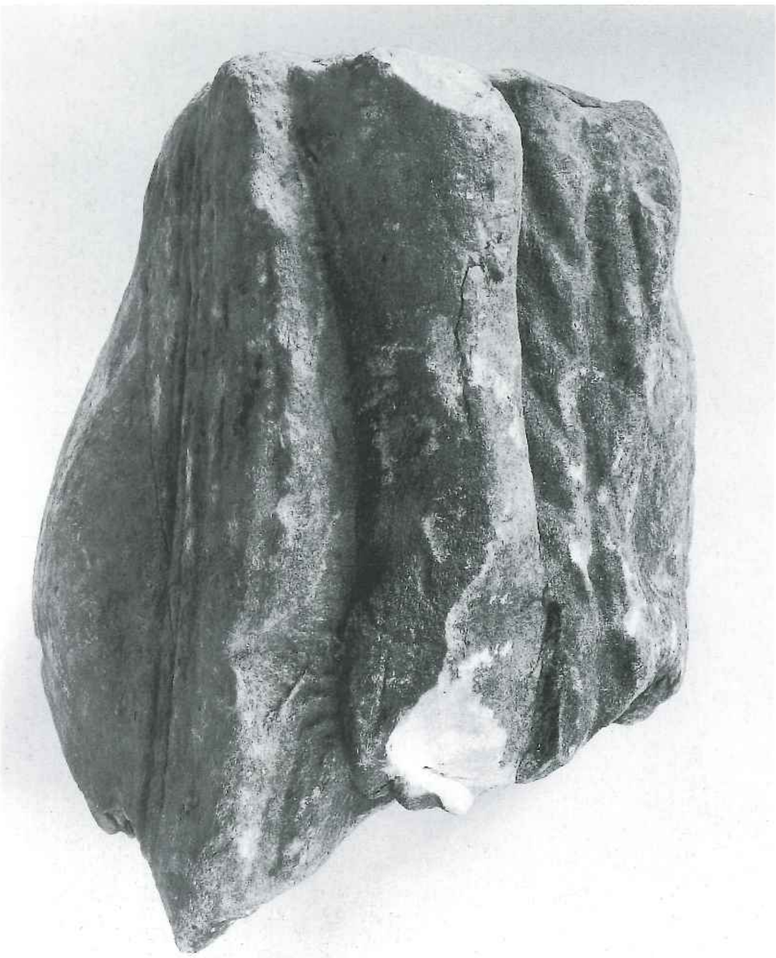

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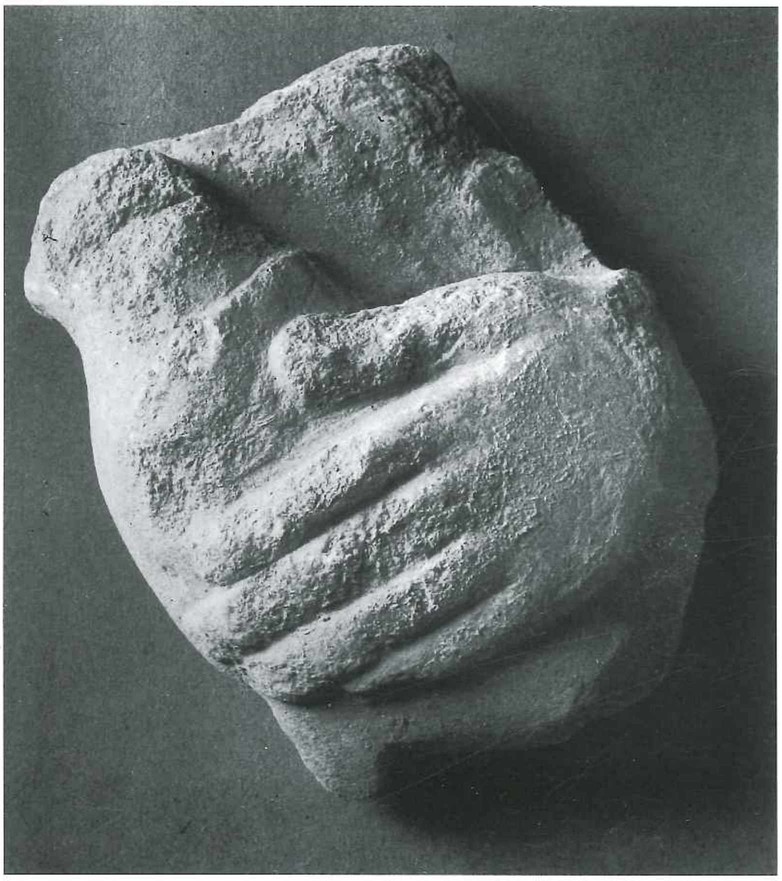

21B

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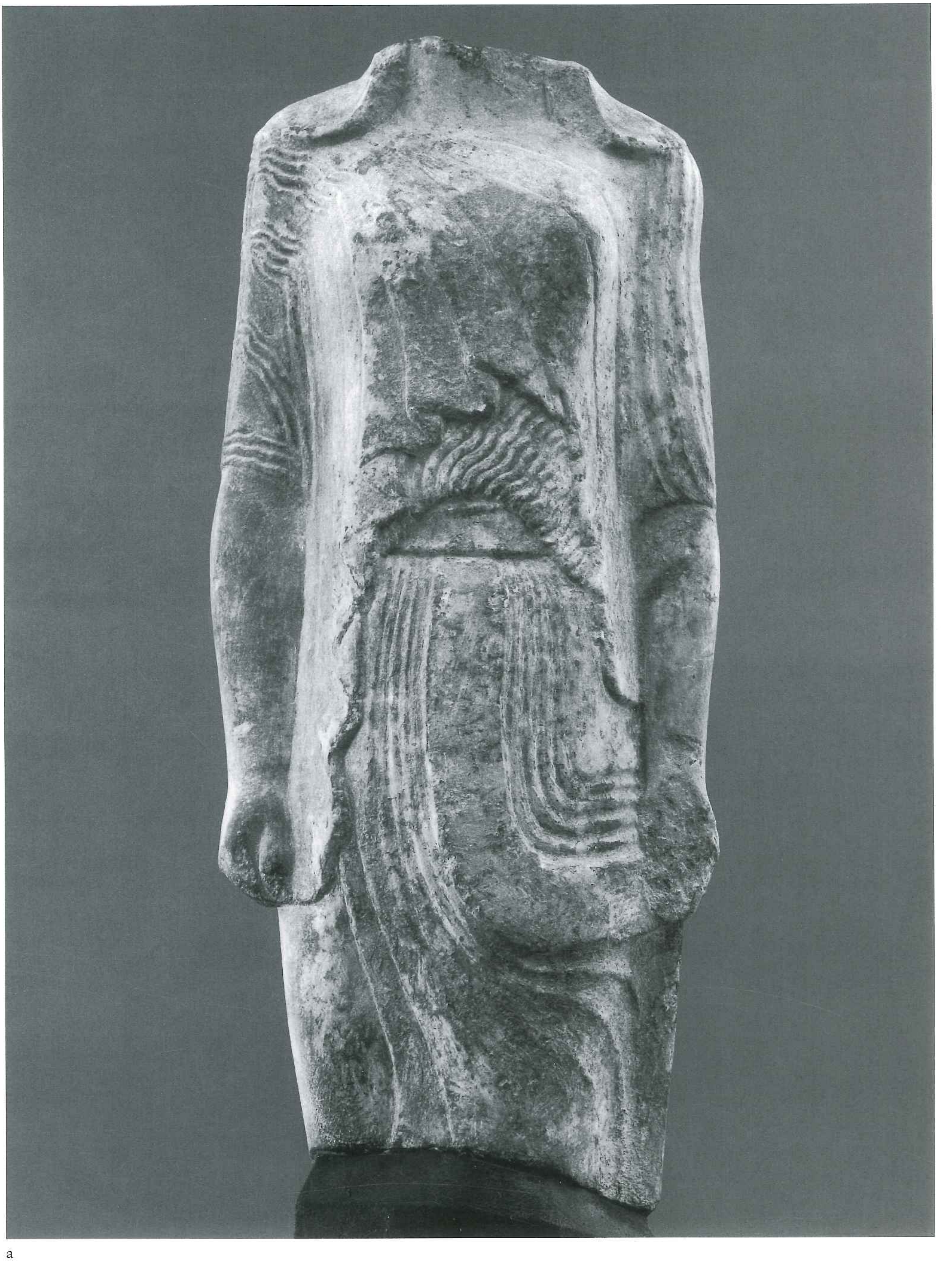

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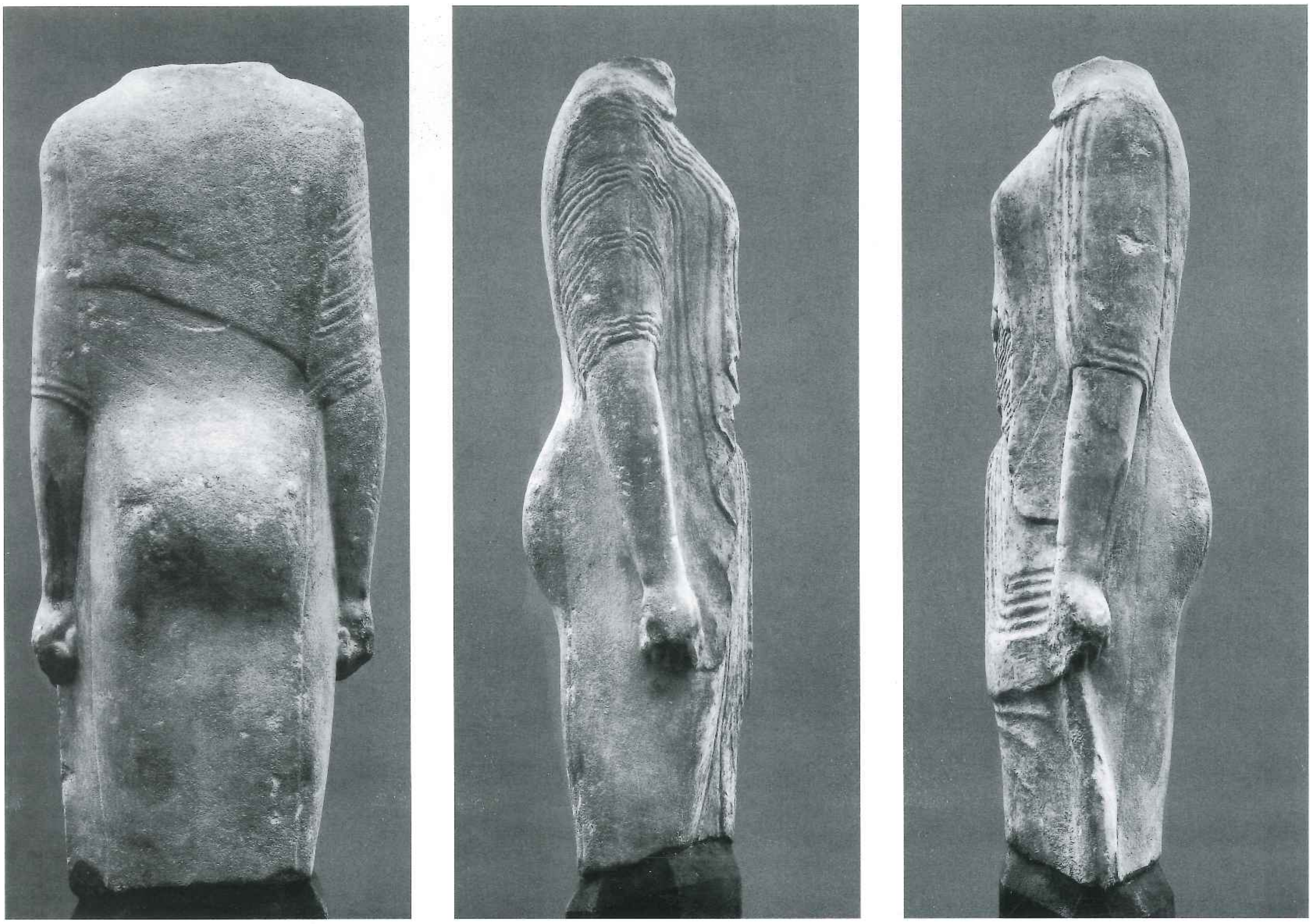
22 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



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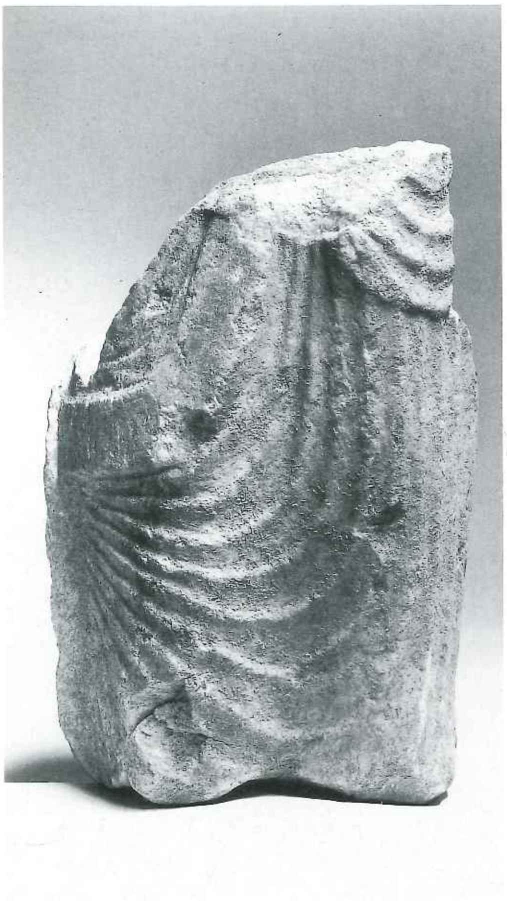
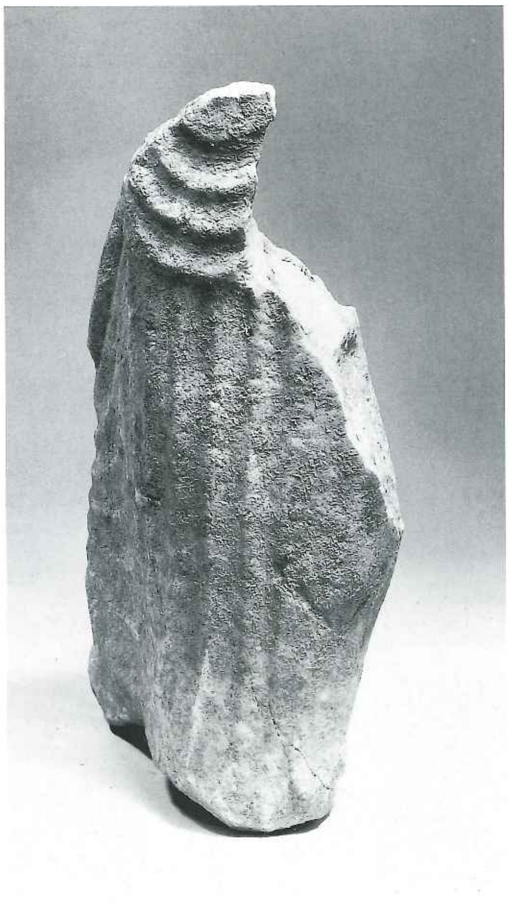
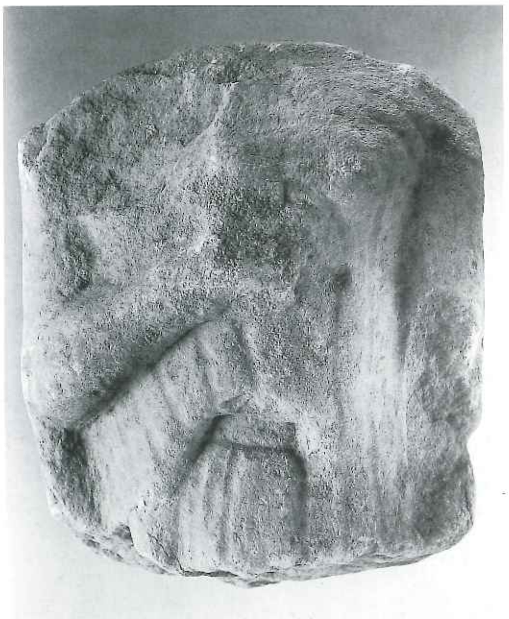


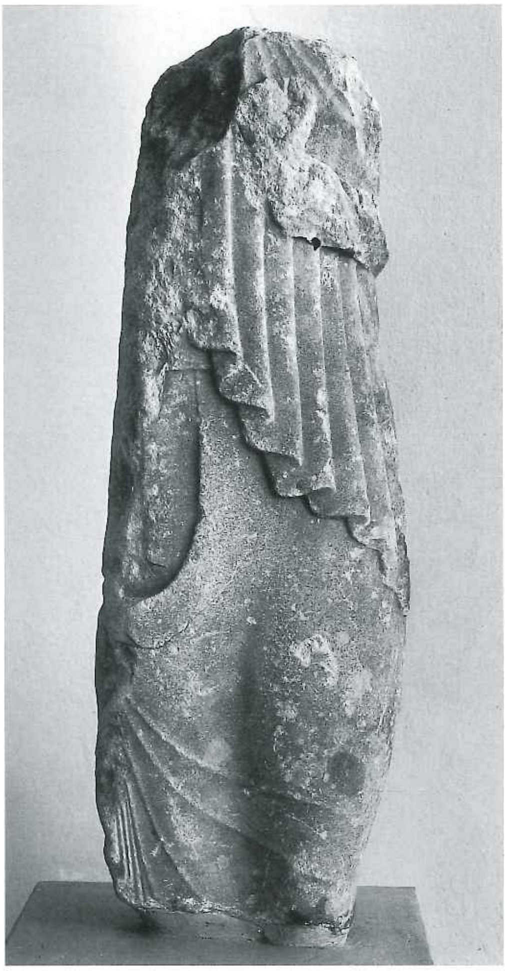
23 a



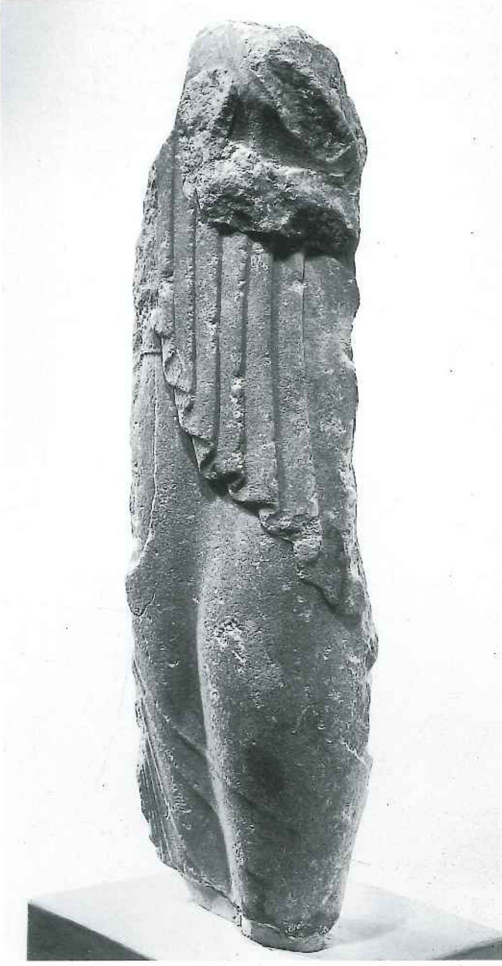
23 b



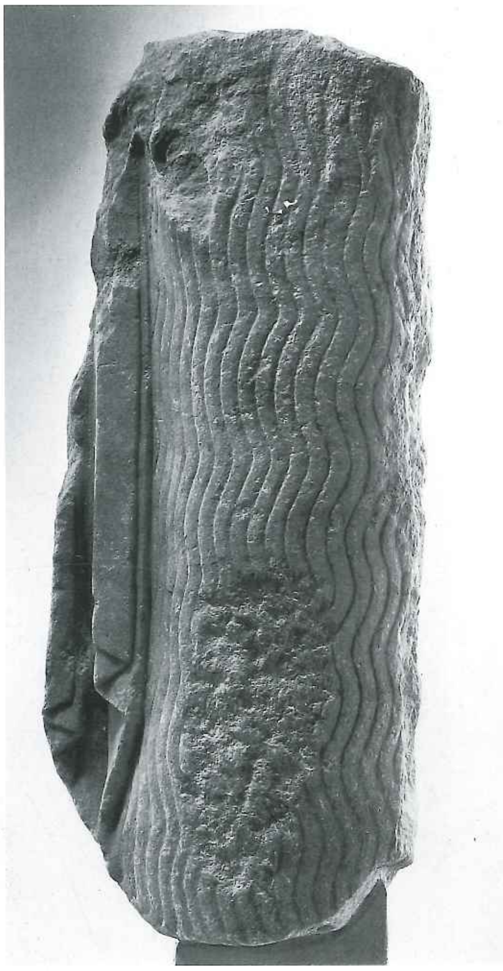
24



25 a

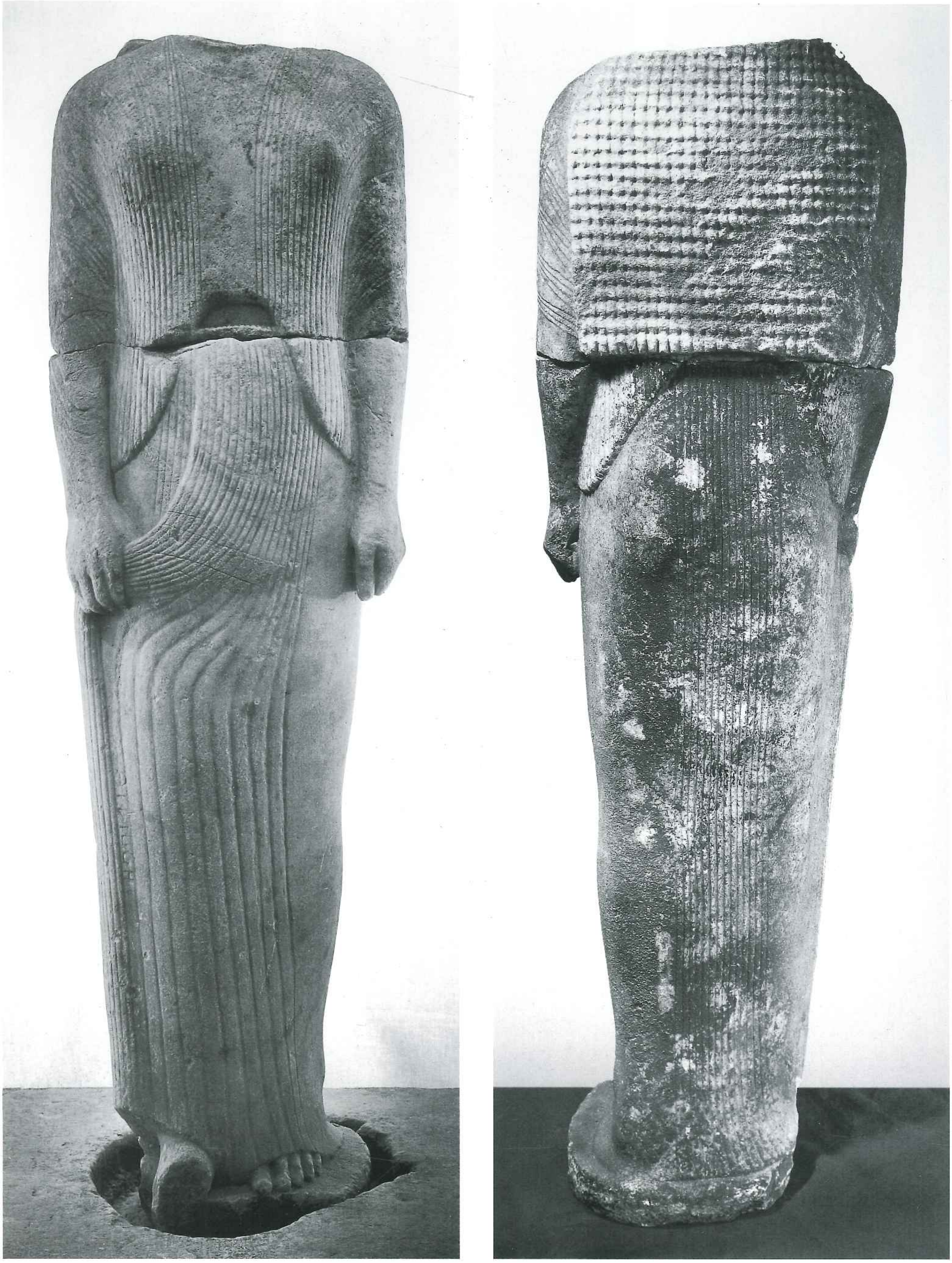


25 b



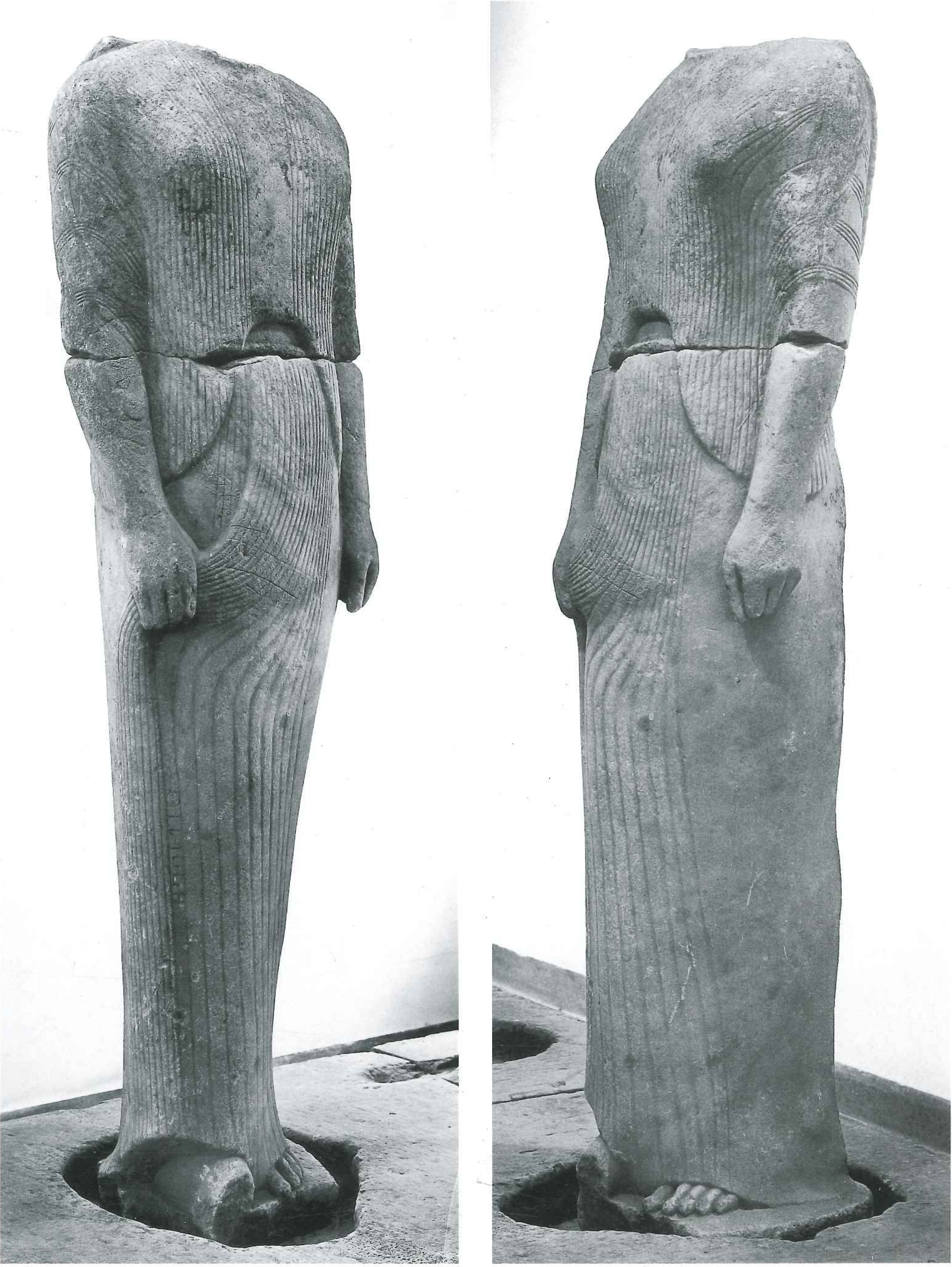
26

23, 24, 25, and 26 *Vathy, Museum*



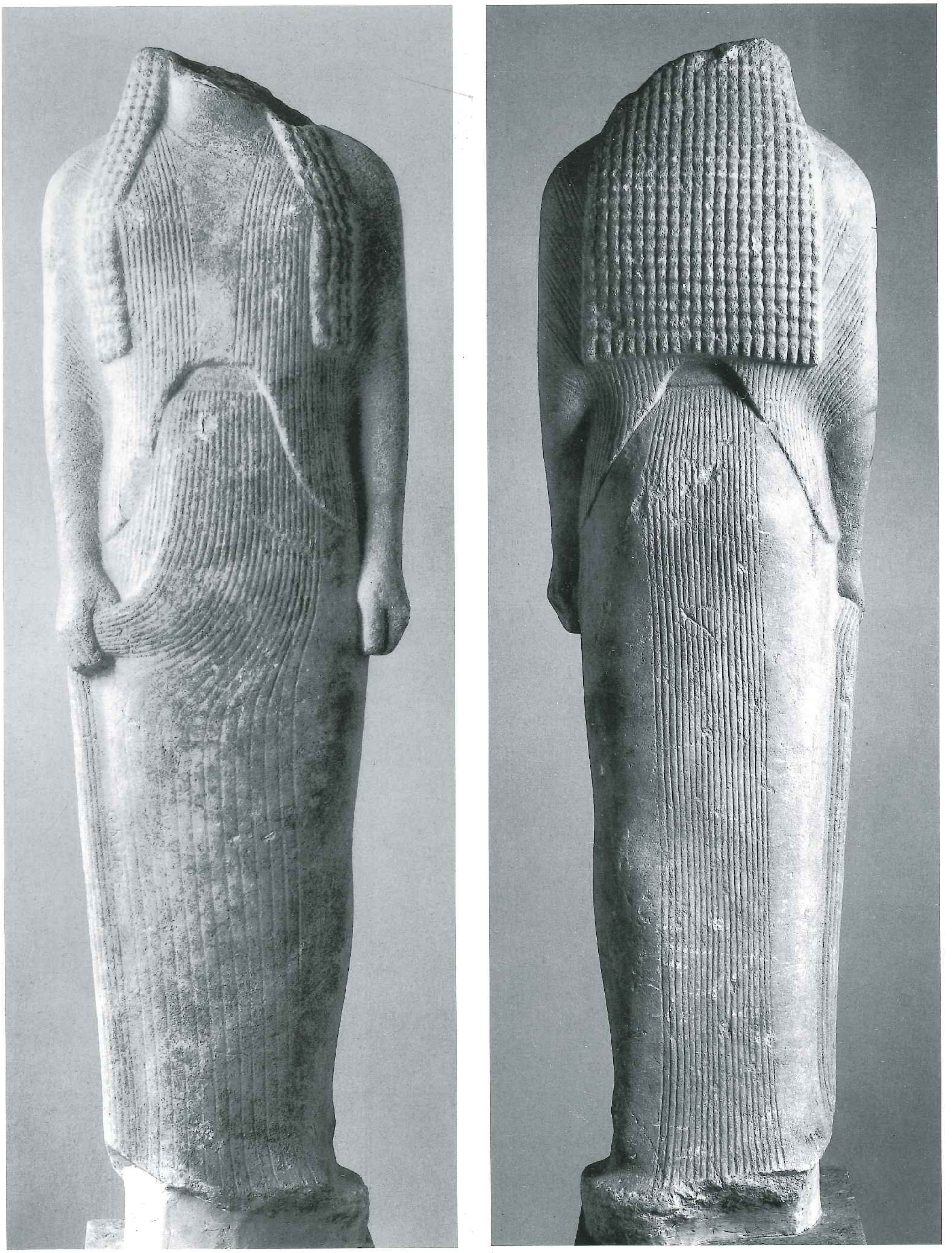
a b

61 Philippe from the Geneleos Group *Vathy, Museum*

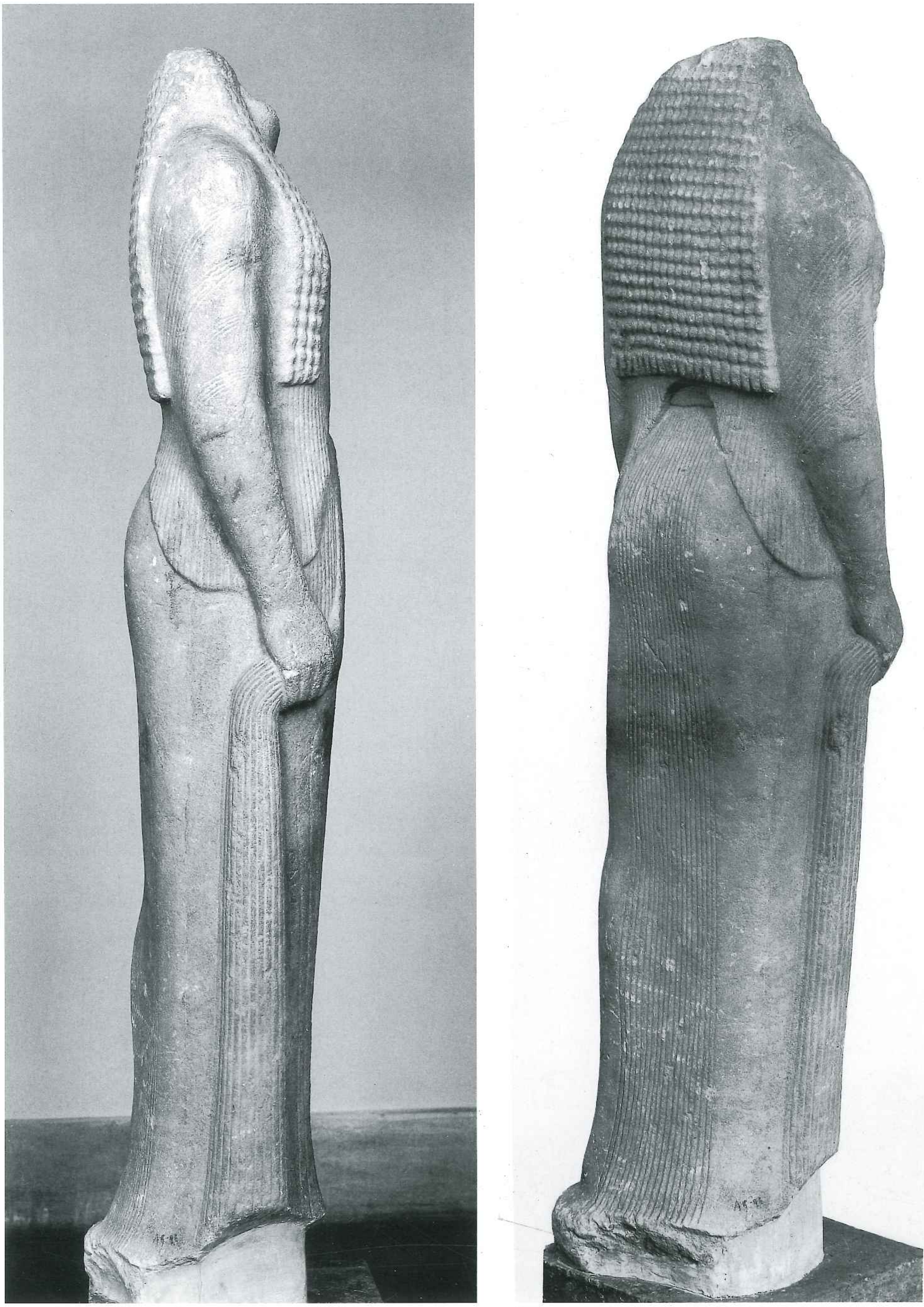


c d

61 Philippe from the Geneleos Group *Vathy, Museum*

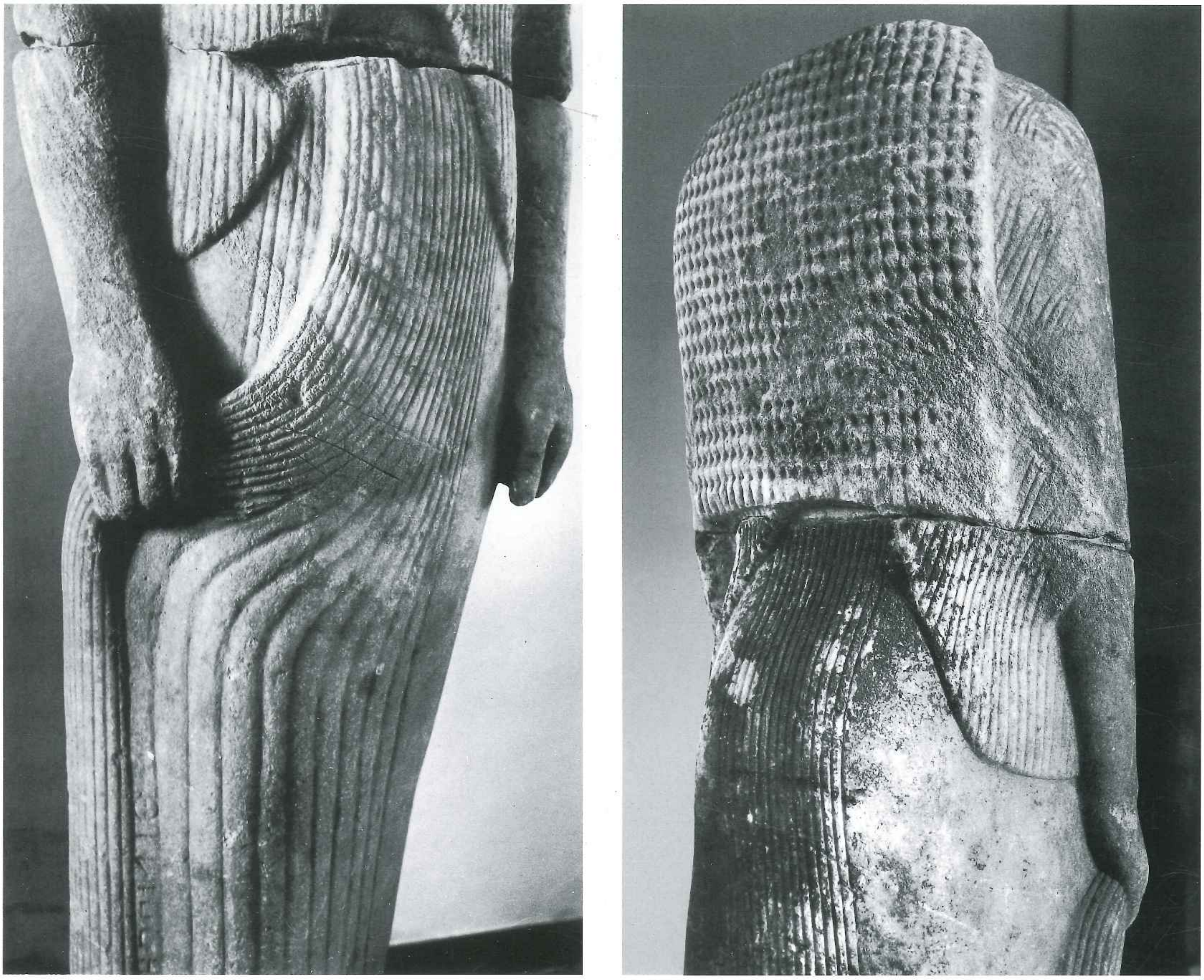


62 Ornithe from the Geneleos Group *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



c d

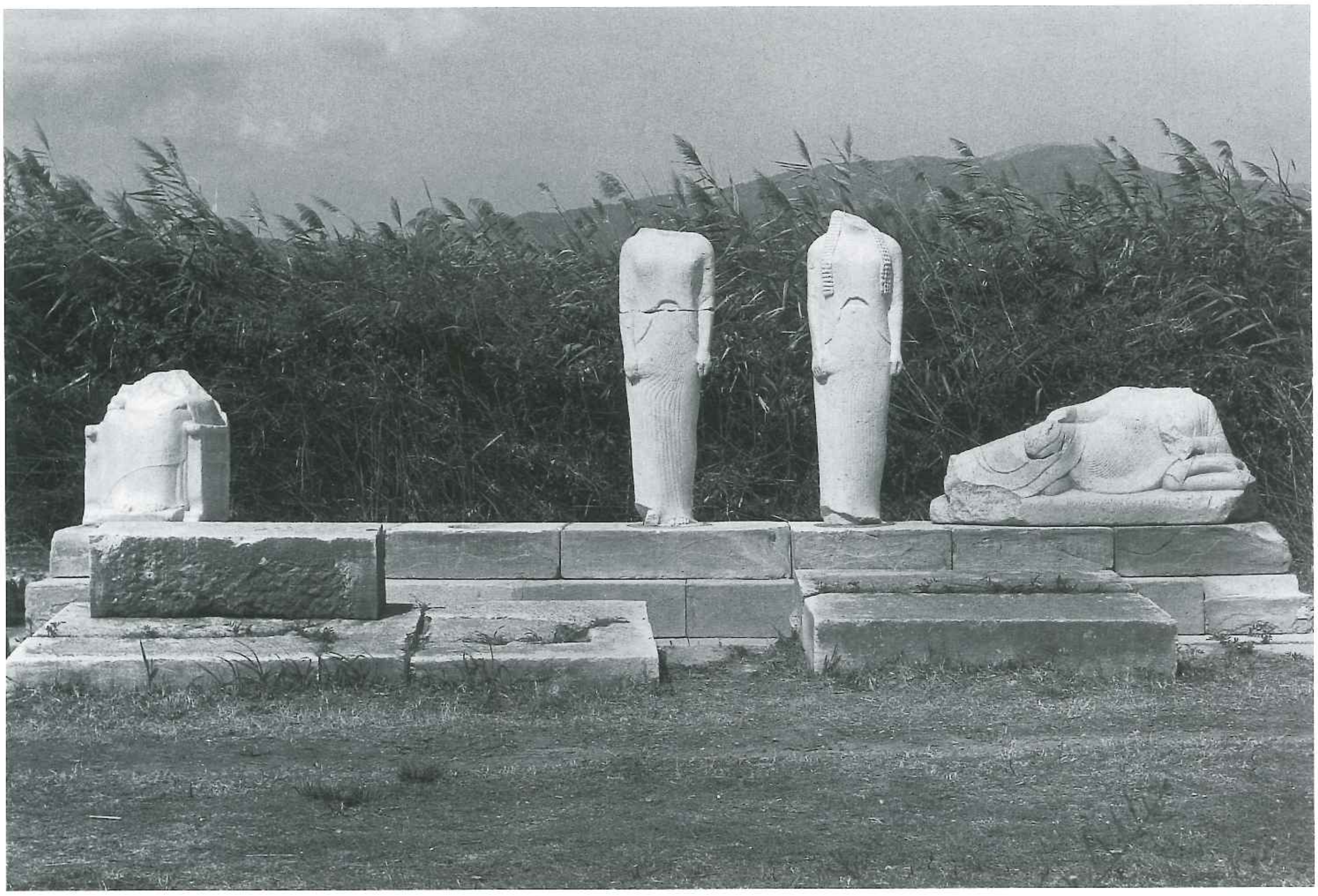
62 Ornithe from the Geneleos Group *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*

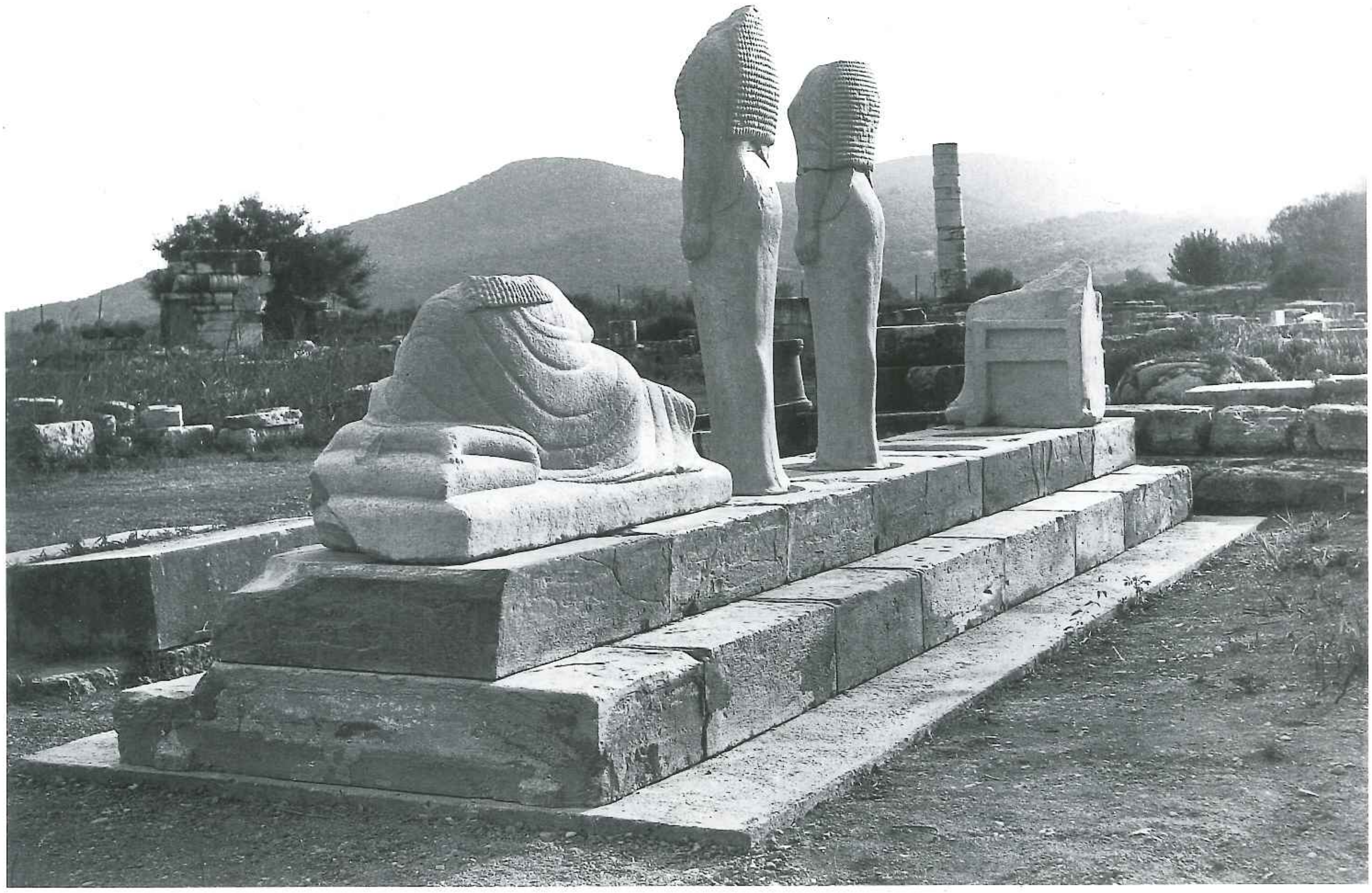


61 e

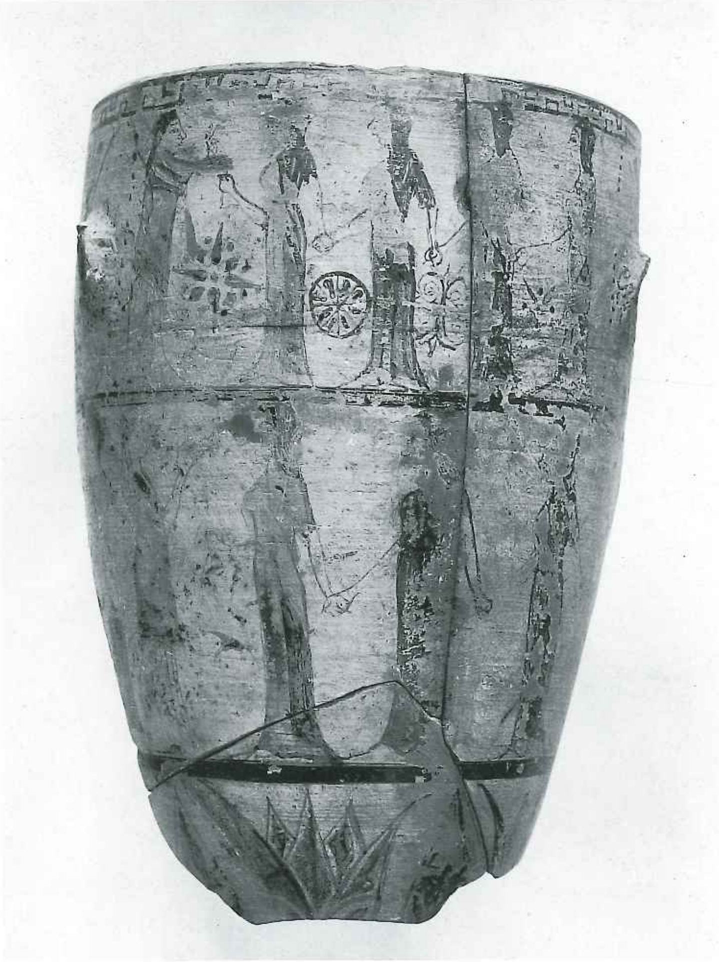
61 f

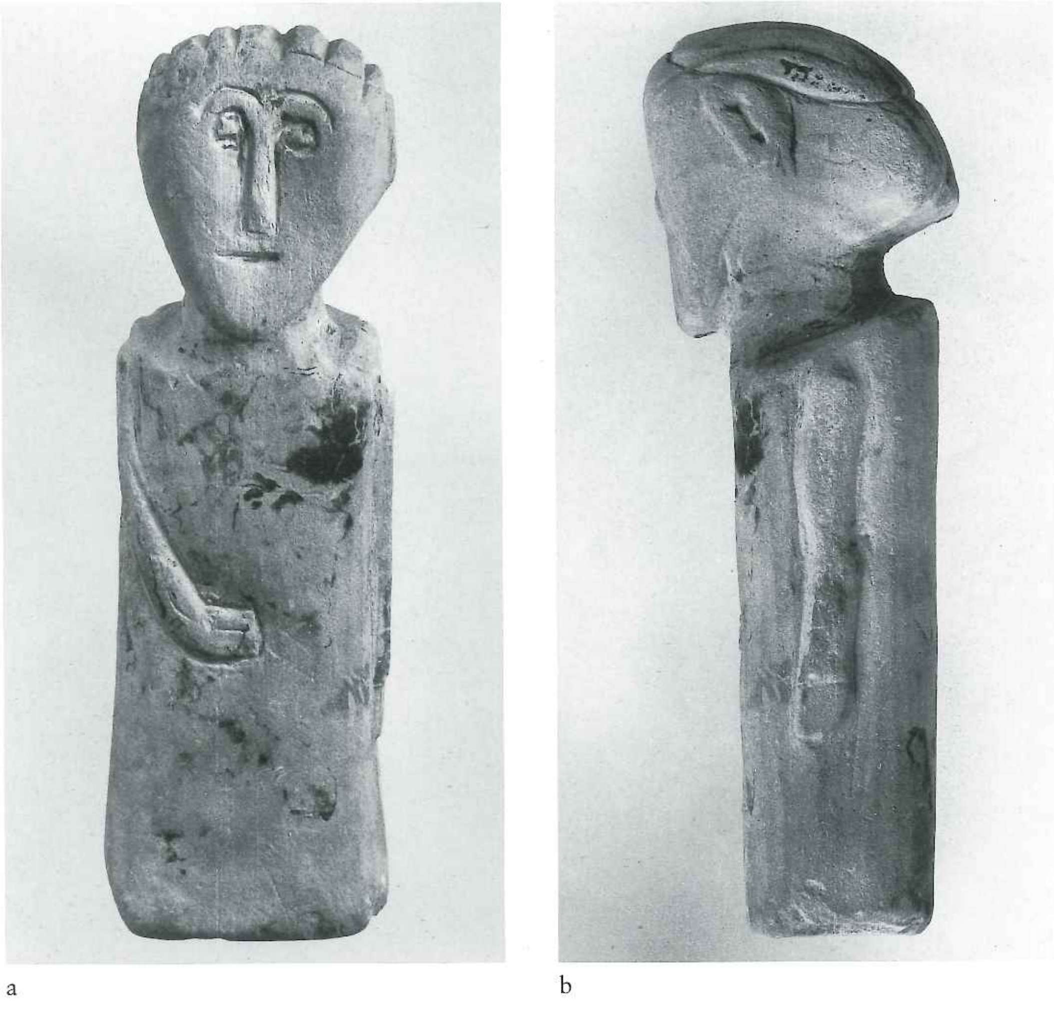
61 Philippe from the Geneleos Group *Vathy, Museum*





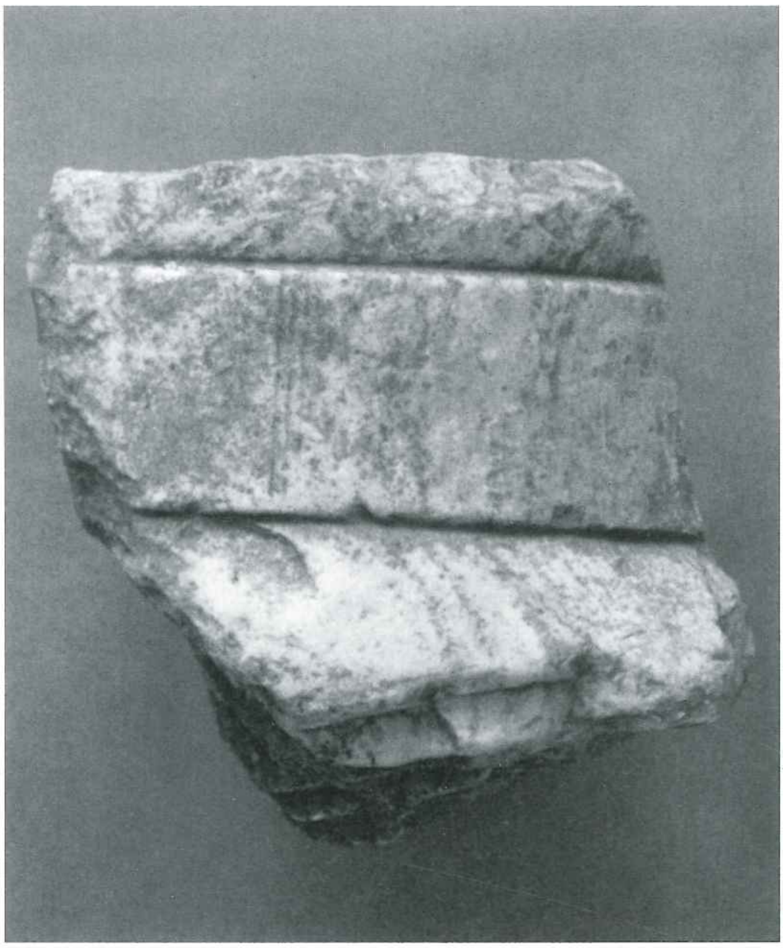
Reconstruction of the Geneleos Group in the *Heraion of Samos* (plaster casts)



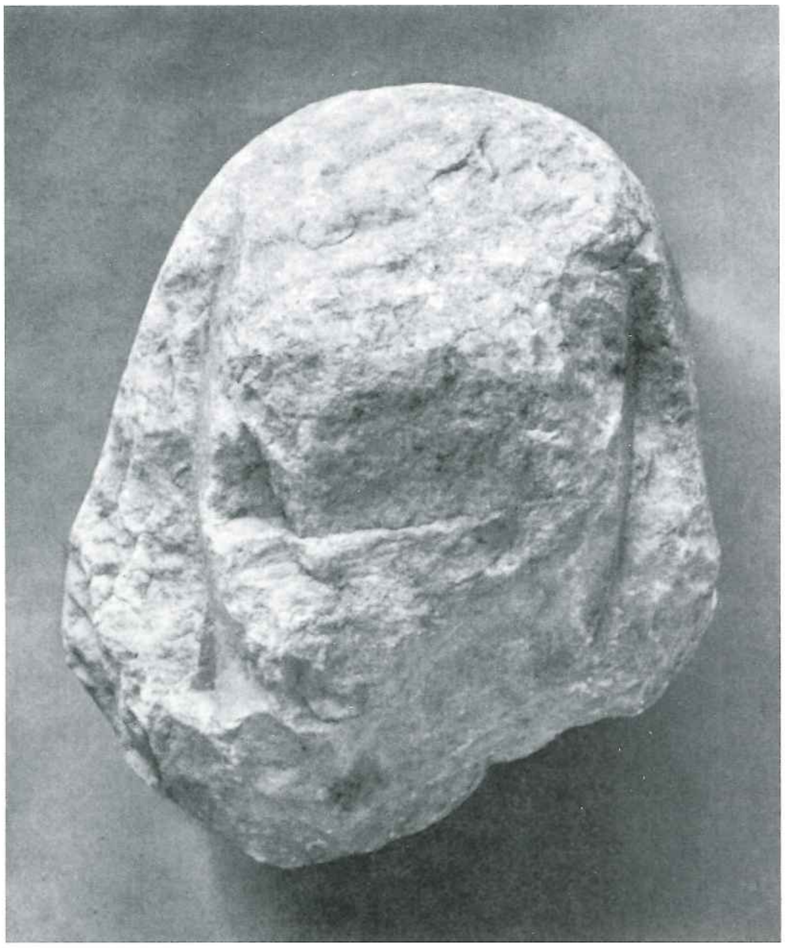


a b

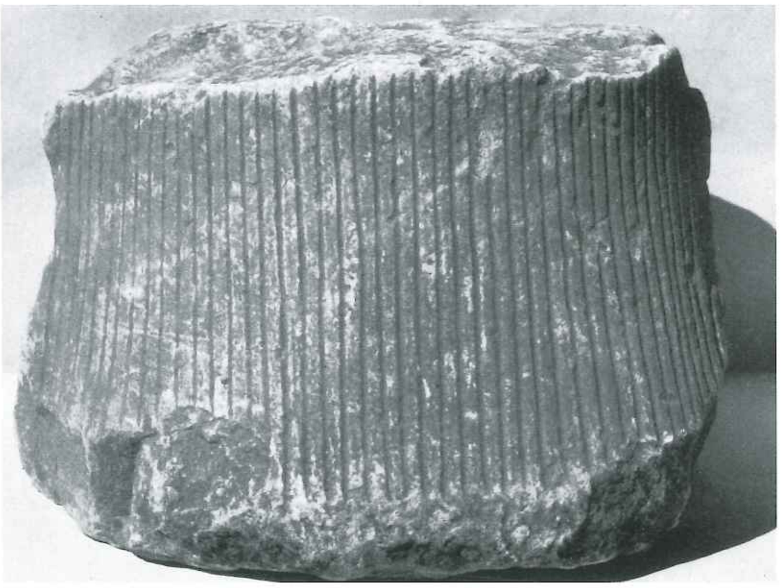
Hydria and limestone statuette *Vathy, Museum*



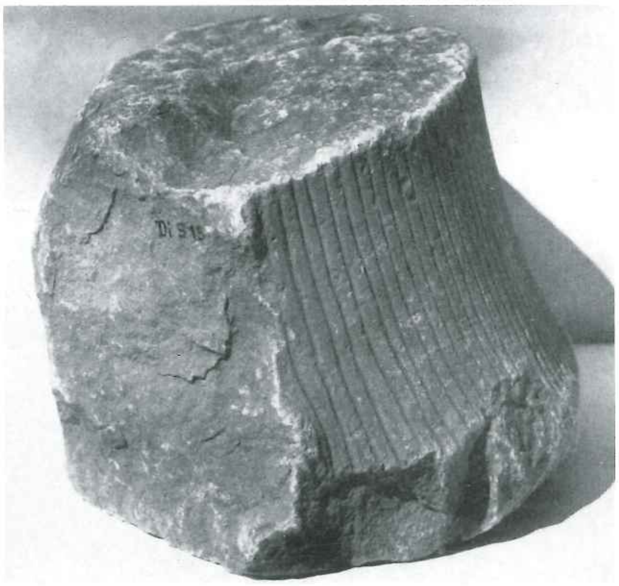
K36



K36 bis

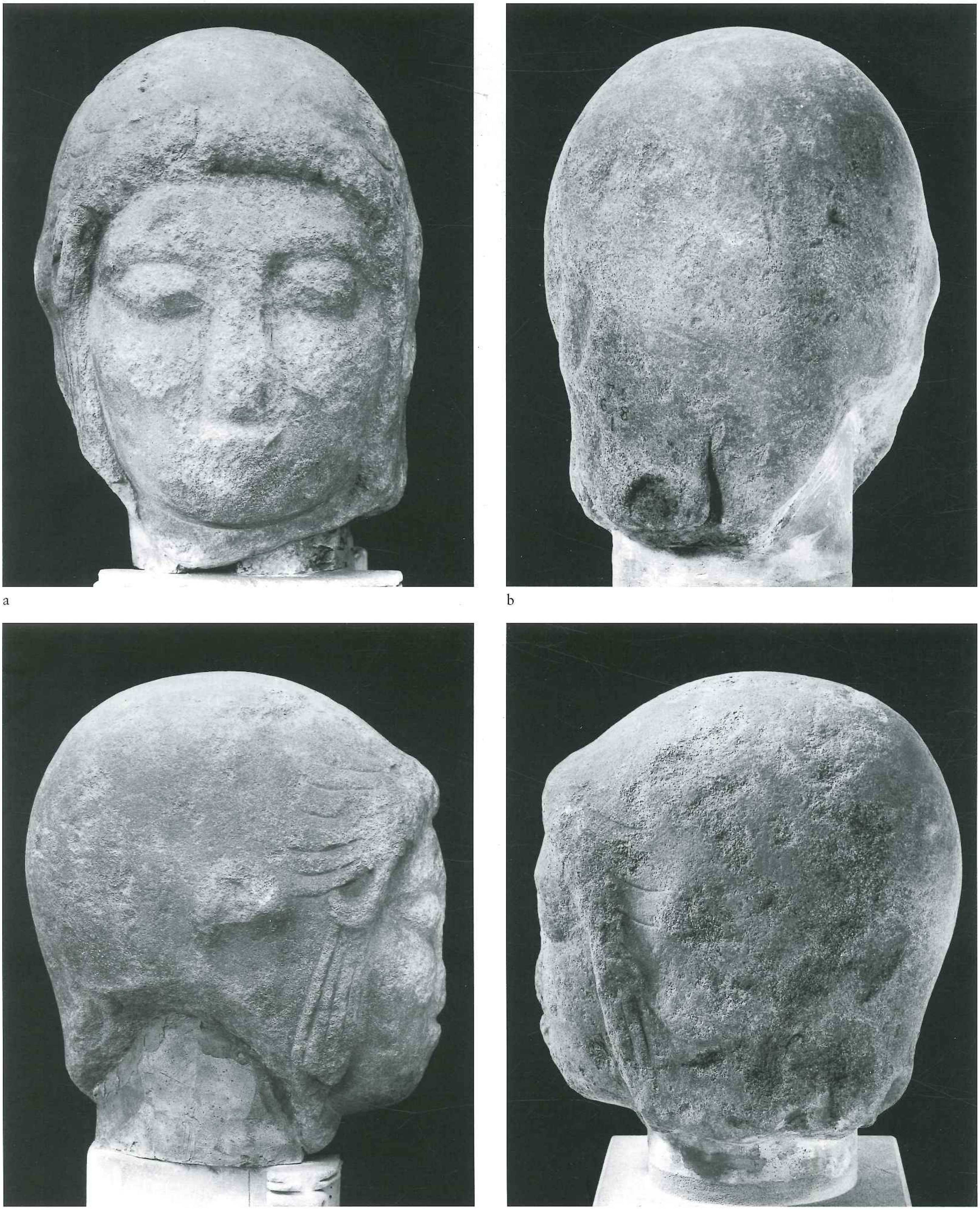


K37 a

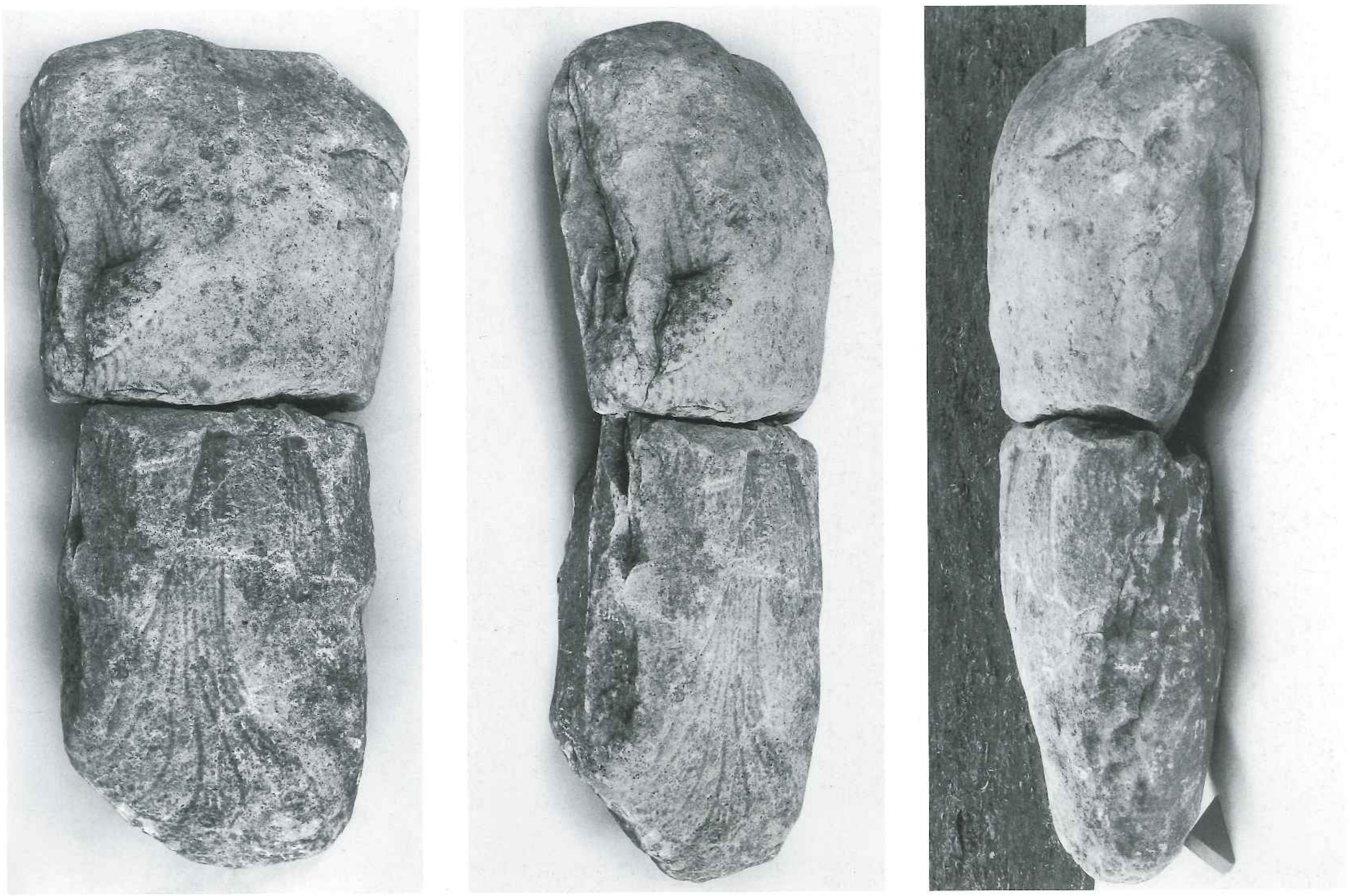


K37 b

K36, K36 bis, and K37 *Didyma, Museum*

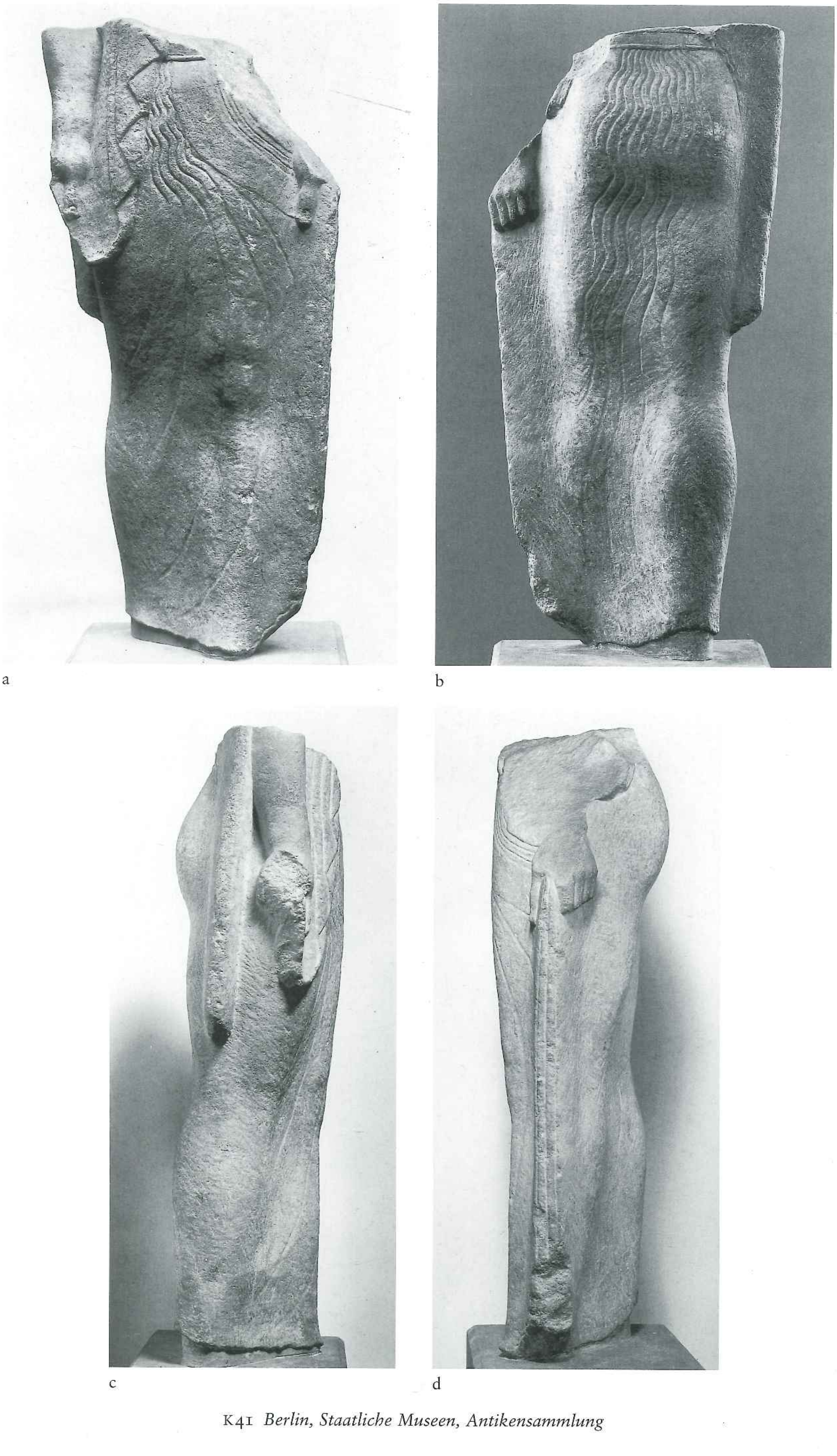


K40 *London, The British Museum*



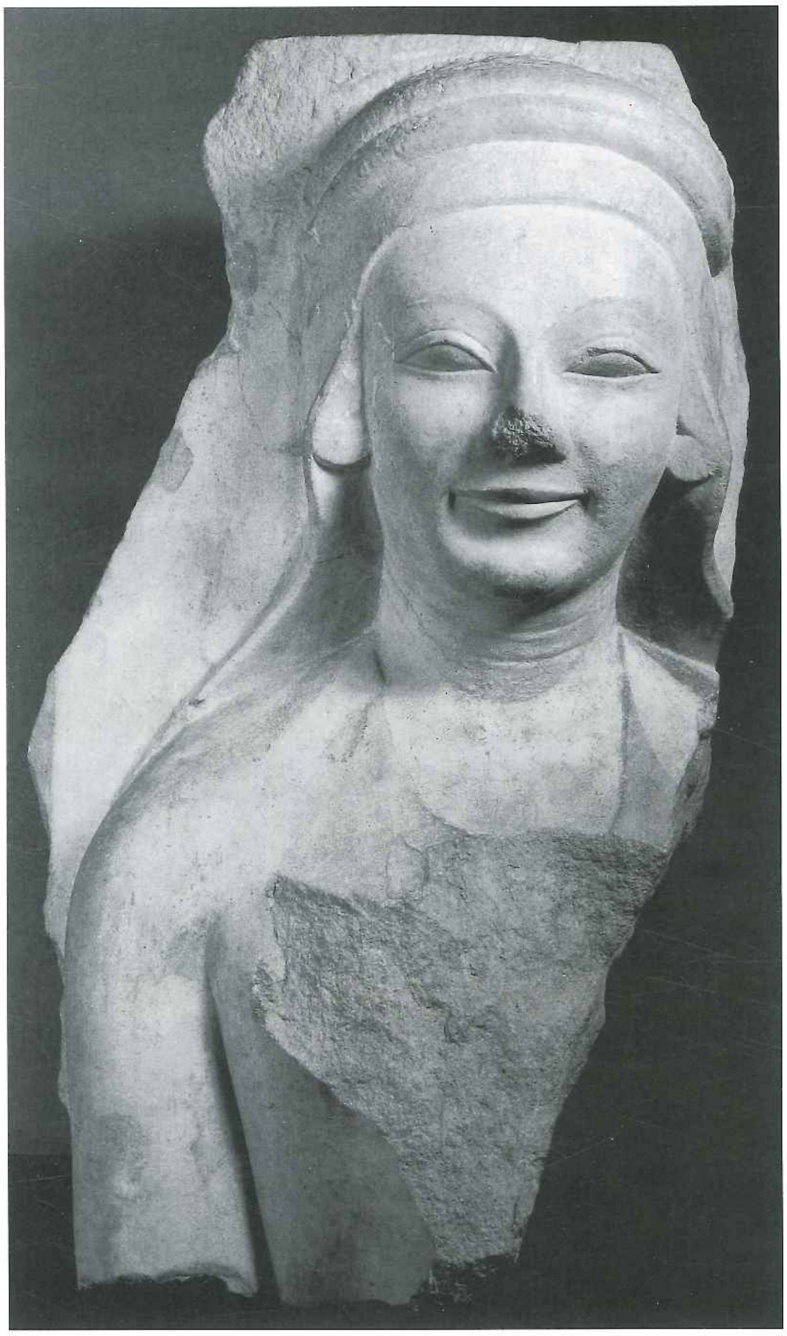
a b c

K40A *Didyma, Museum*

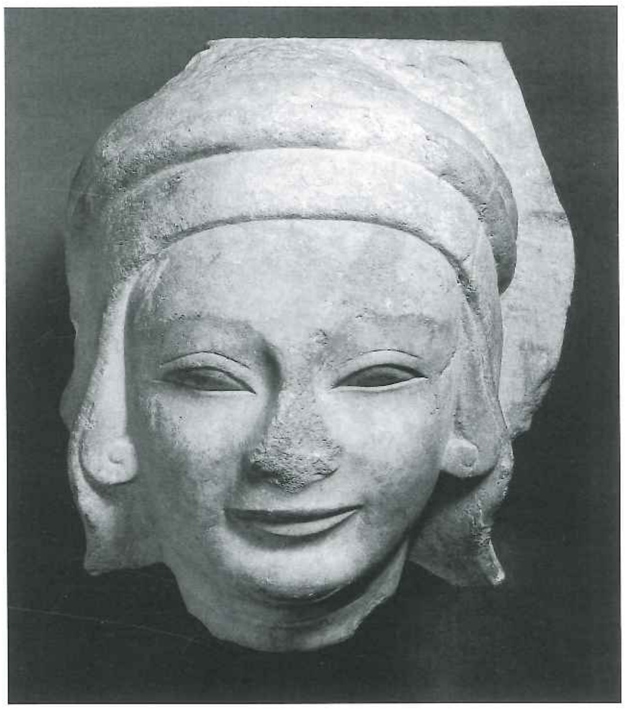


a b c d

K41 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*

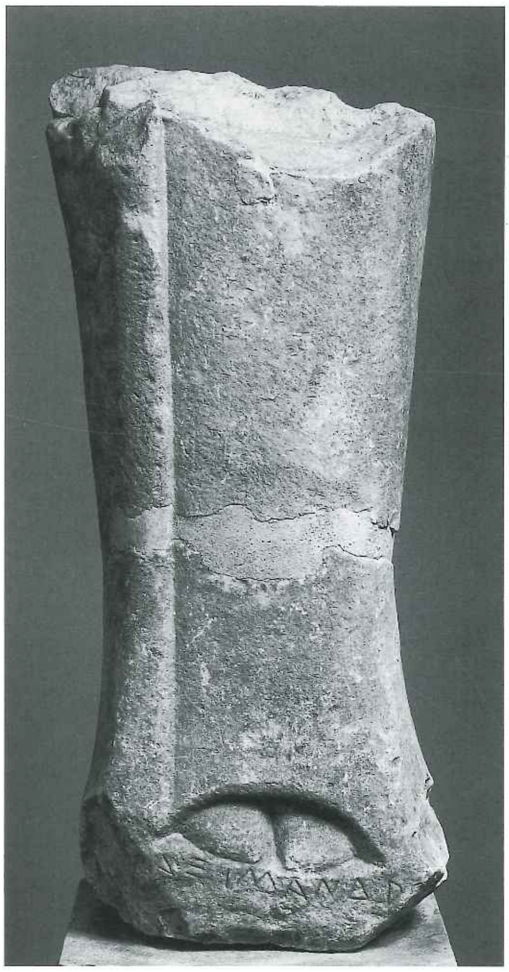


K75

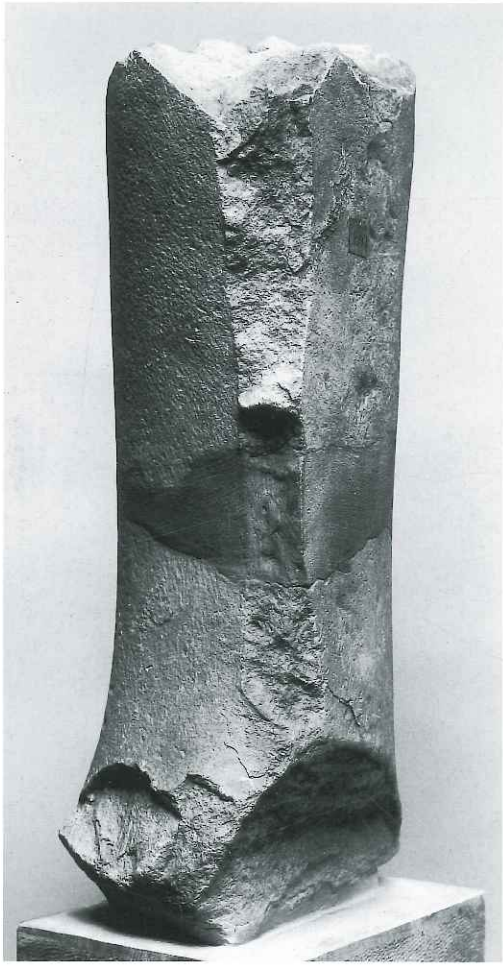


K76

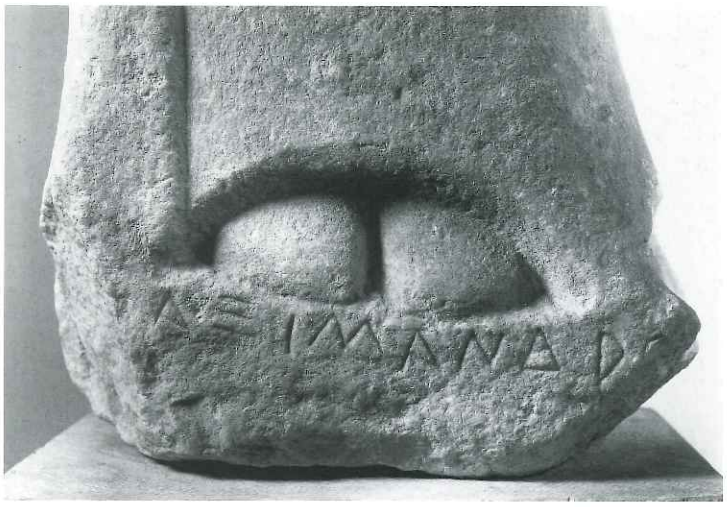
K75 and K76 Column relief *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



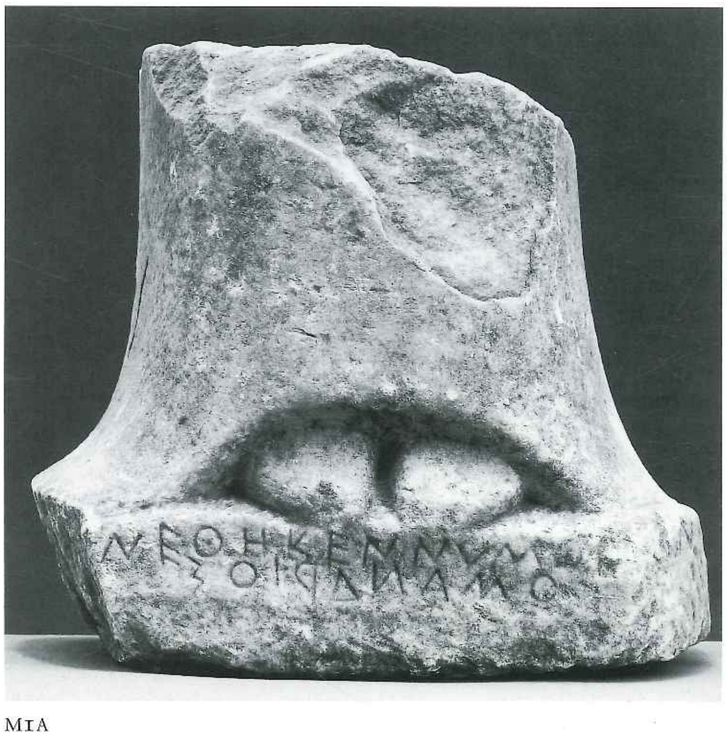
M1 a



M1 b

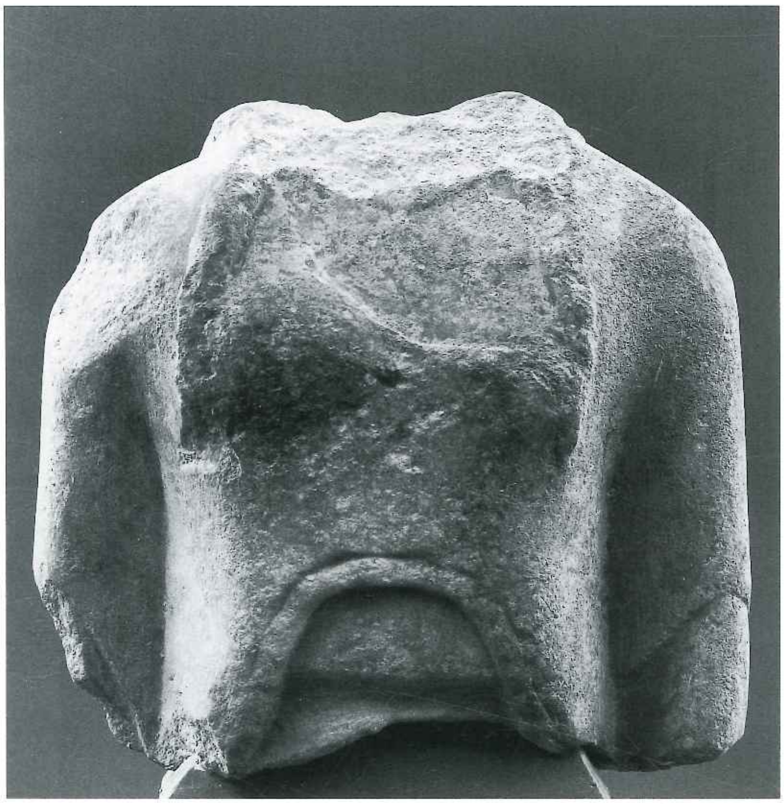


M1 c

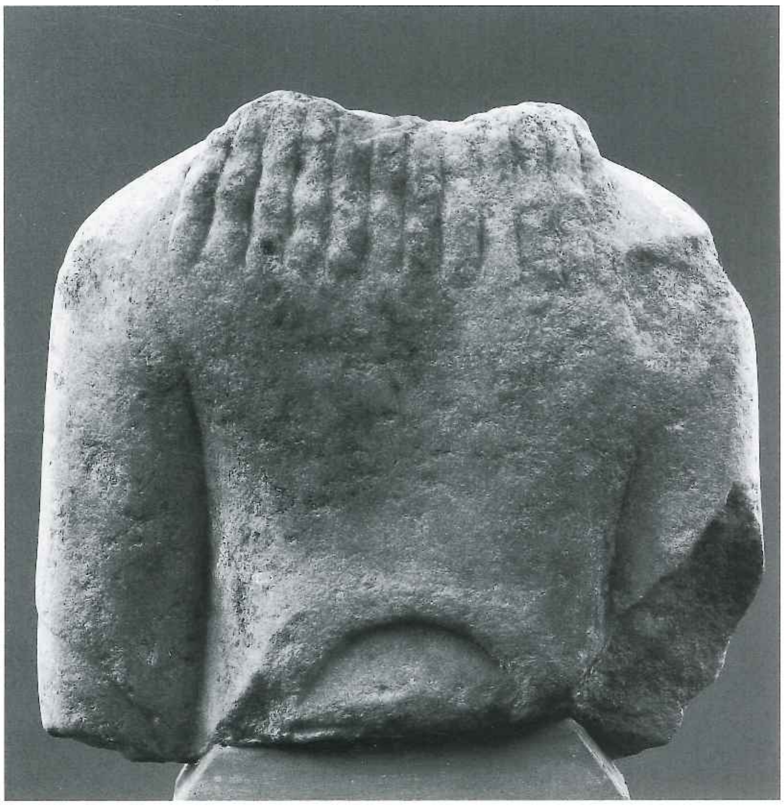


M1A

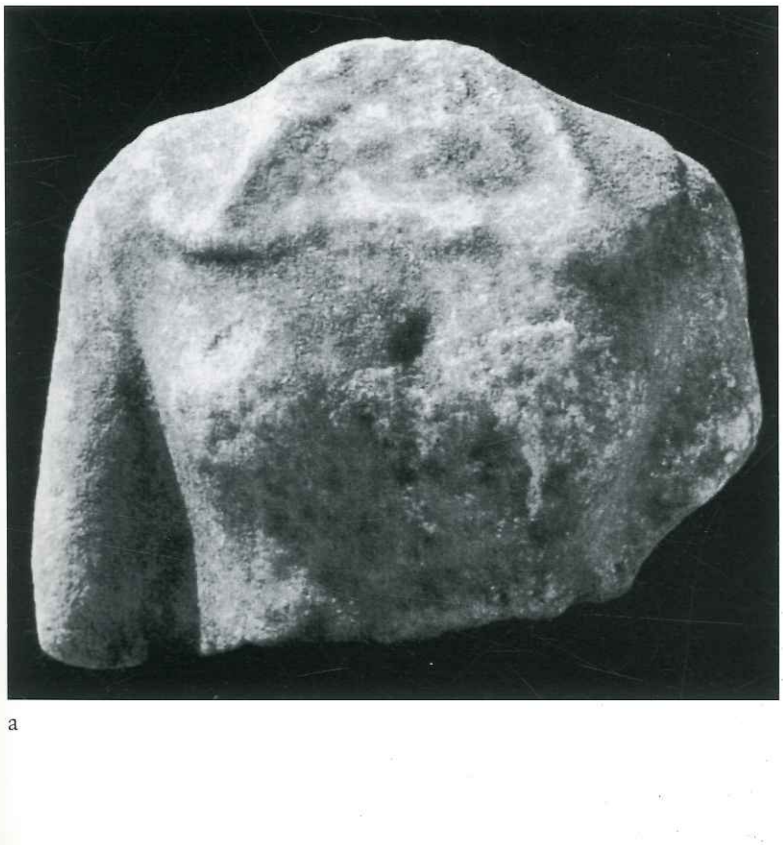
M1 and M1A *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



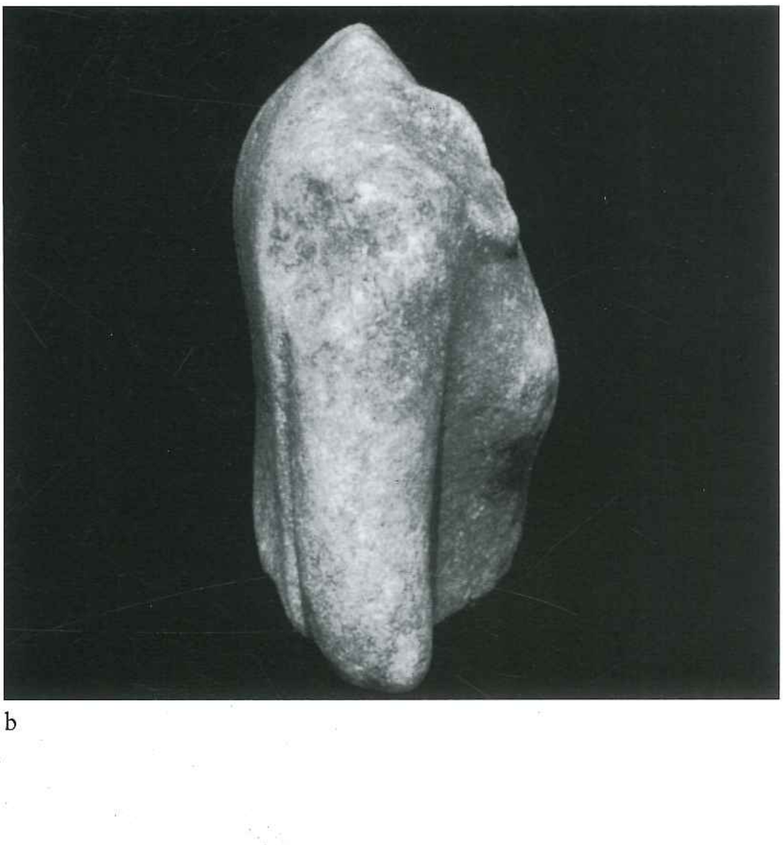
M2 a



M2 b

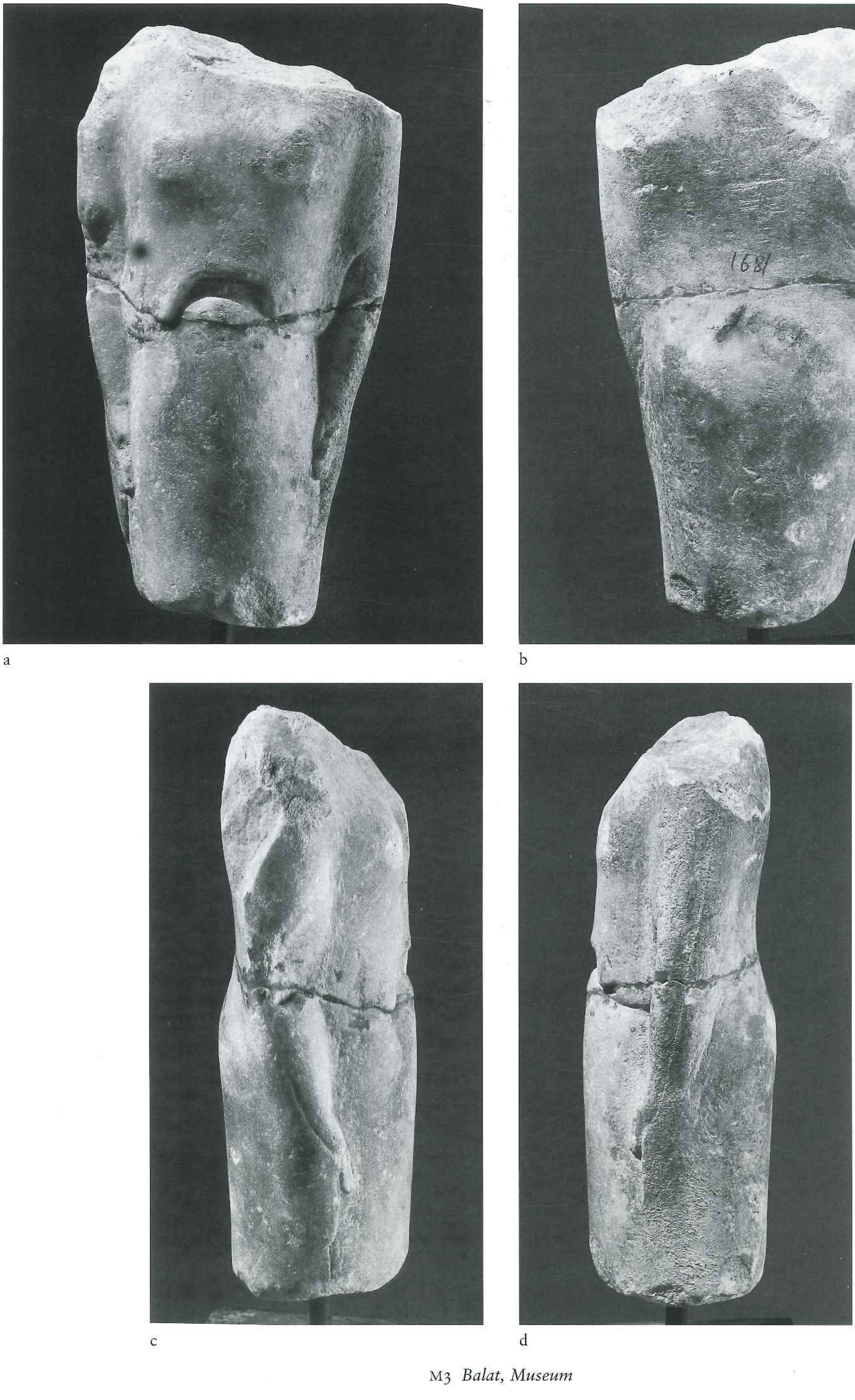


a



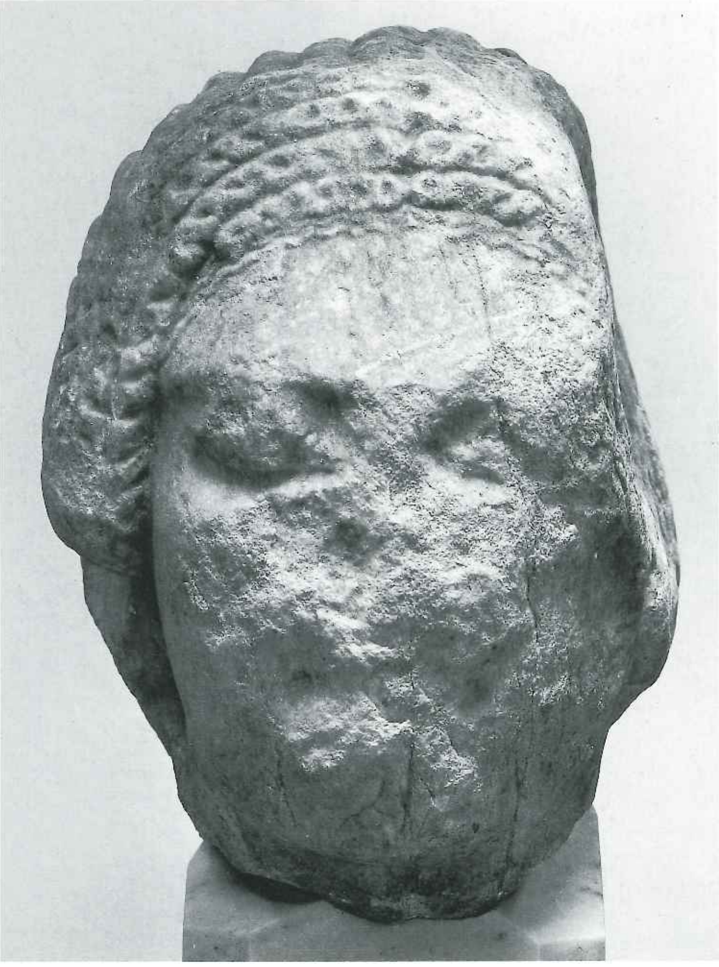
b

M2 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung* · Statuette of a kore from Mengerevtepe *Balat, Museum* S93.119

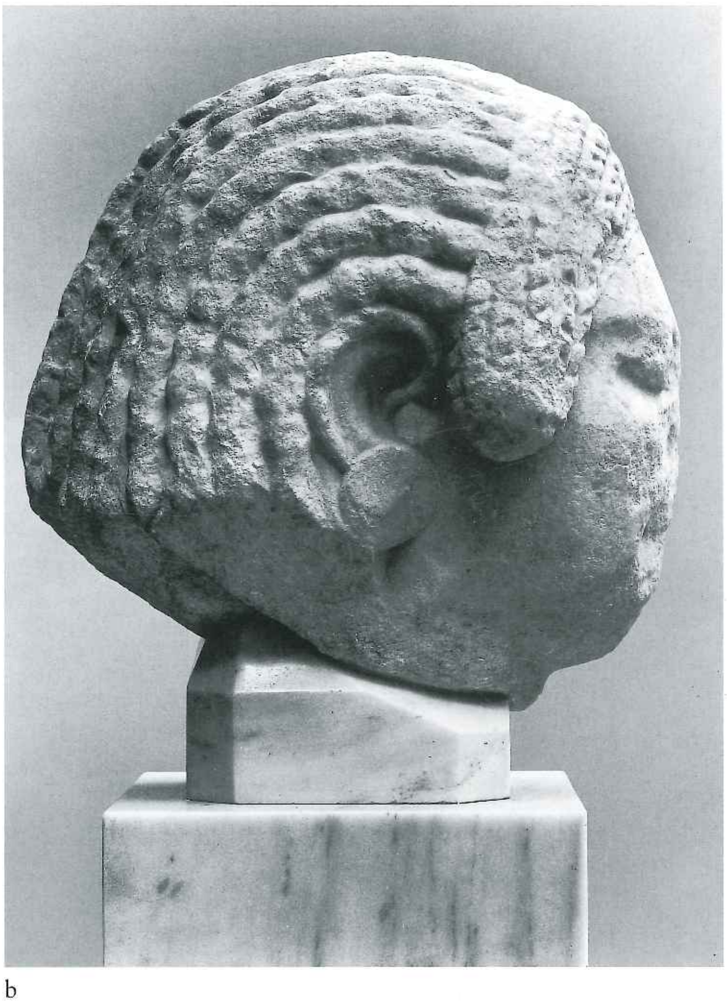


a b c d

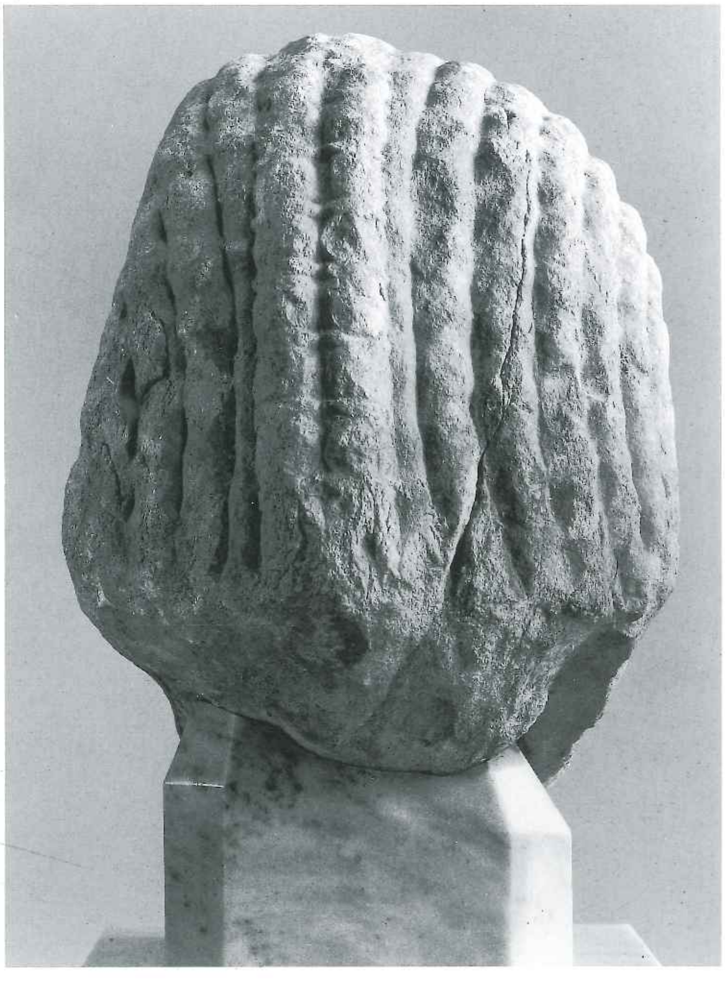
M3 *Balat, Museum*



a

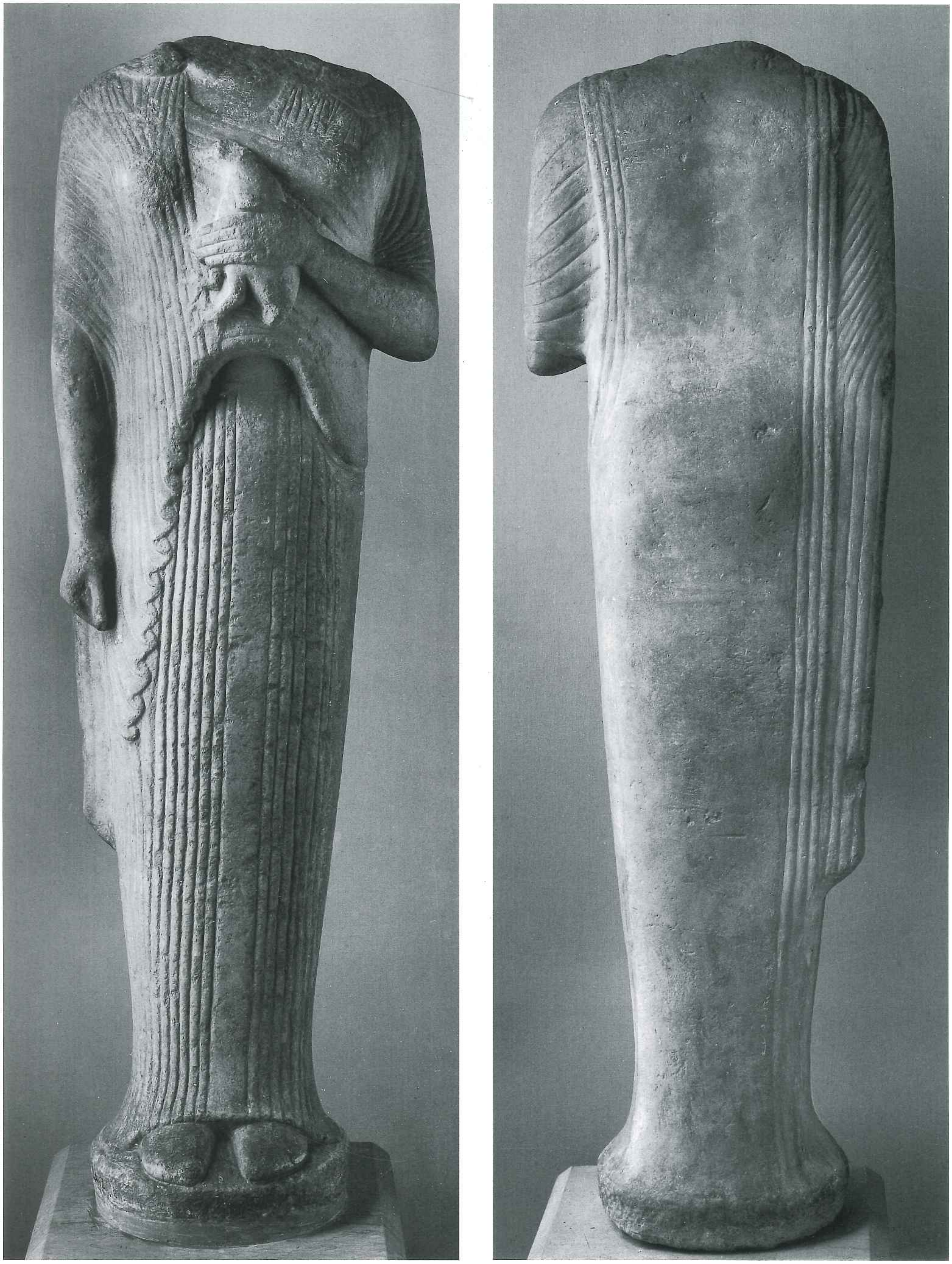


b



c

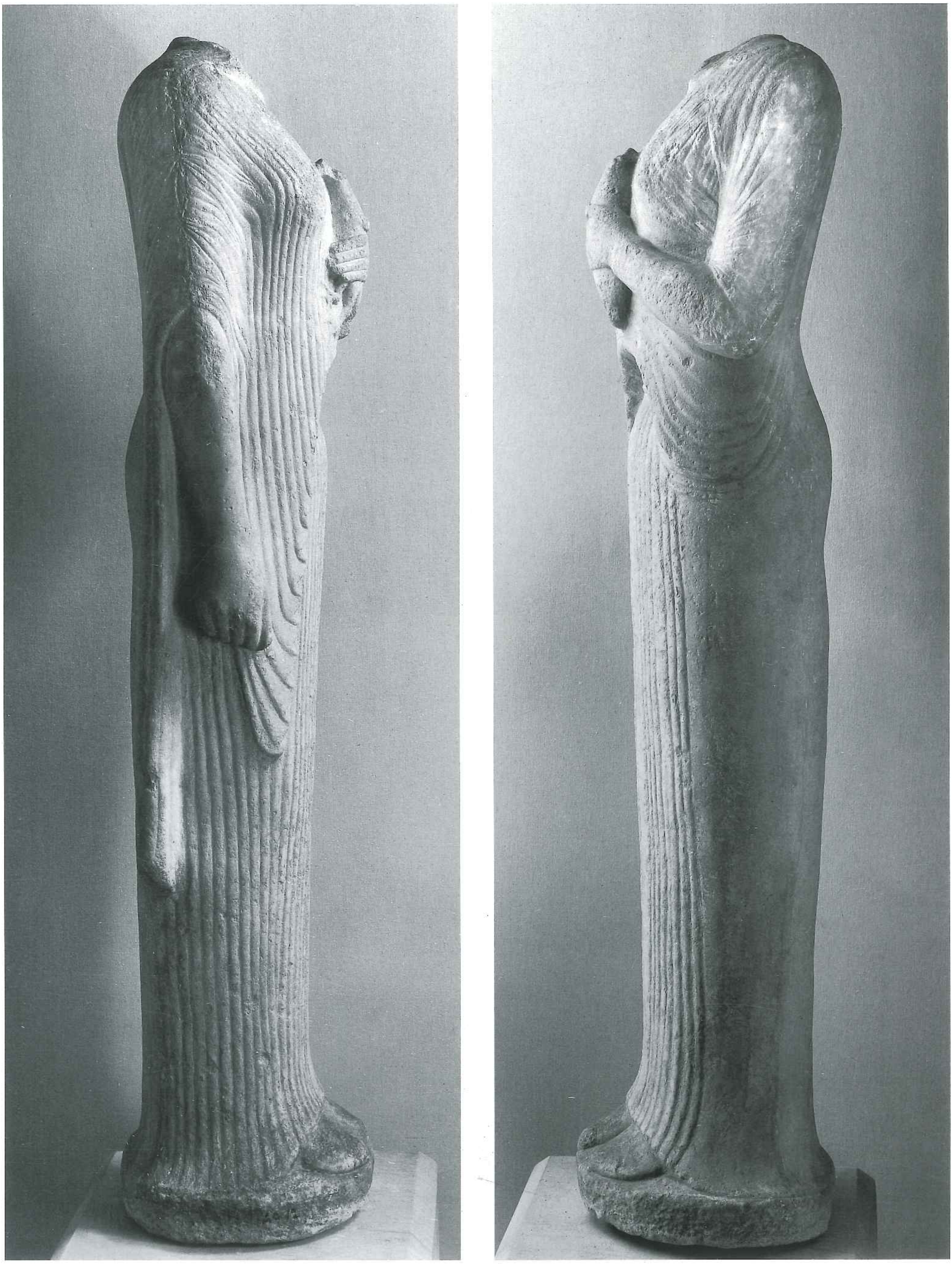
M5 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



a

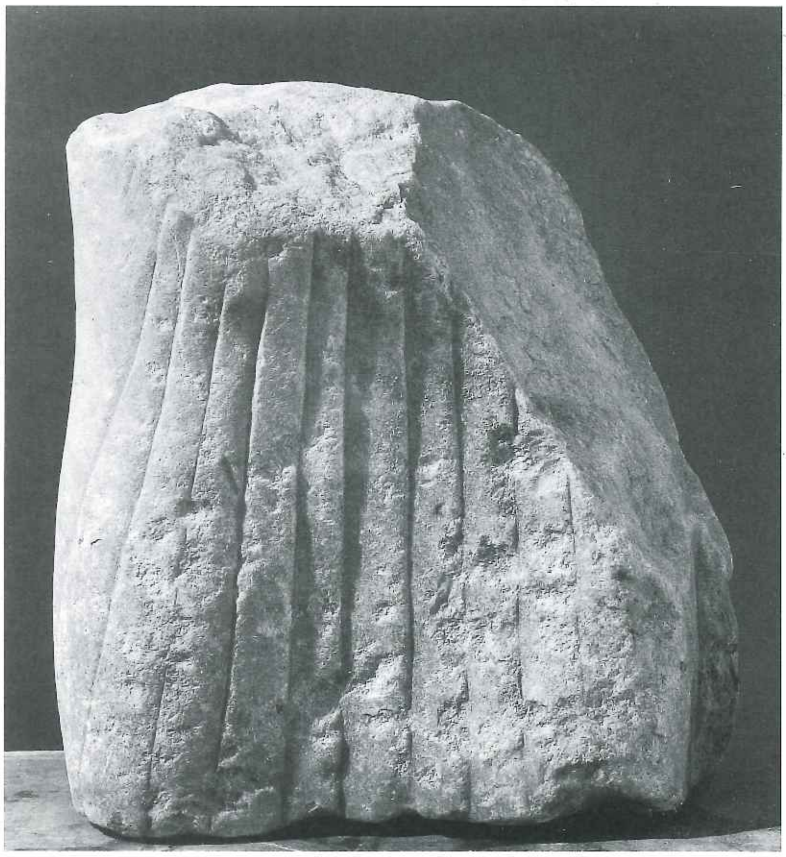
b

M4 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*

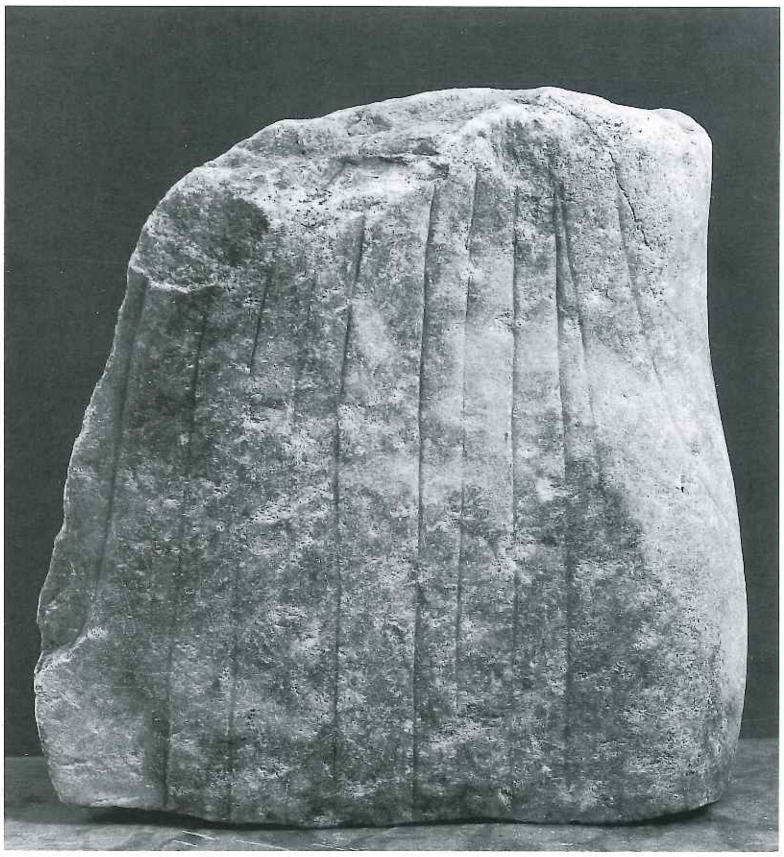


c d

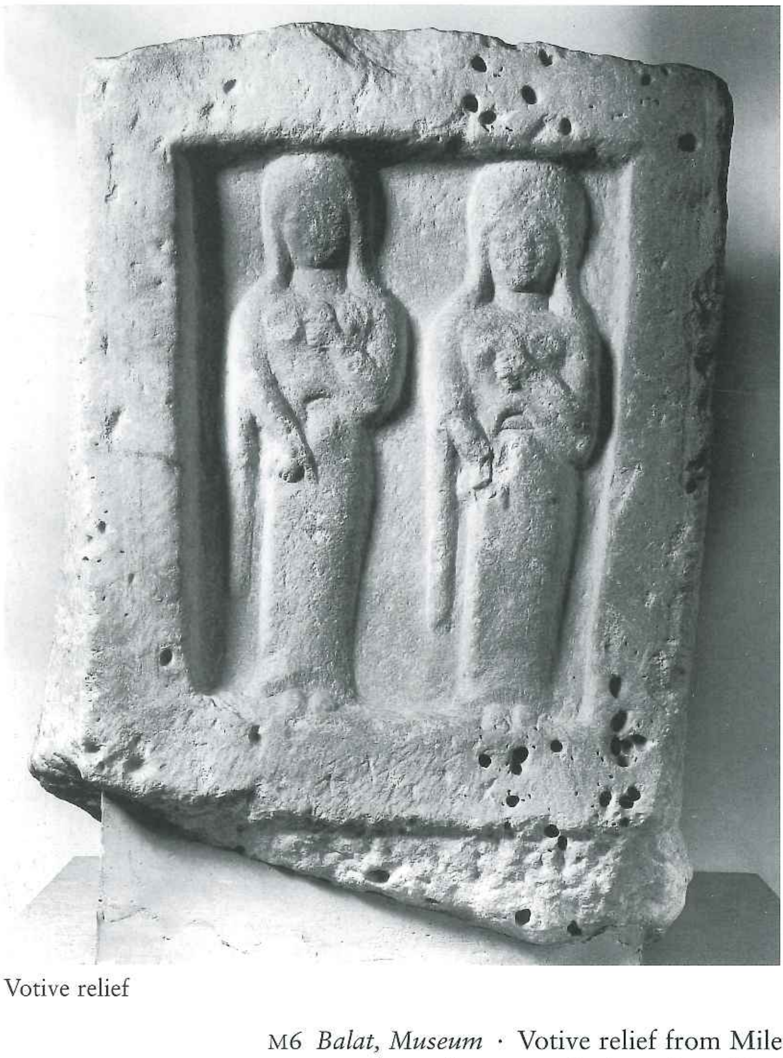
M4 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



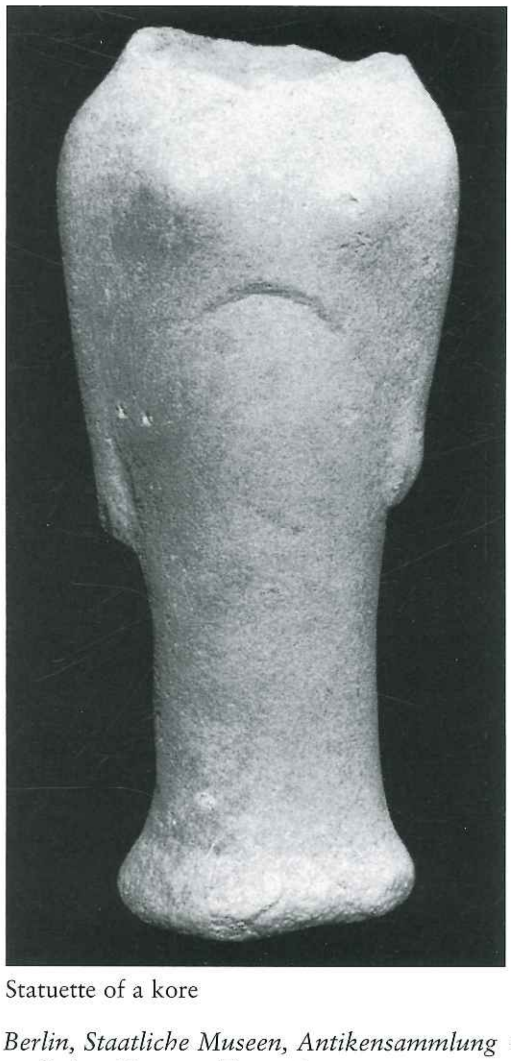
M6 a



M6 b

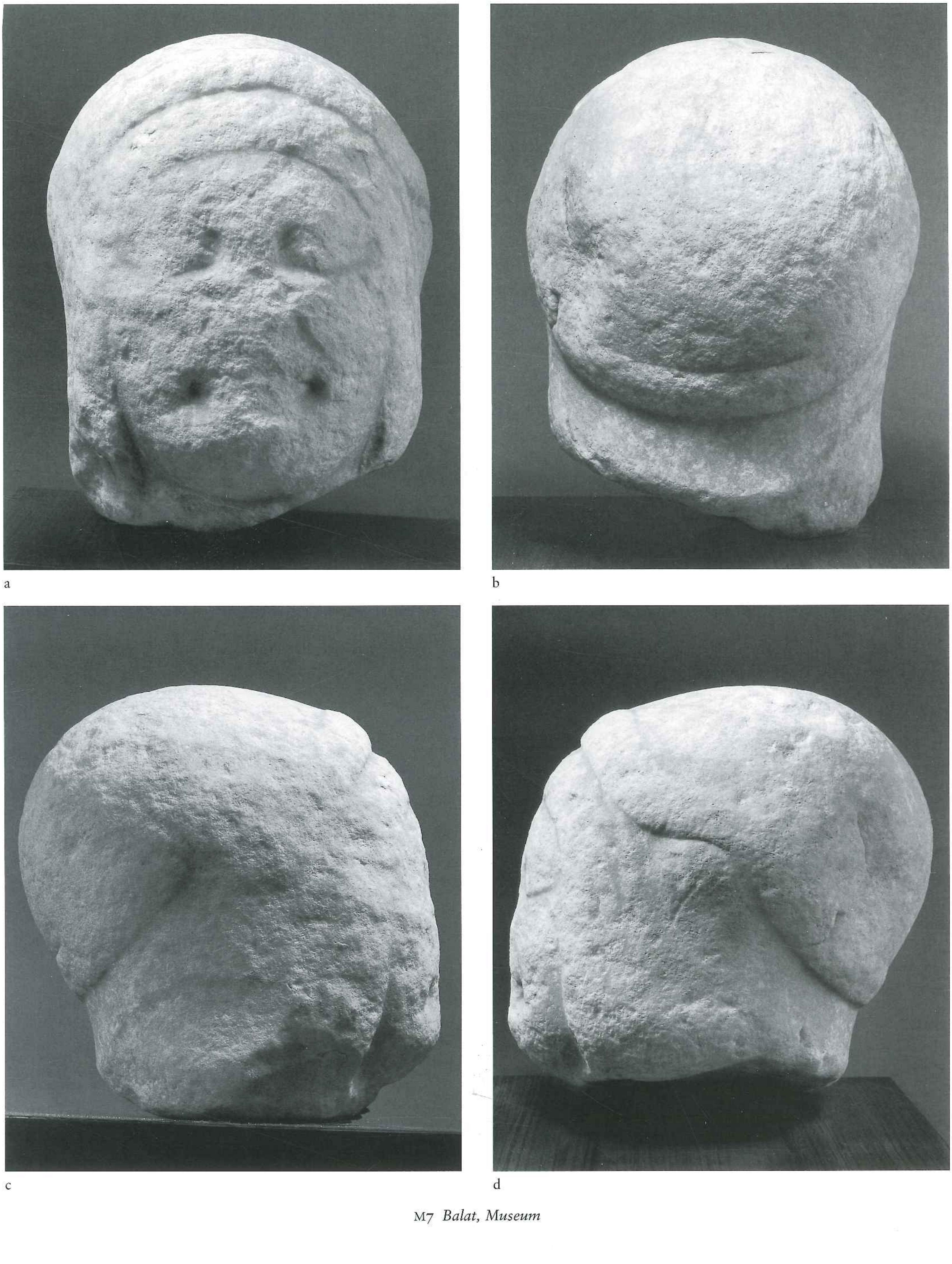


Votive relief

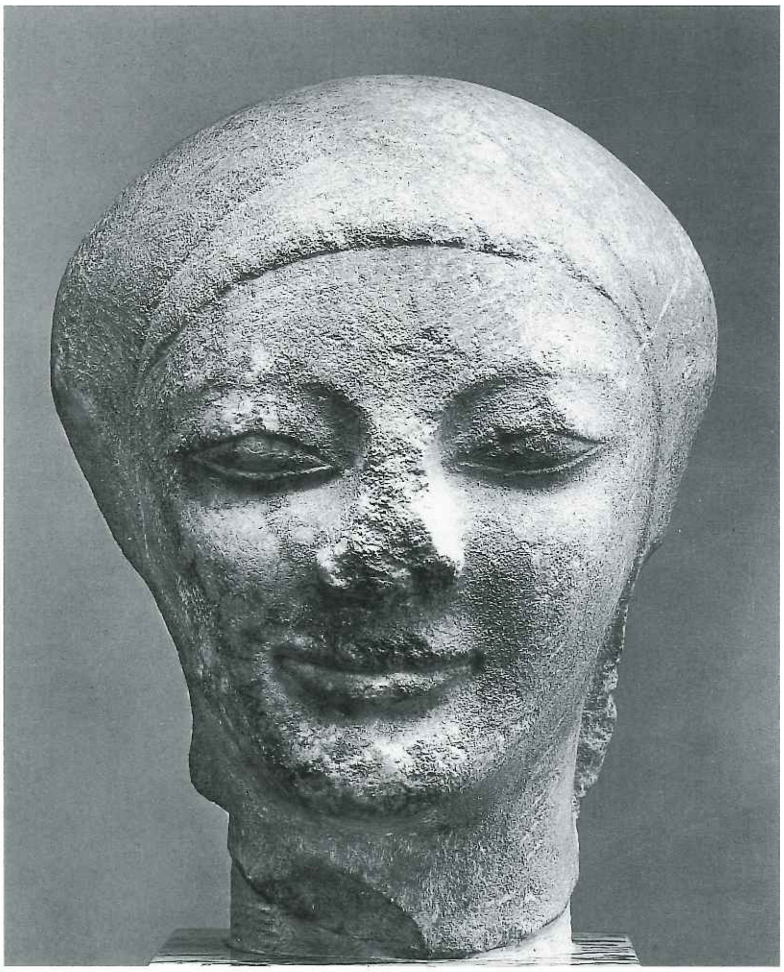


Statuette of a kore

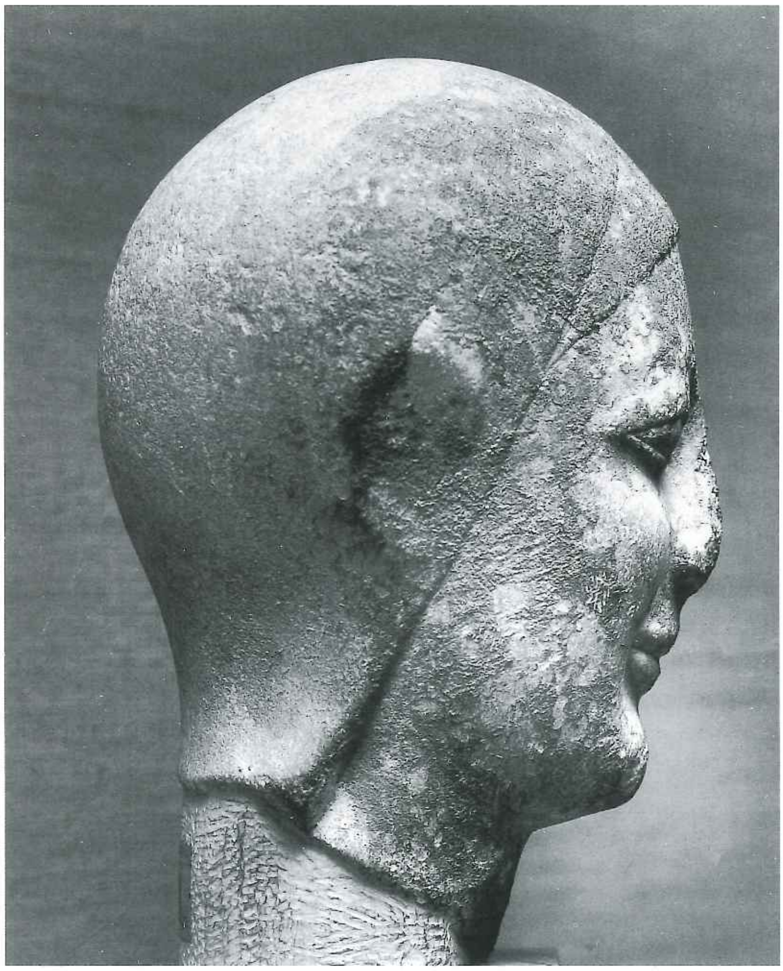
M6 *Balat, Museum* · Votive relief from Miletus *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung* ·
Statuette of a kore from Zeytintepe *Balat, Museum* Z94.261.1



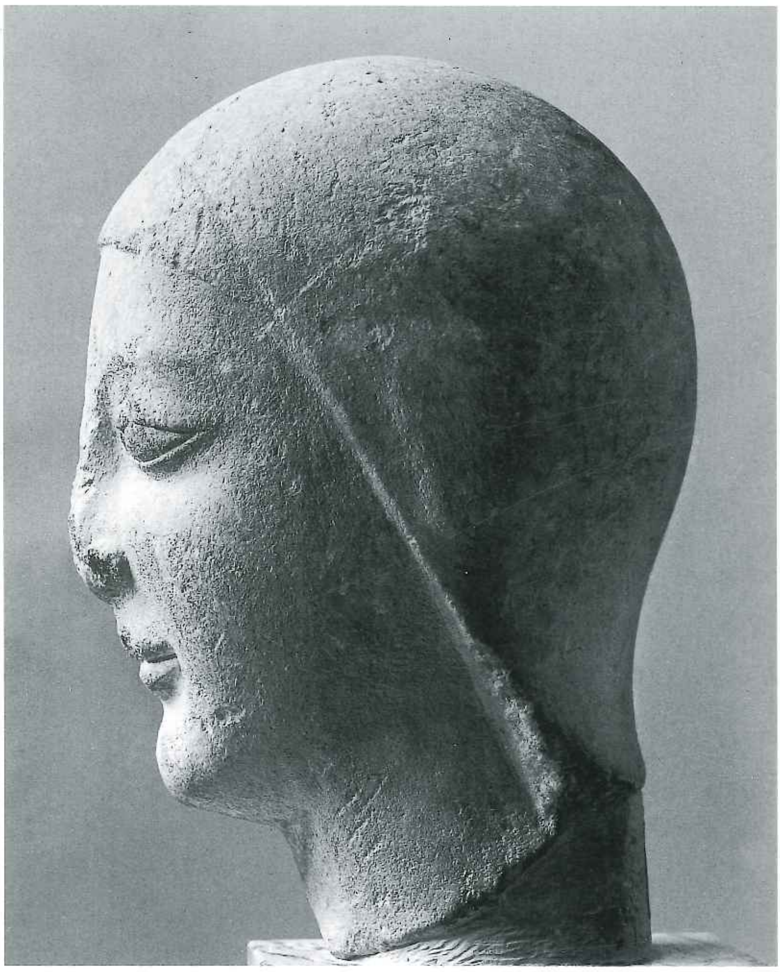
M7 *Balat, Museum*



a

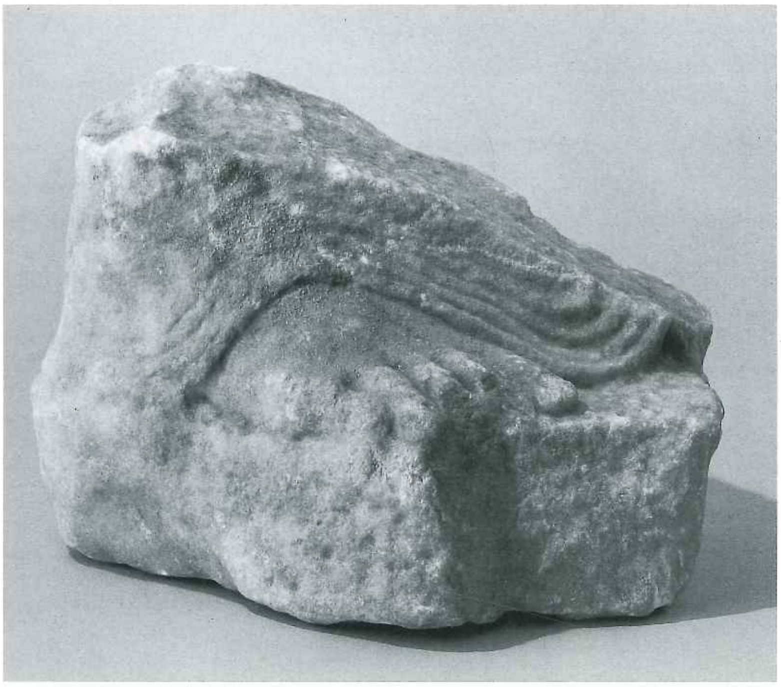


b

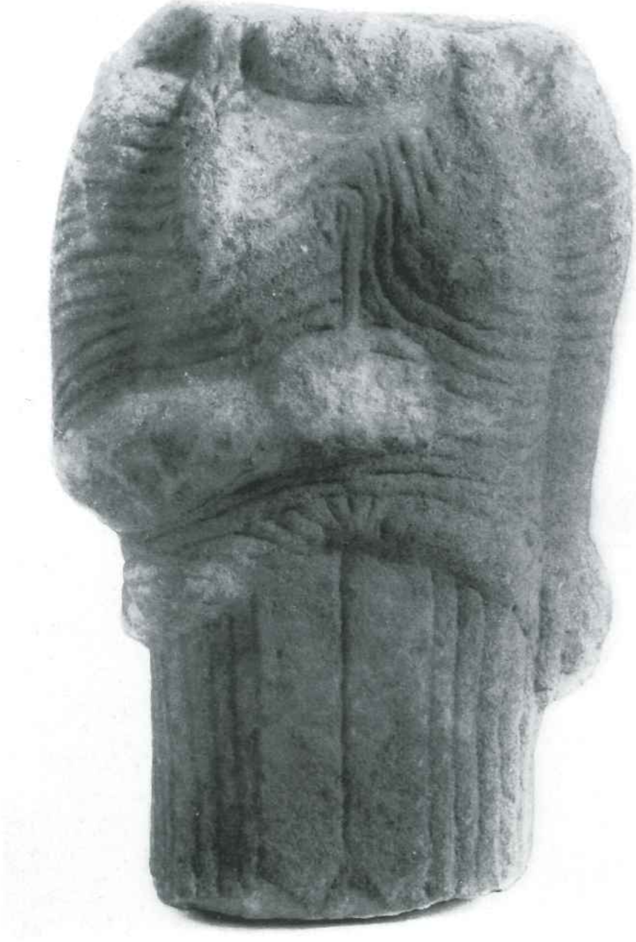


c

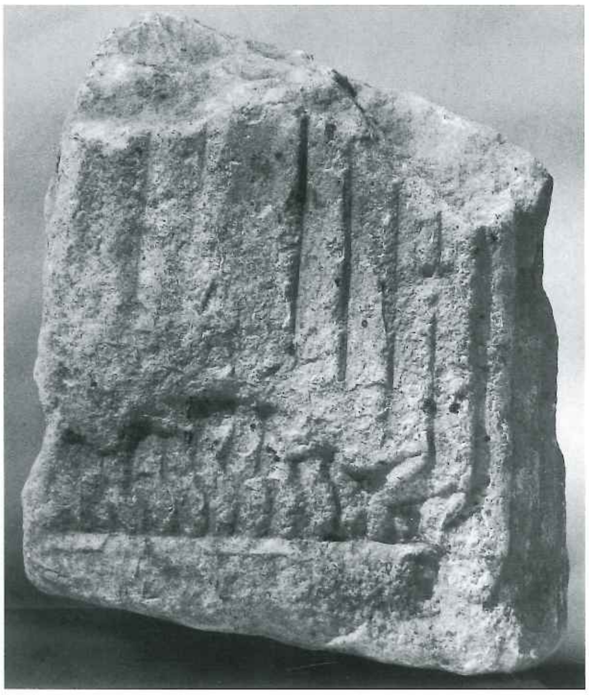
M8 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



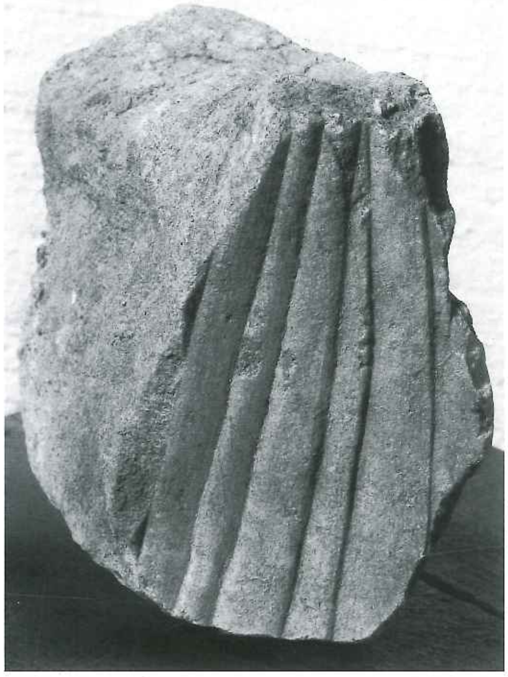
M14



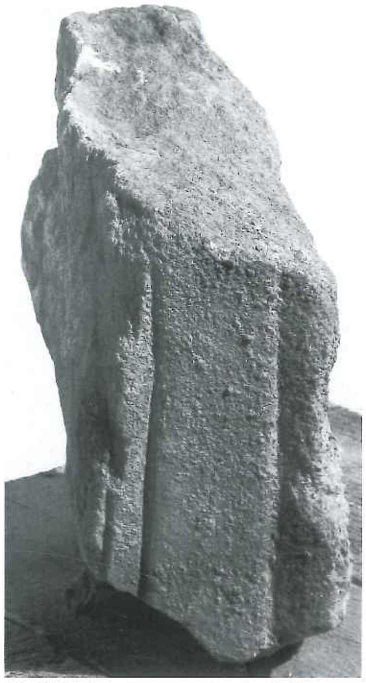
M10



M9

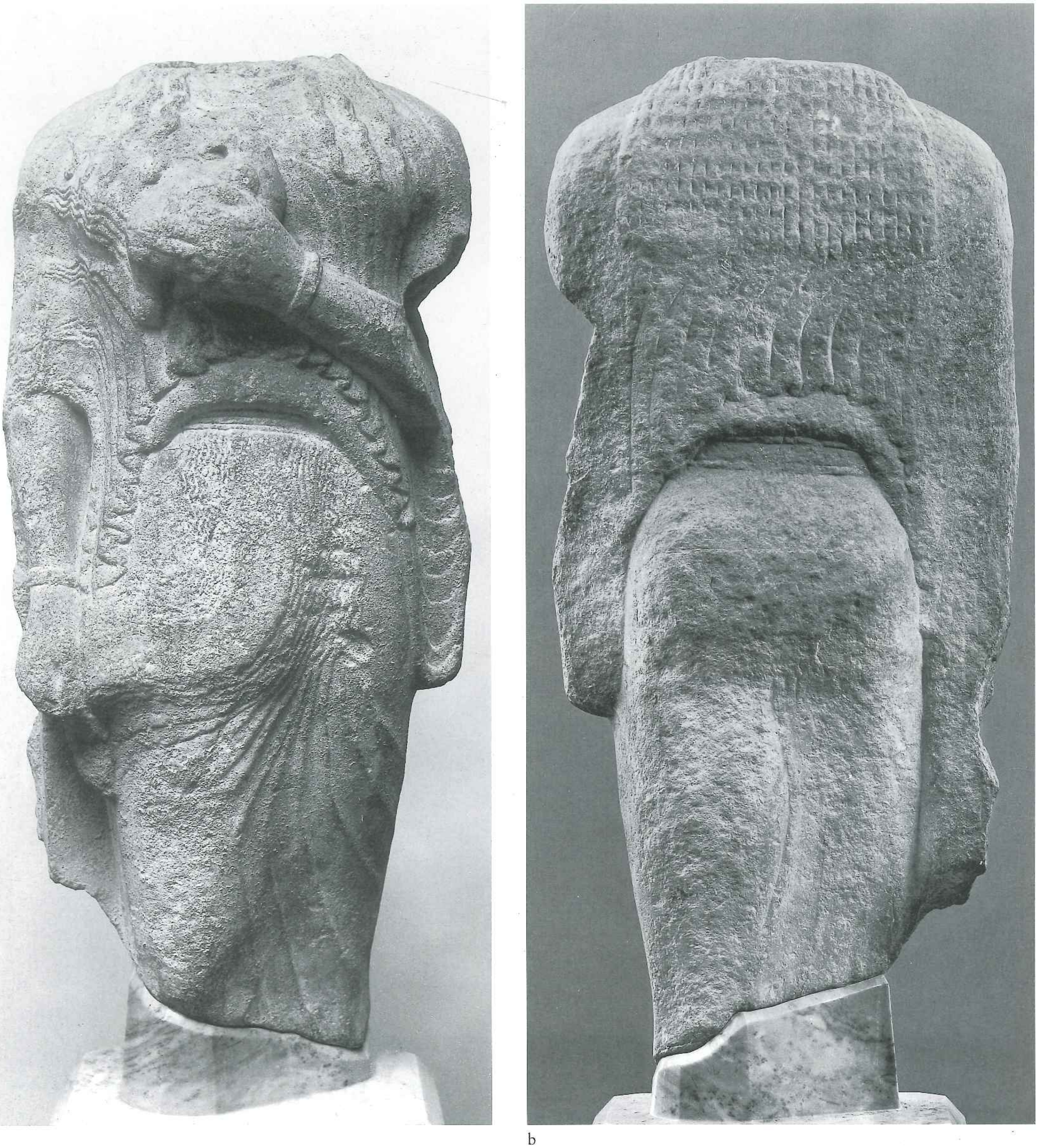


M15 a



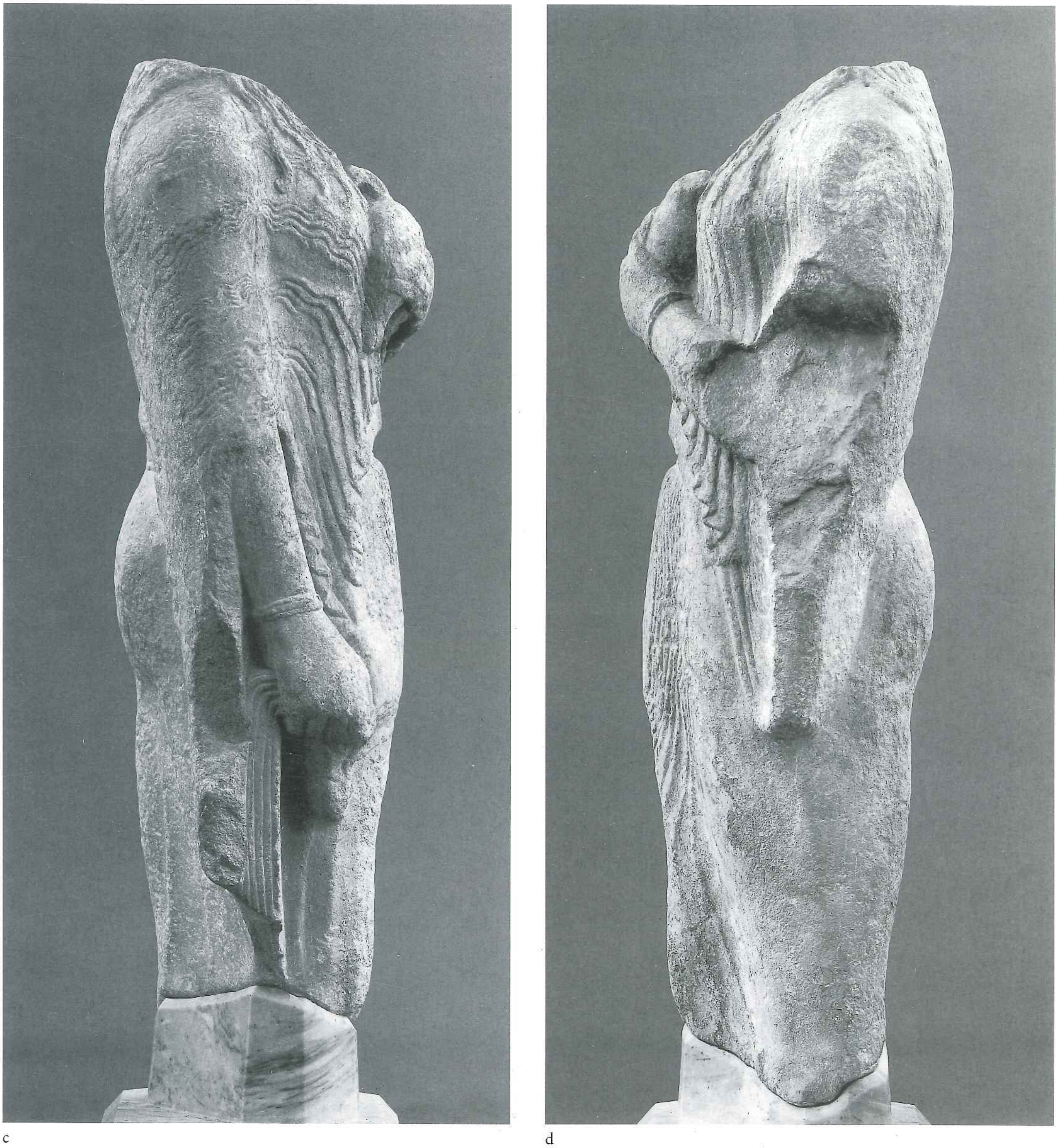
M15 b

M14 *Balat, Museum* · M10 *Art Market* · M9 and M15 *Balat, Museum*



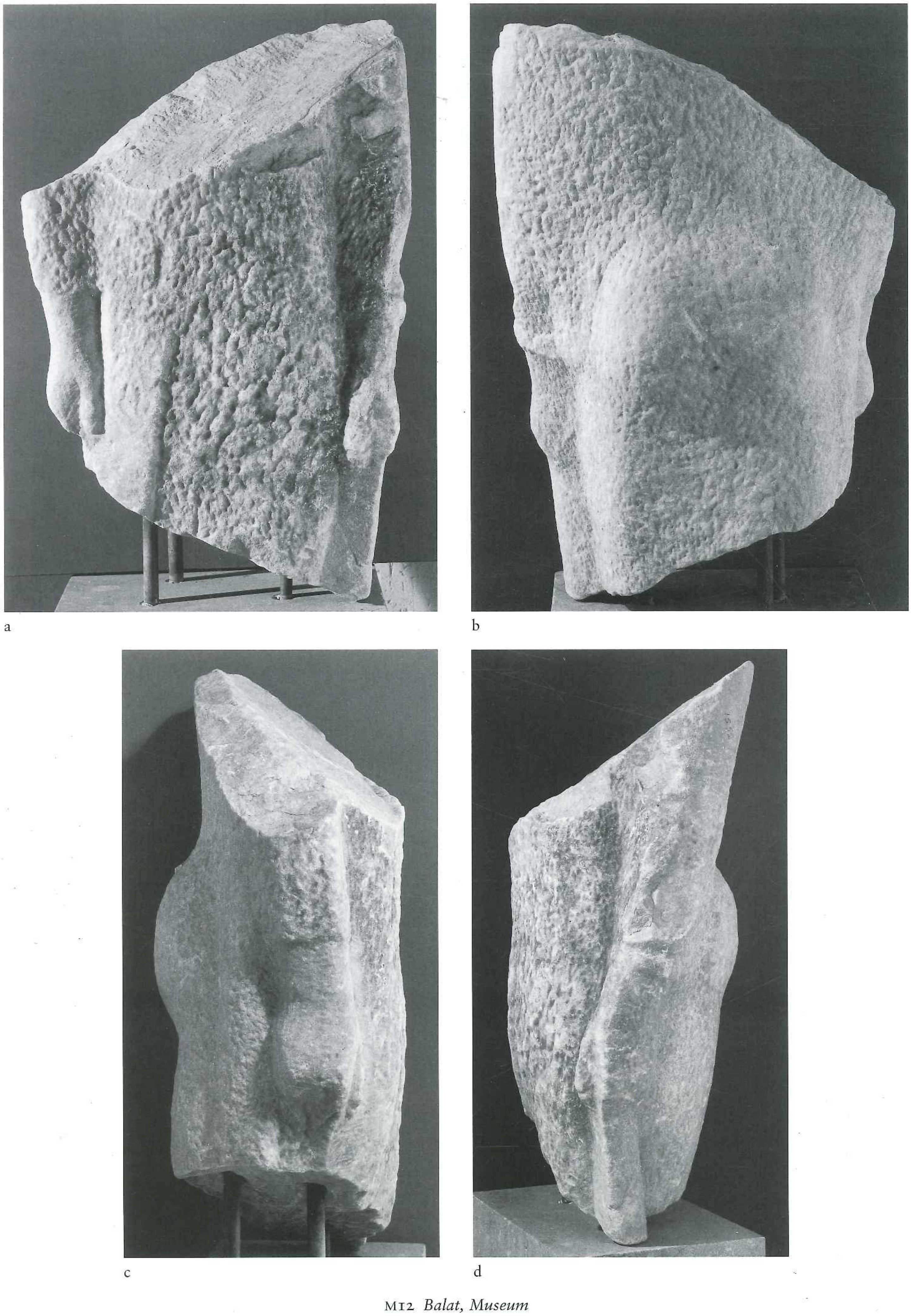
a b

MII *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*

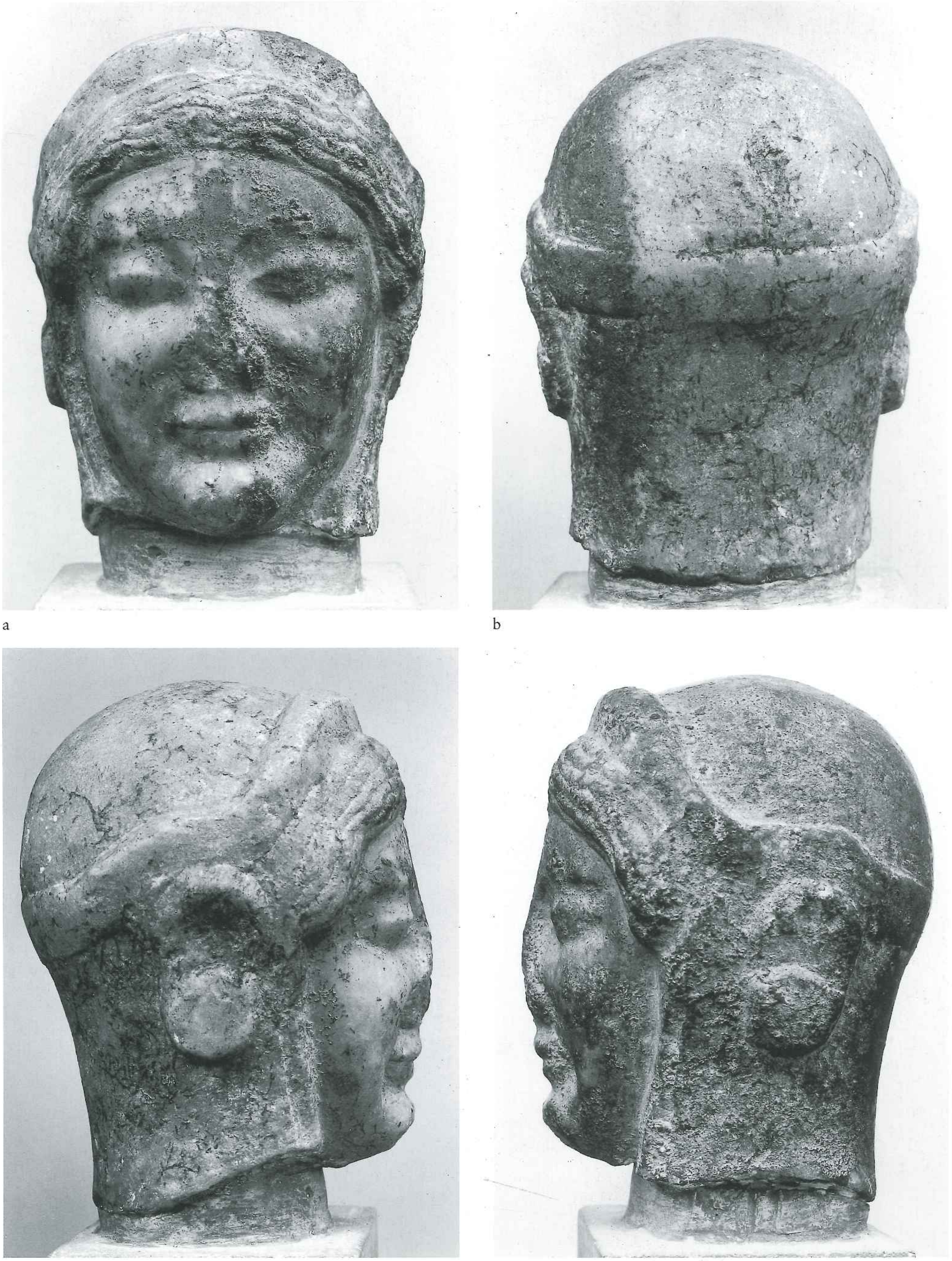


c d

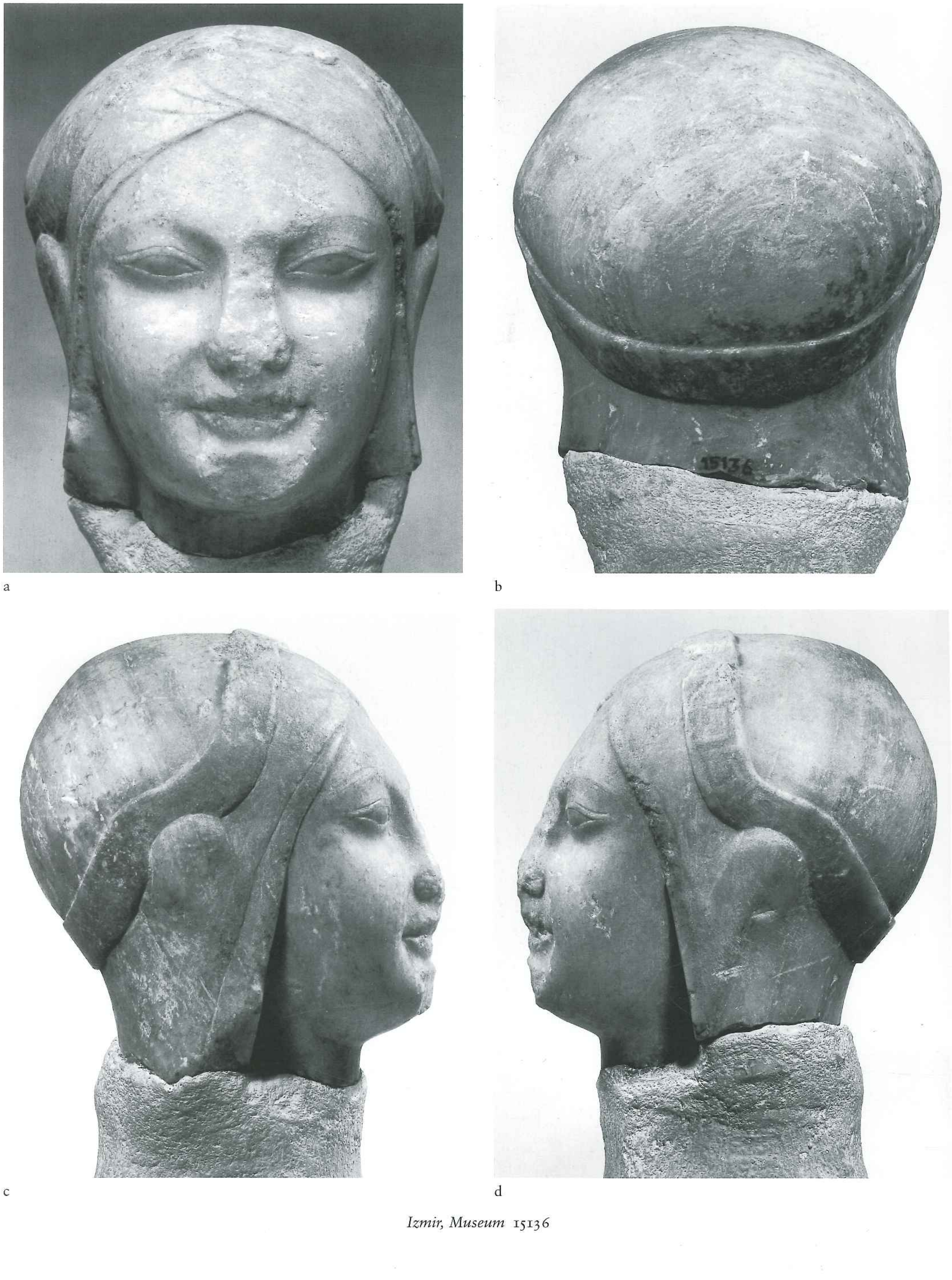
M11 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*



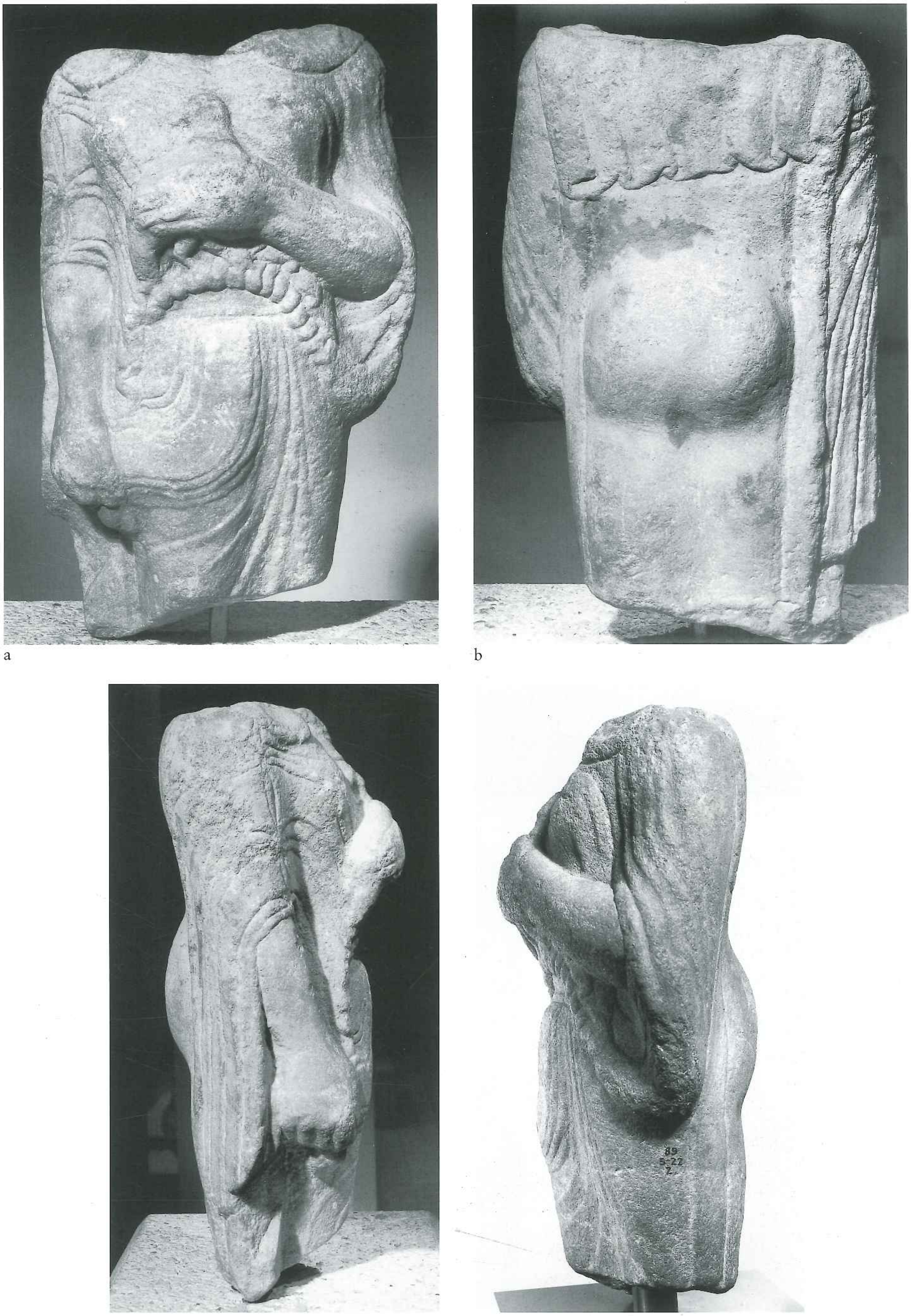
M12 *Balat, Museum*



M13 *Paris, Louvre*

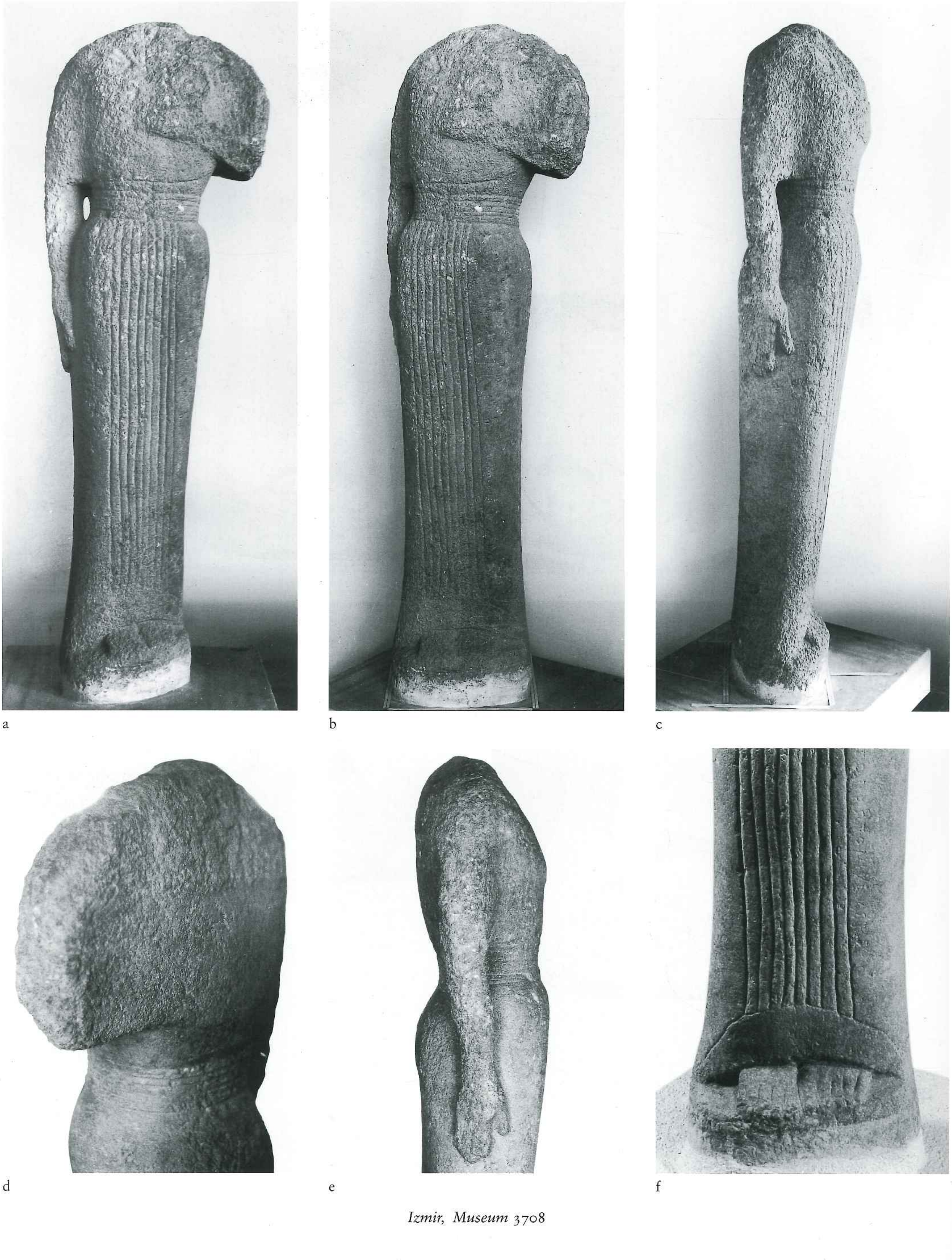


Izmir, Museum 15136

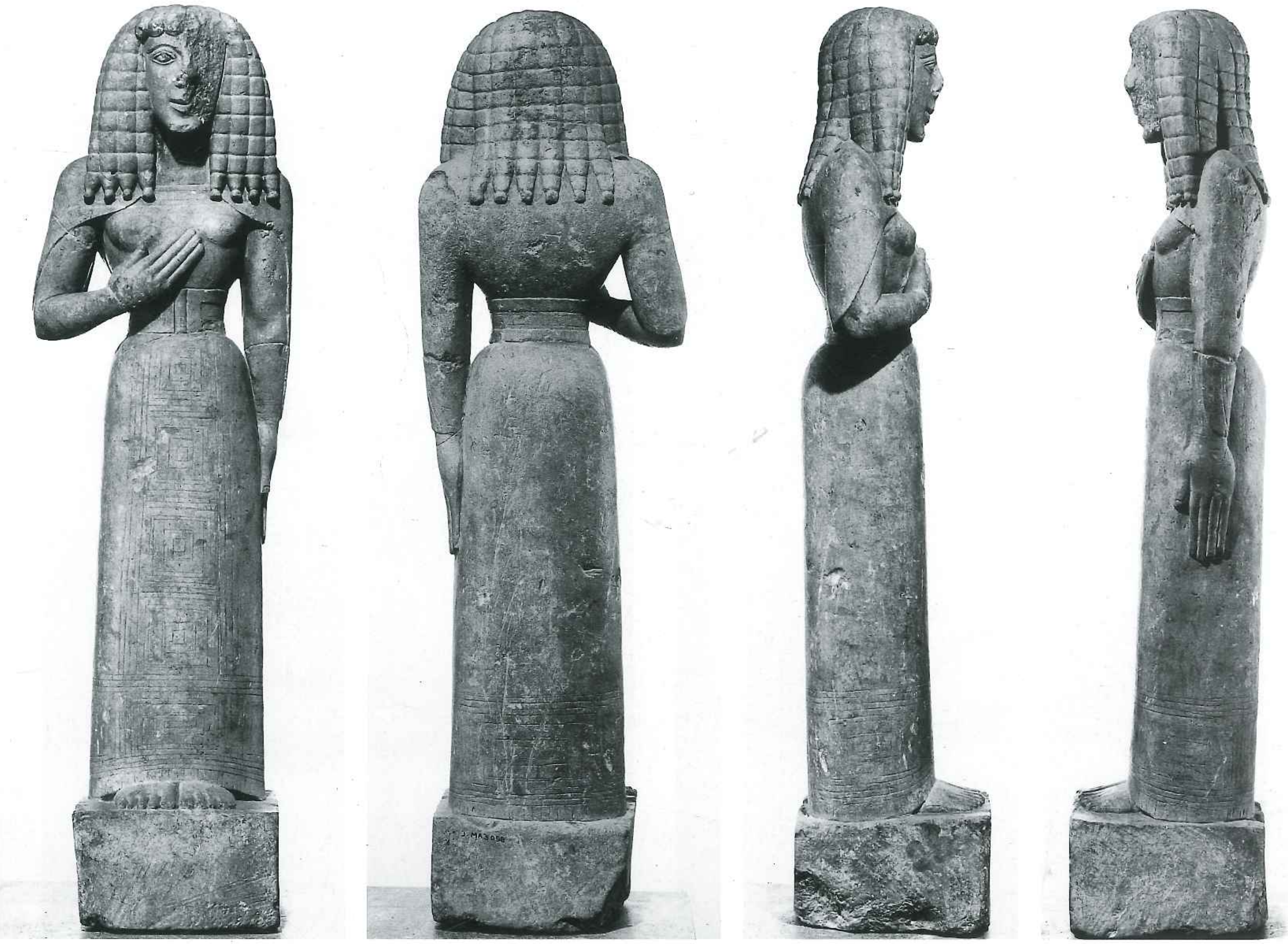


a b c d

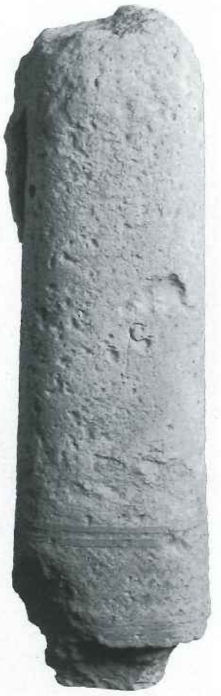
London, The British Museum B319



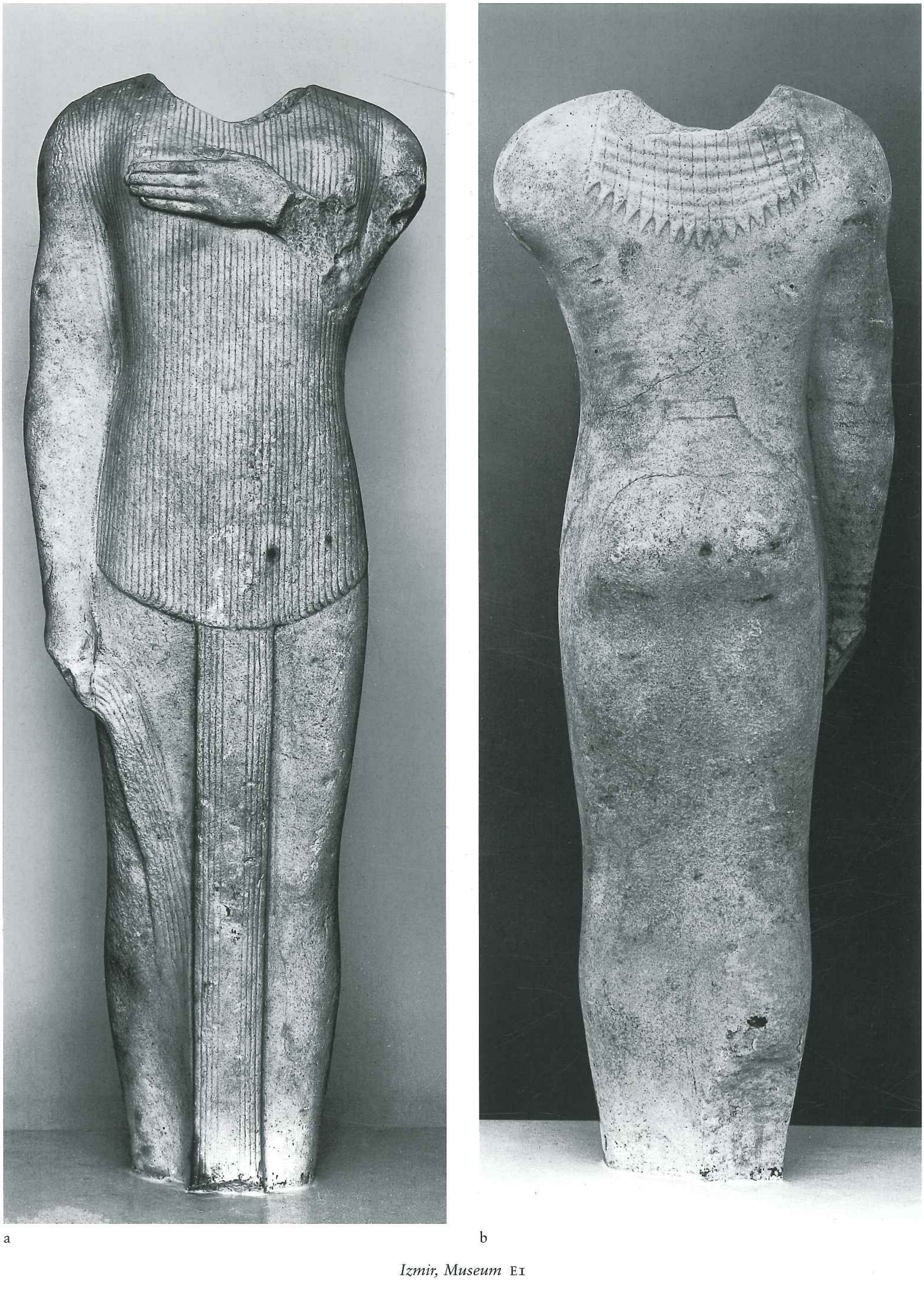
Izmir, Museum 3708



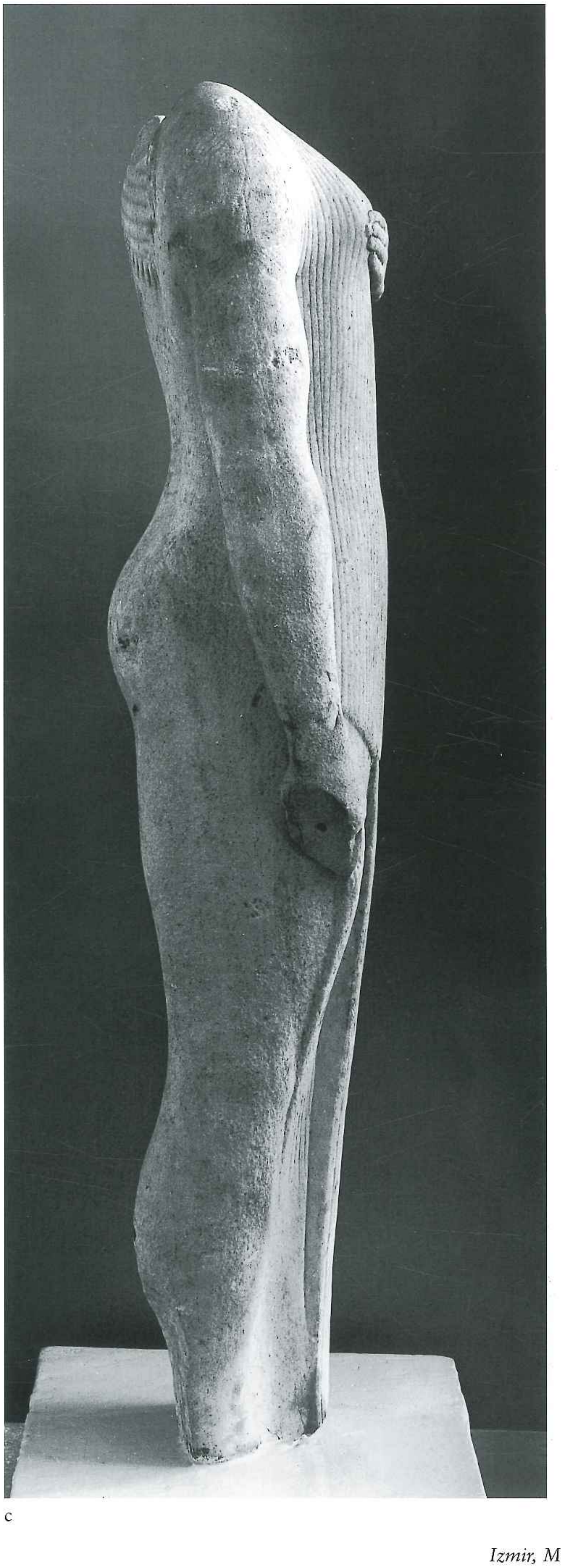
a b c d



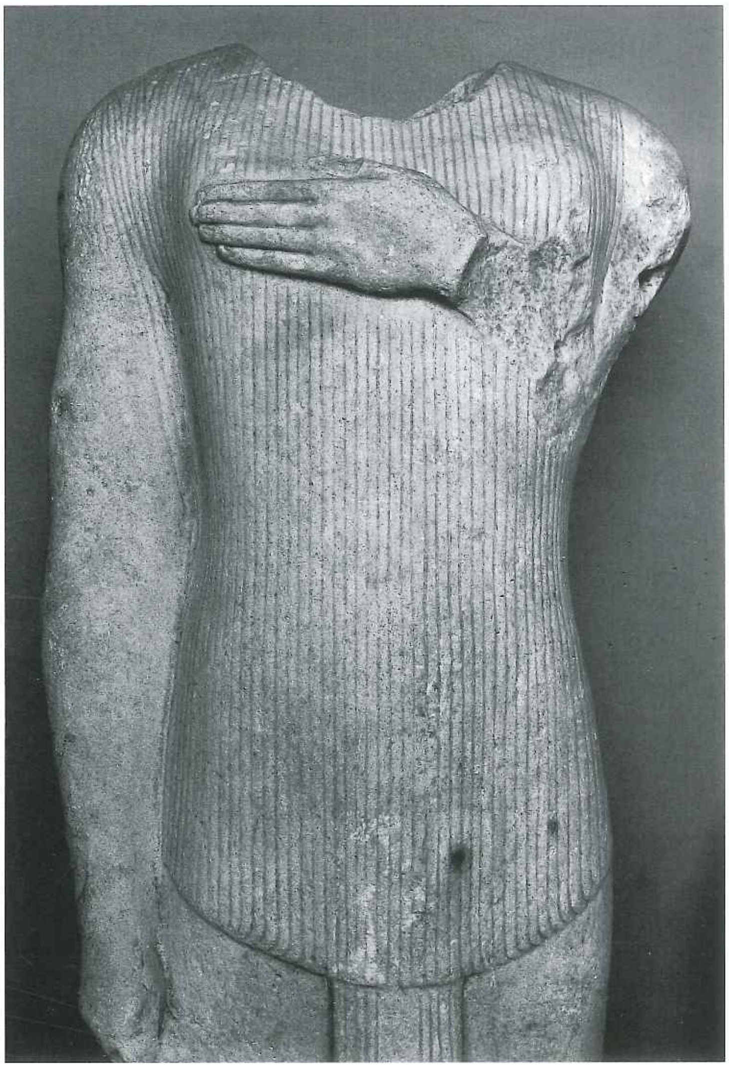
Paris, Louvre 3098 · Kore from Eleutherna *Rethymnon, Museum*



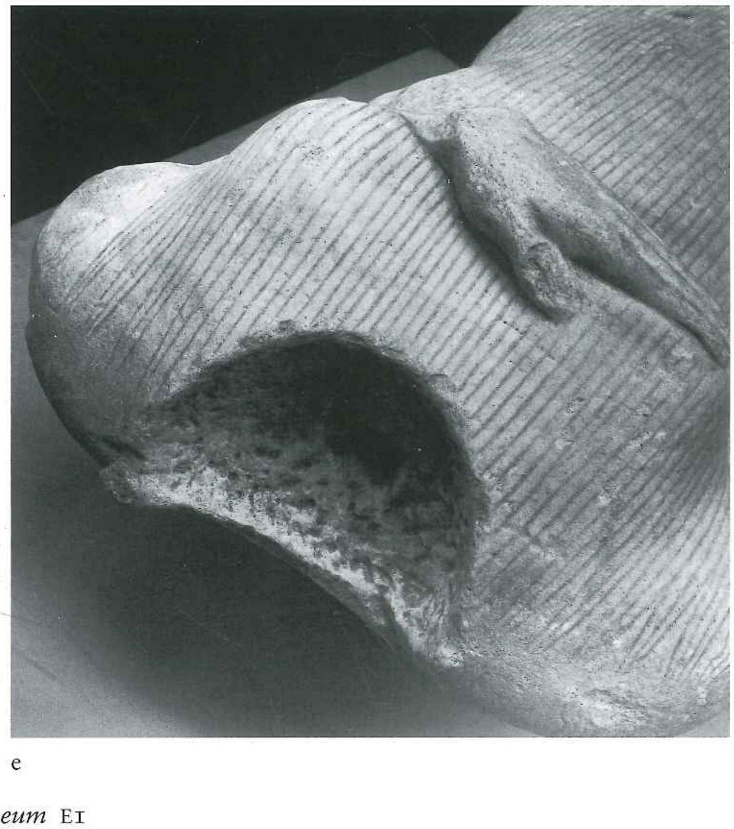
Izmir, Museum E1



c

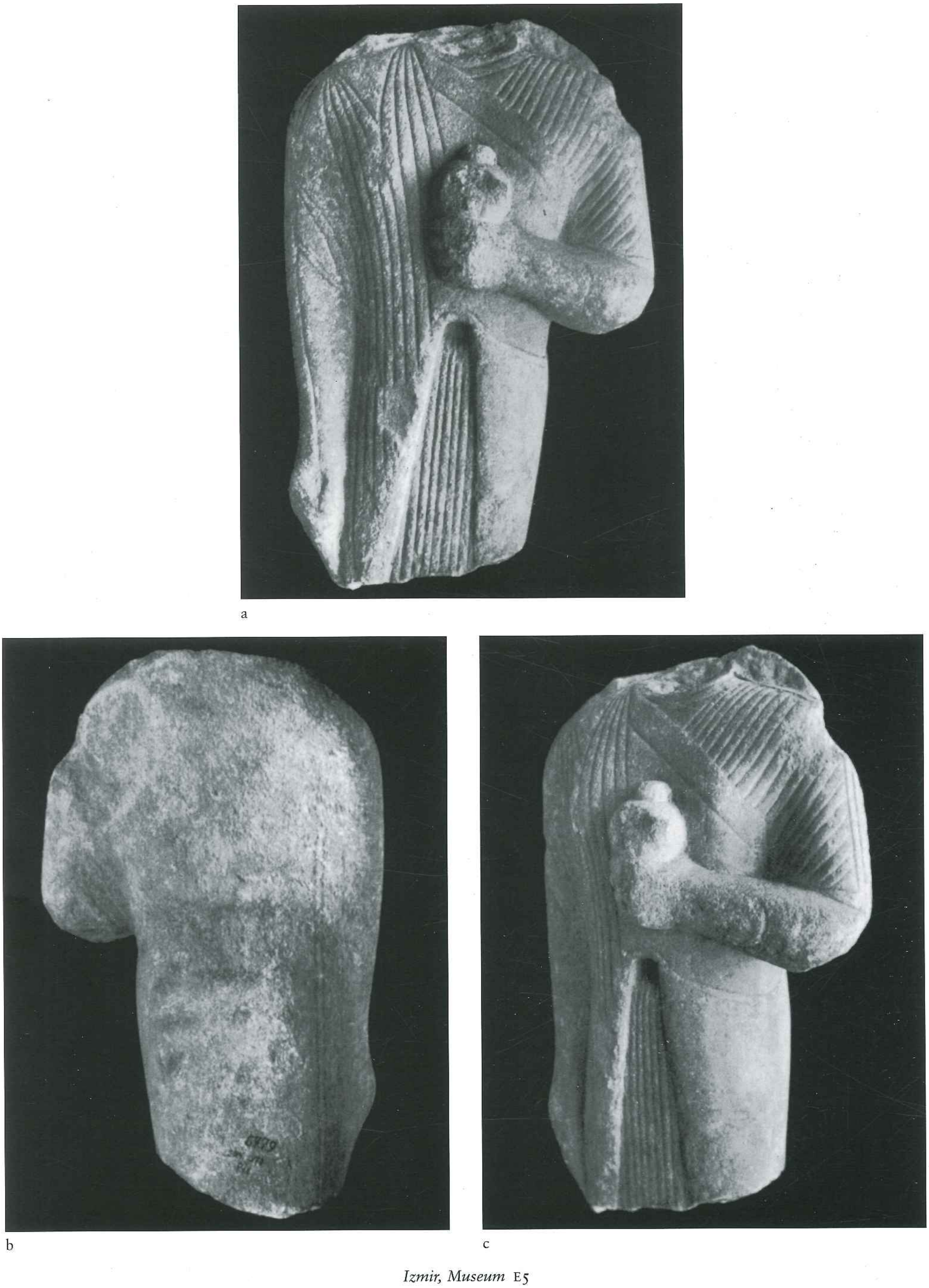


d



e

Izmir, Museum E1

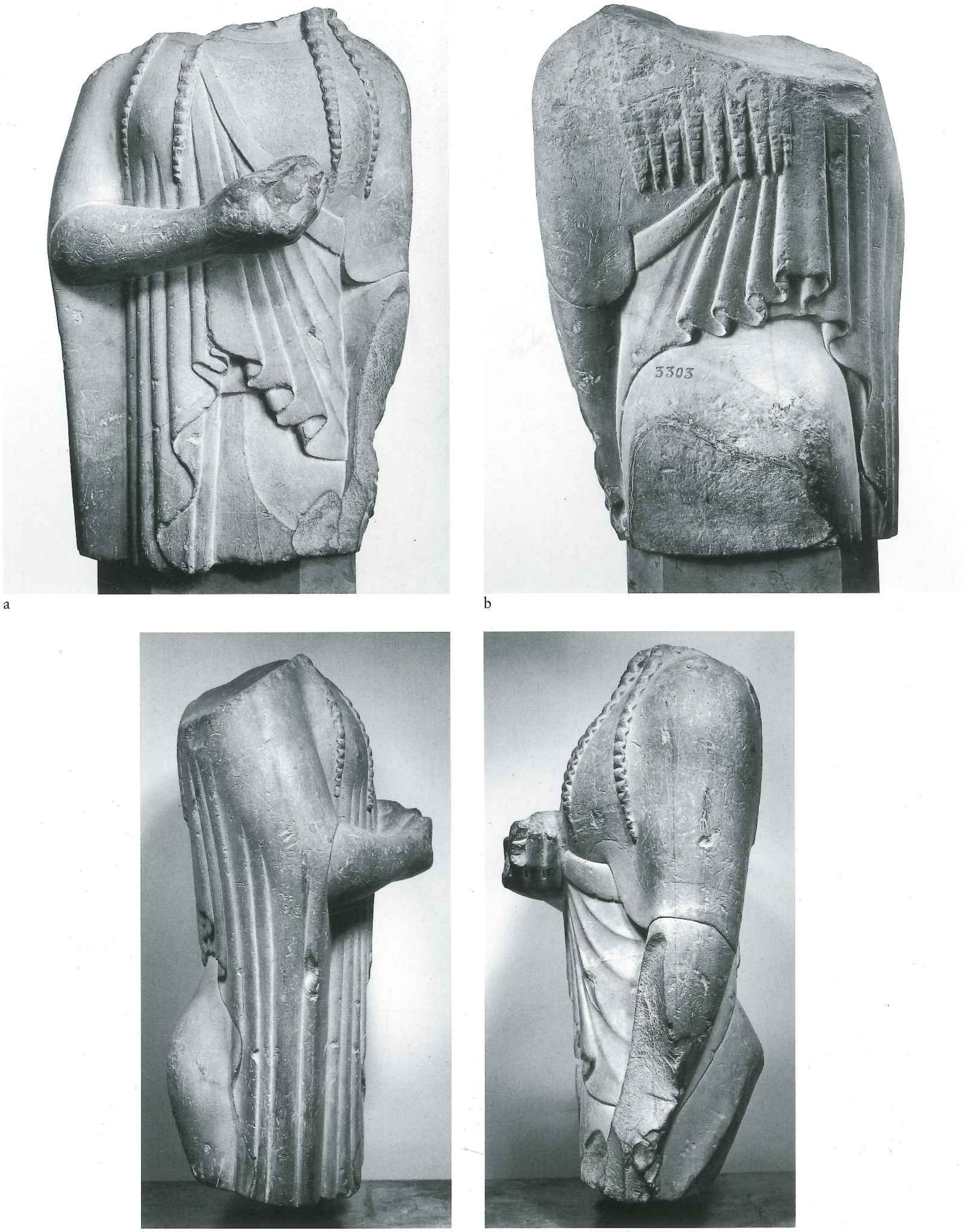


a

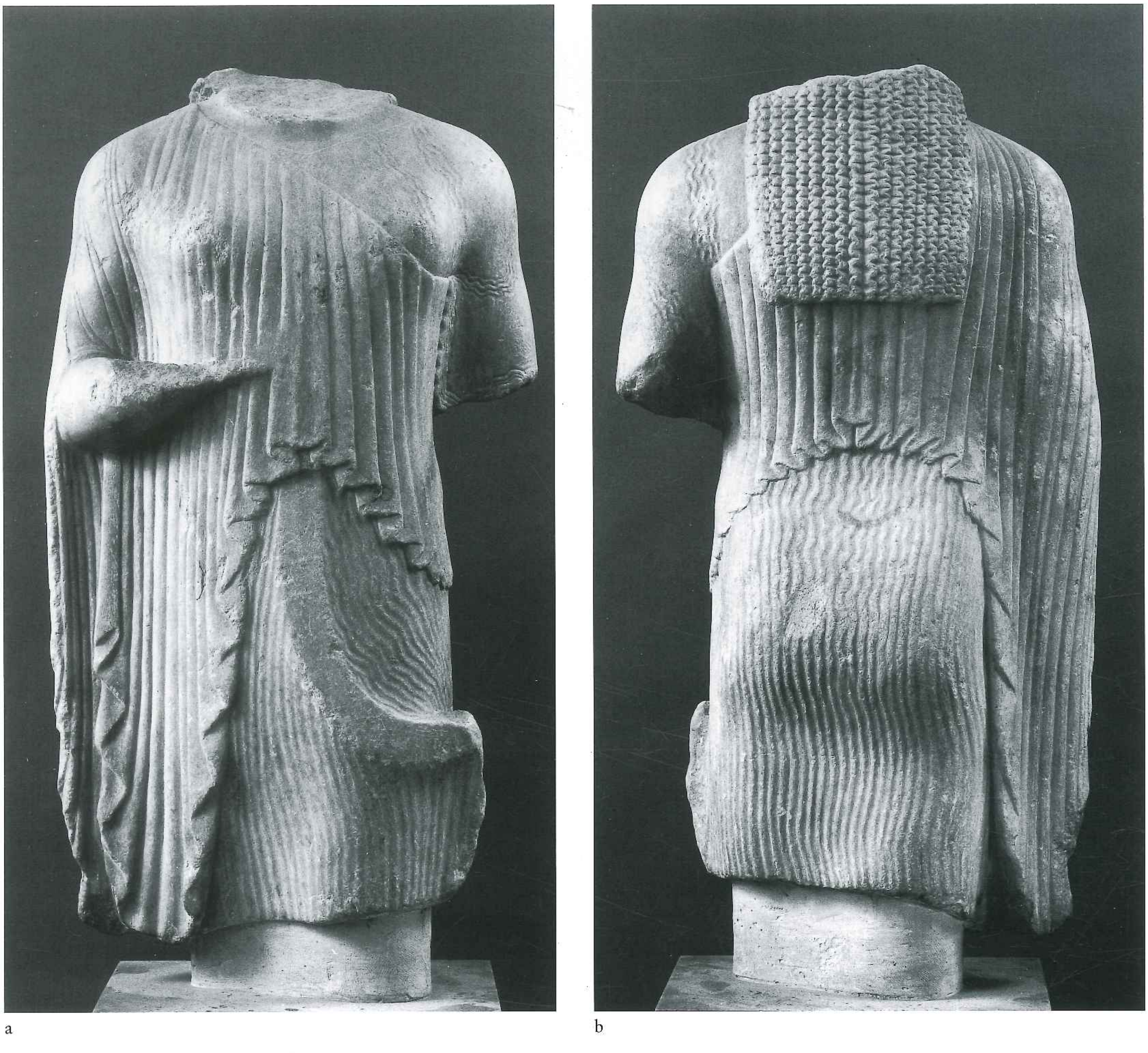
b

c

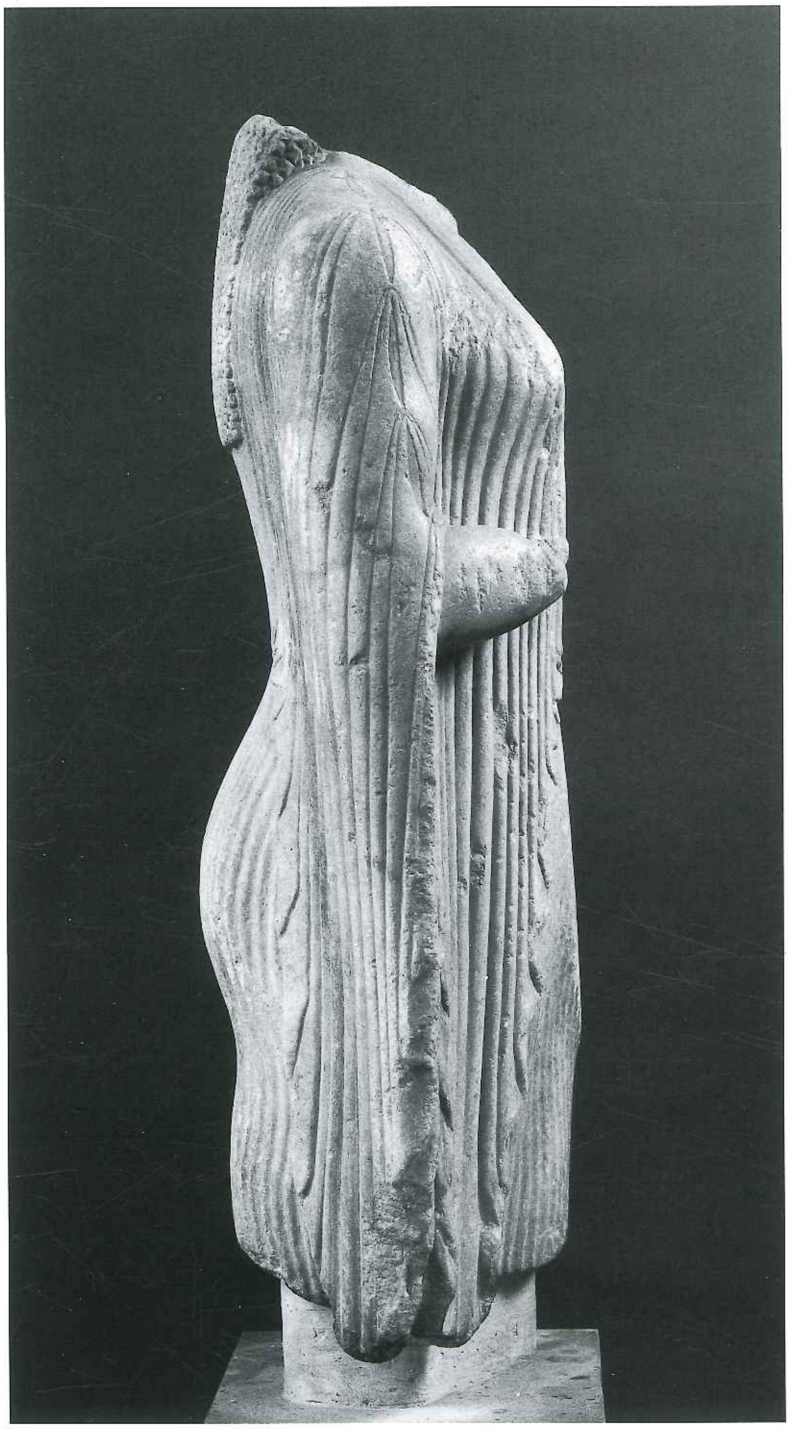
Izmir, Museum E5



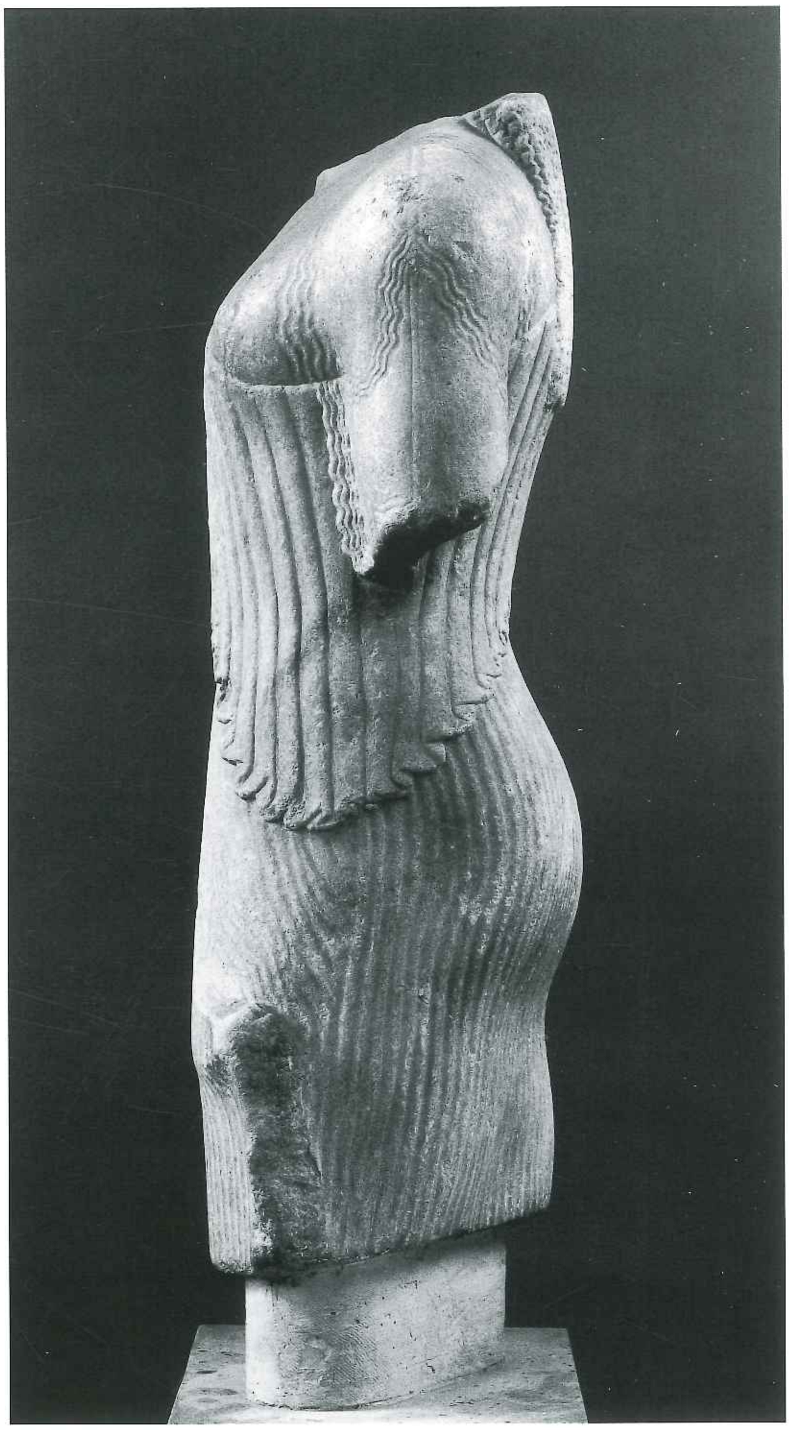
Paris, Louvre 3303



Thessaloniki, Museum 929

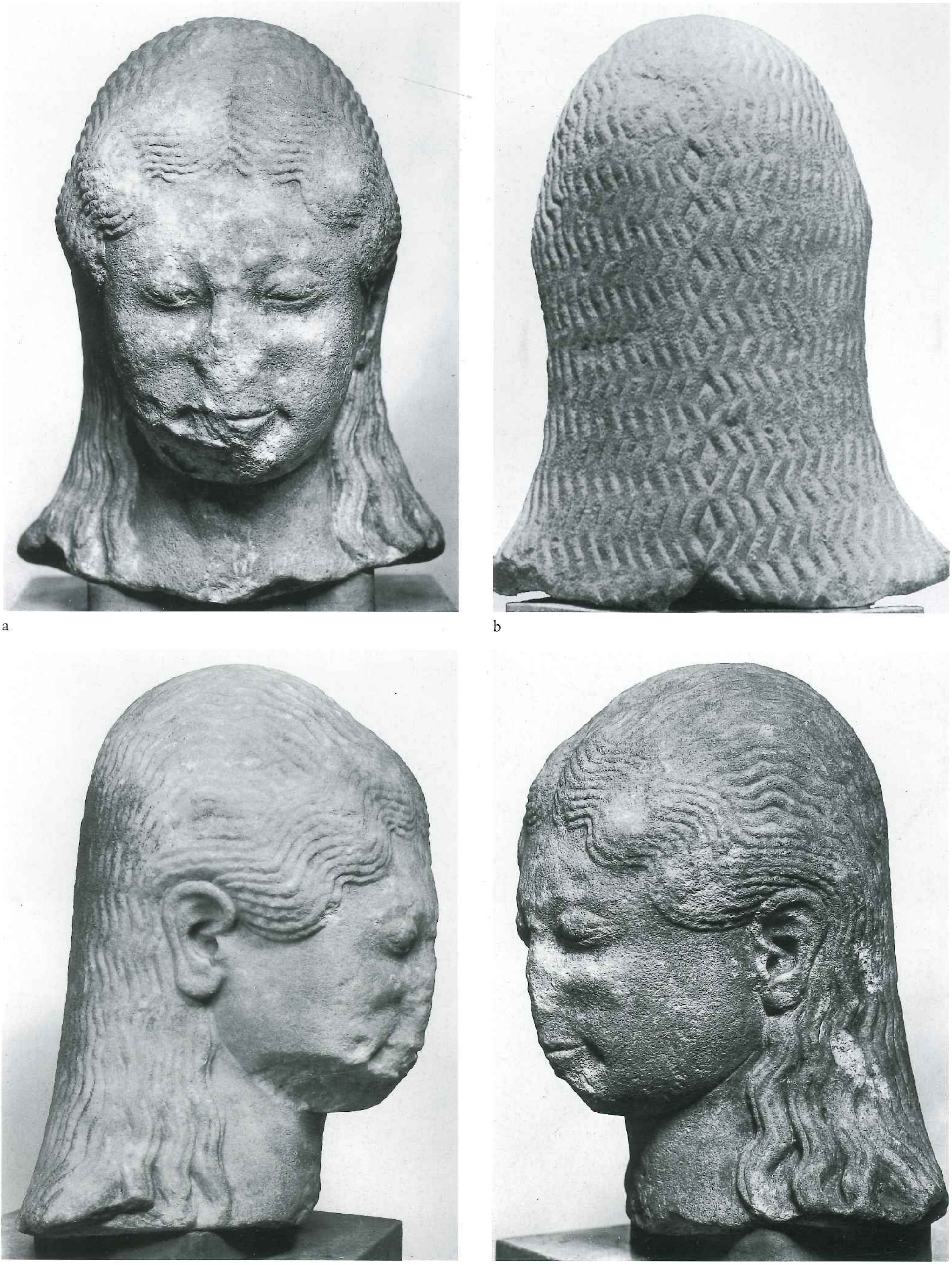


c

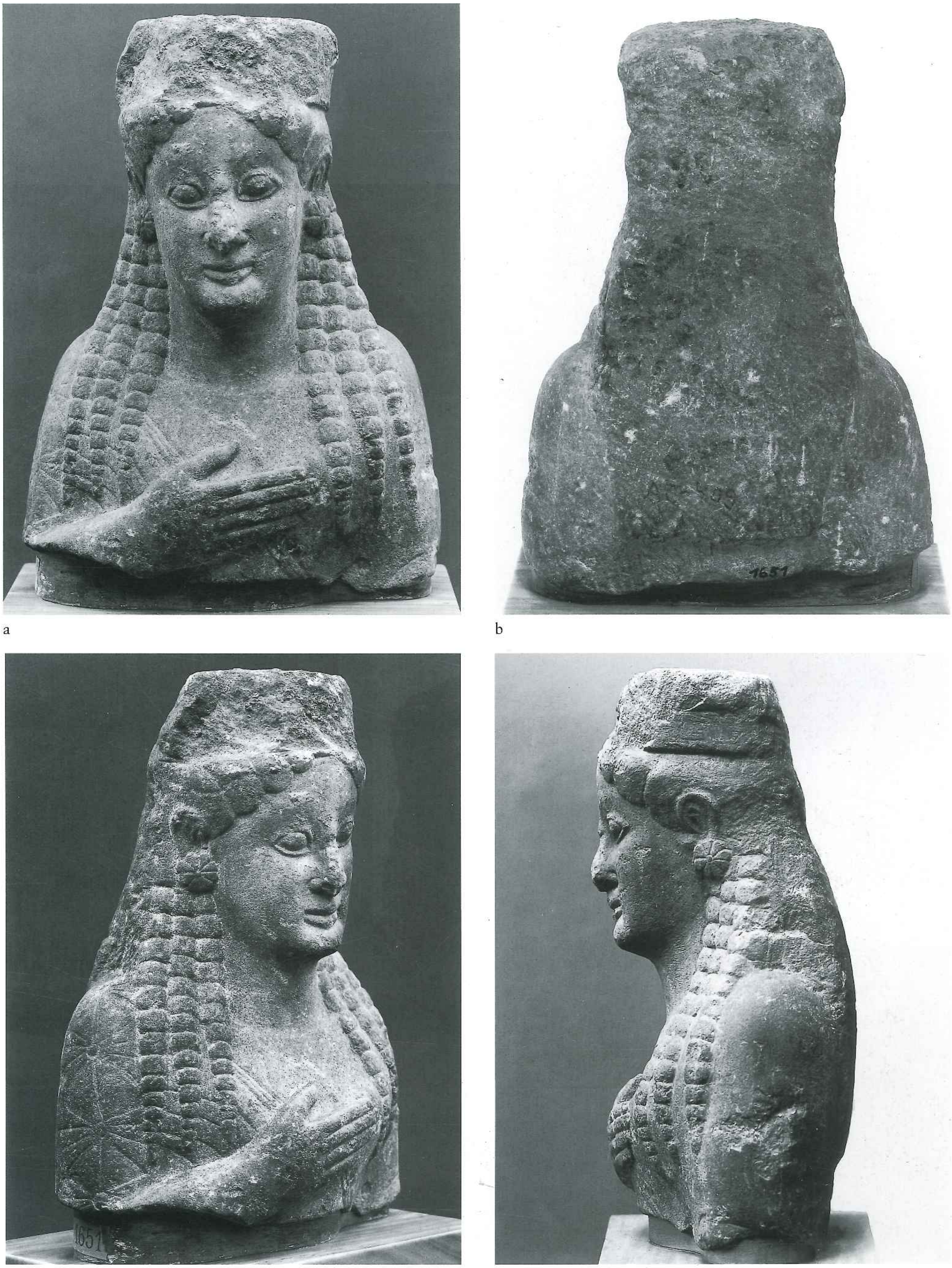


d

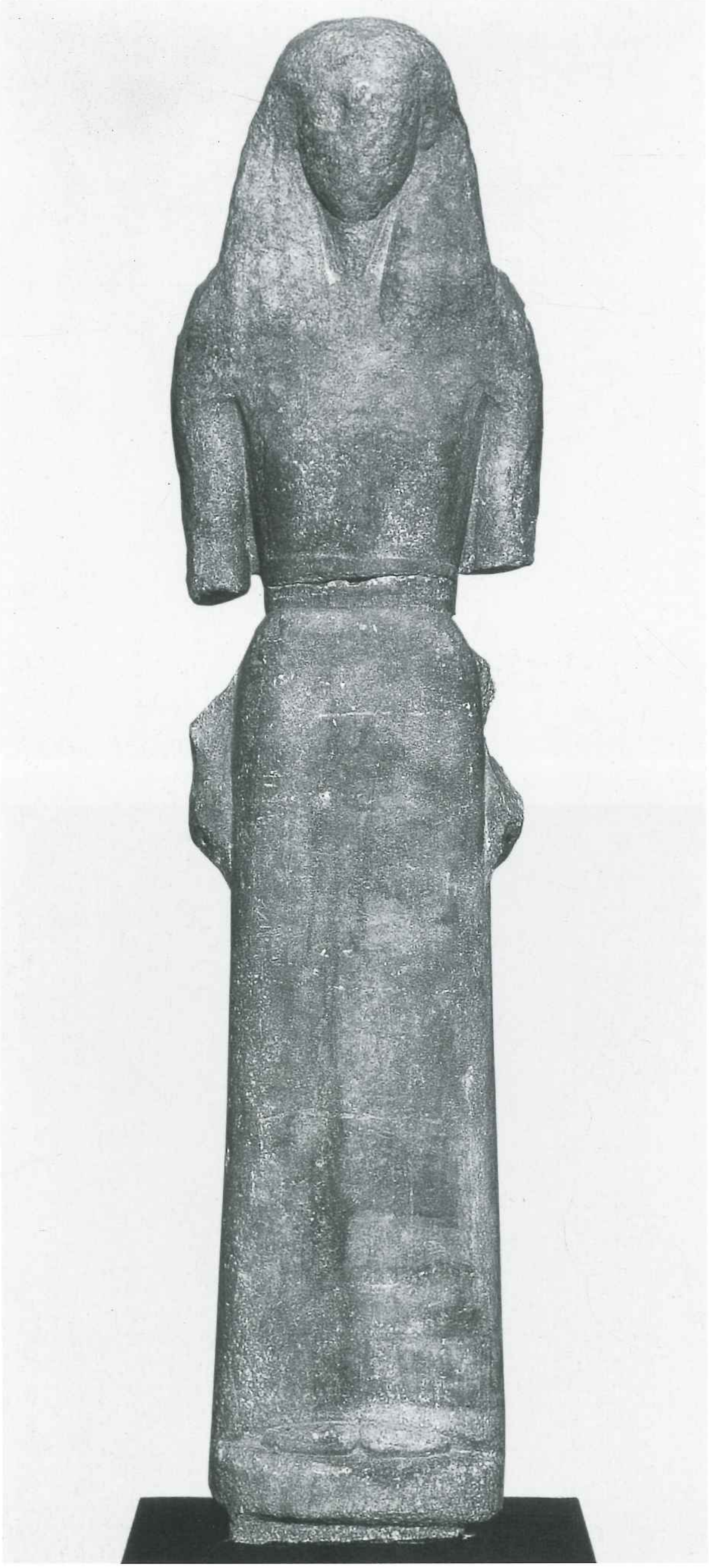
Thessaloniki, Museum 929



Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 1851

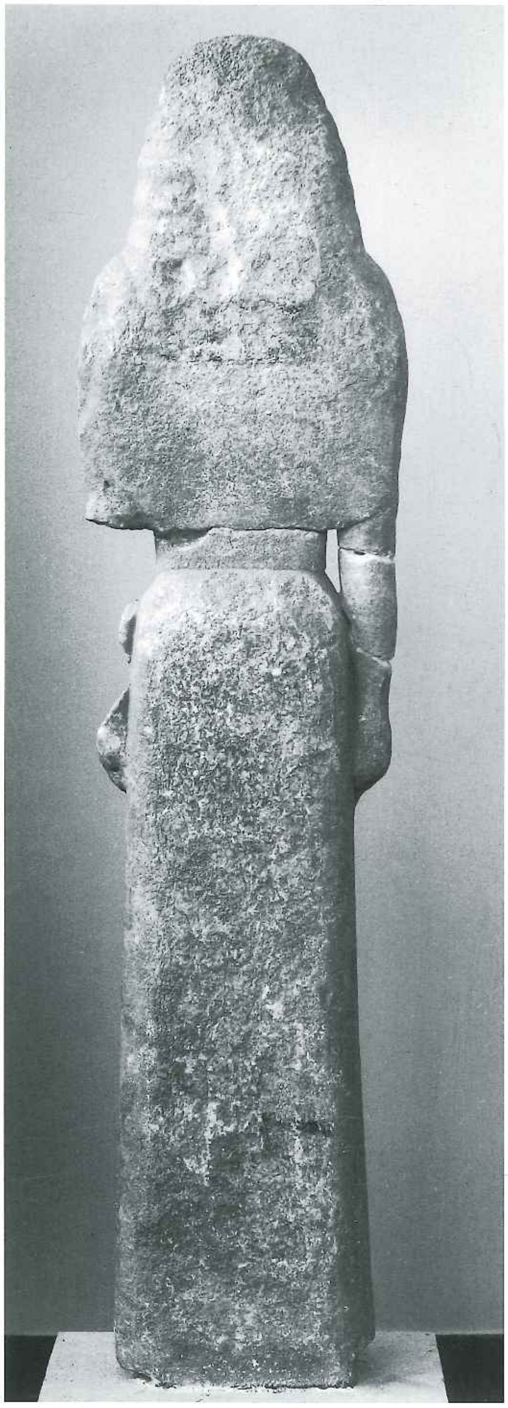

a
b
1651
c
1651
d

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 1651



a

Athens, National Museum 1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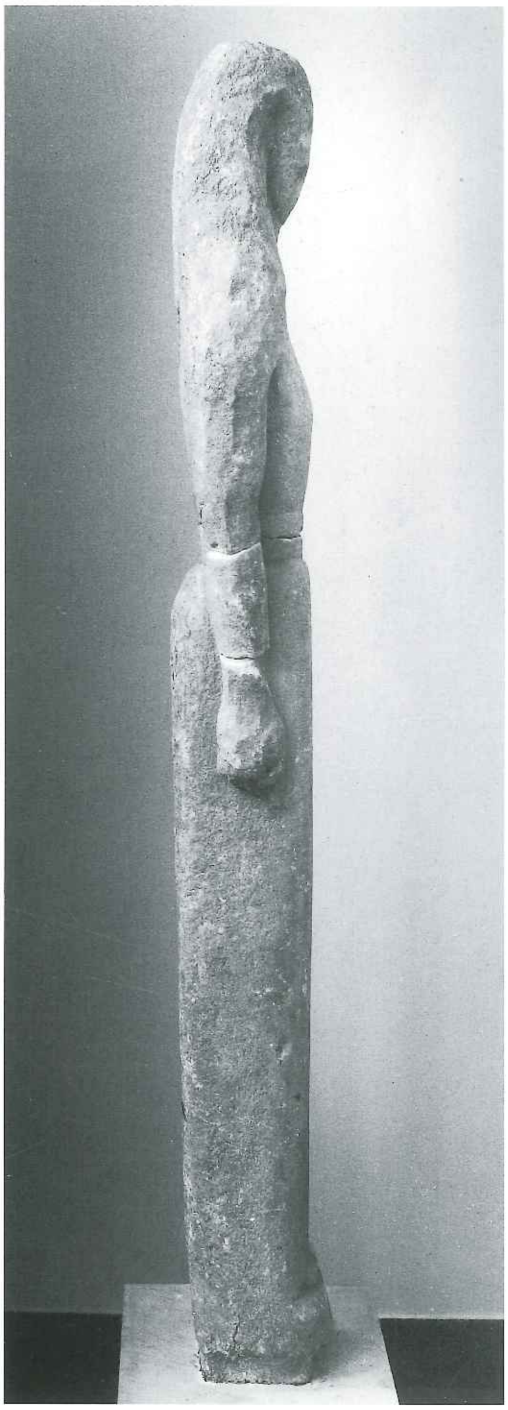
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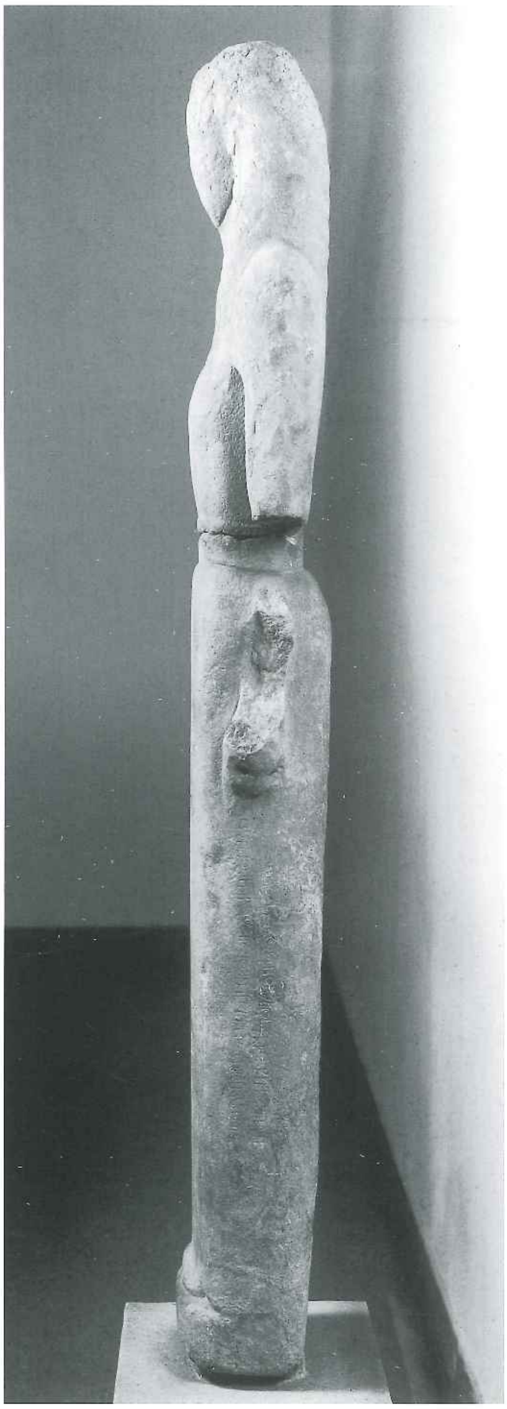
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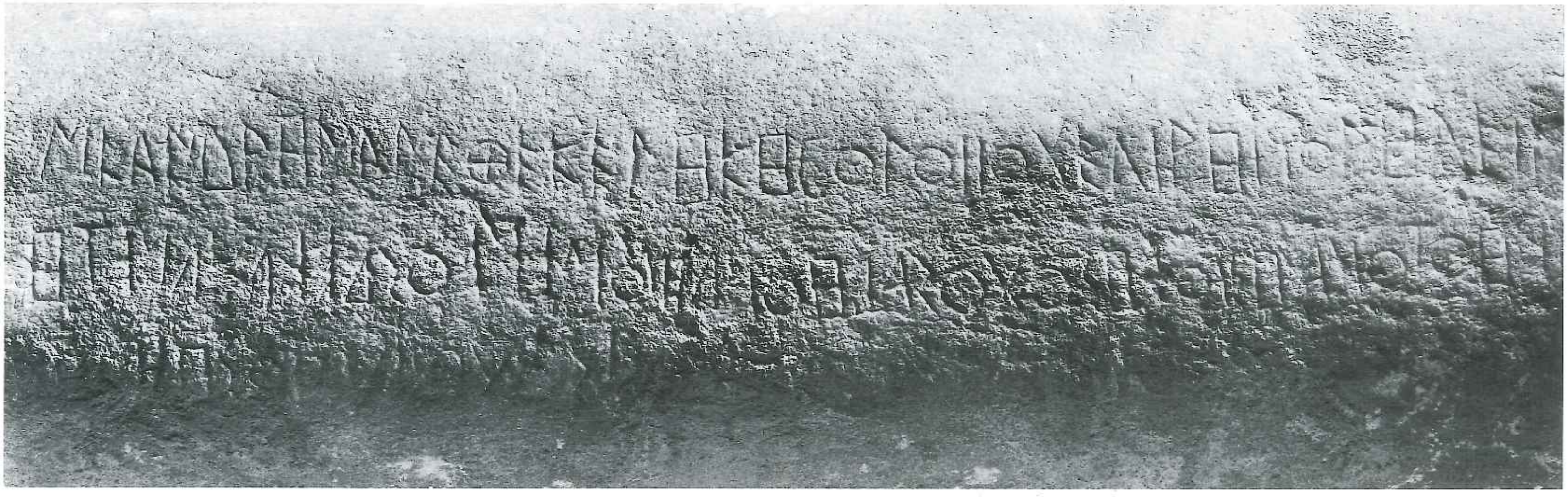
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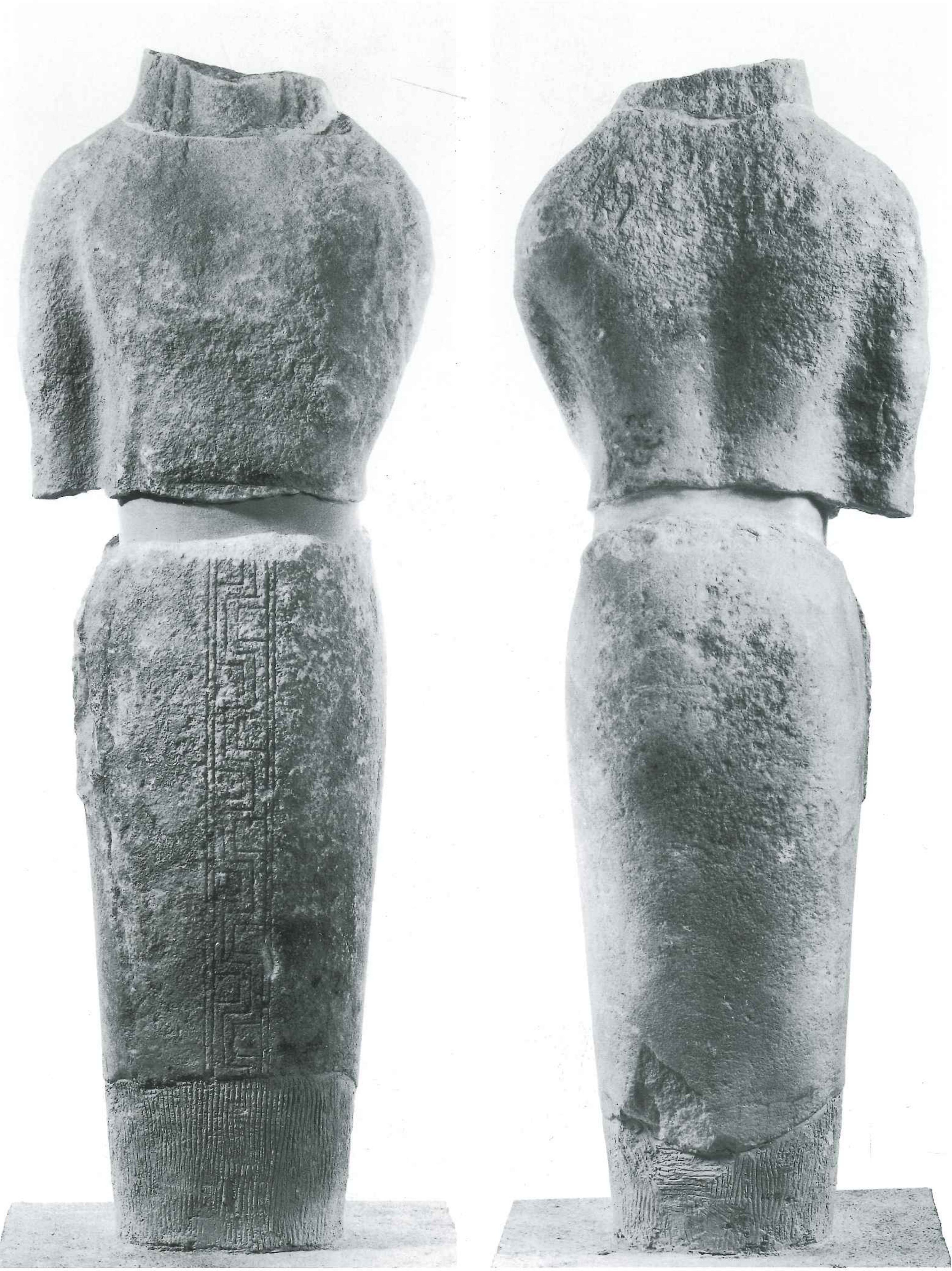
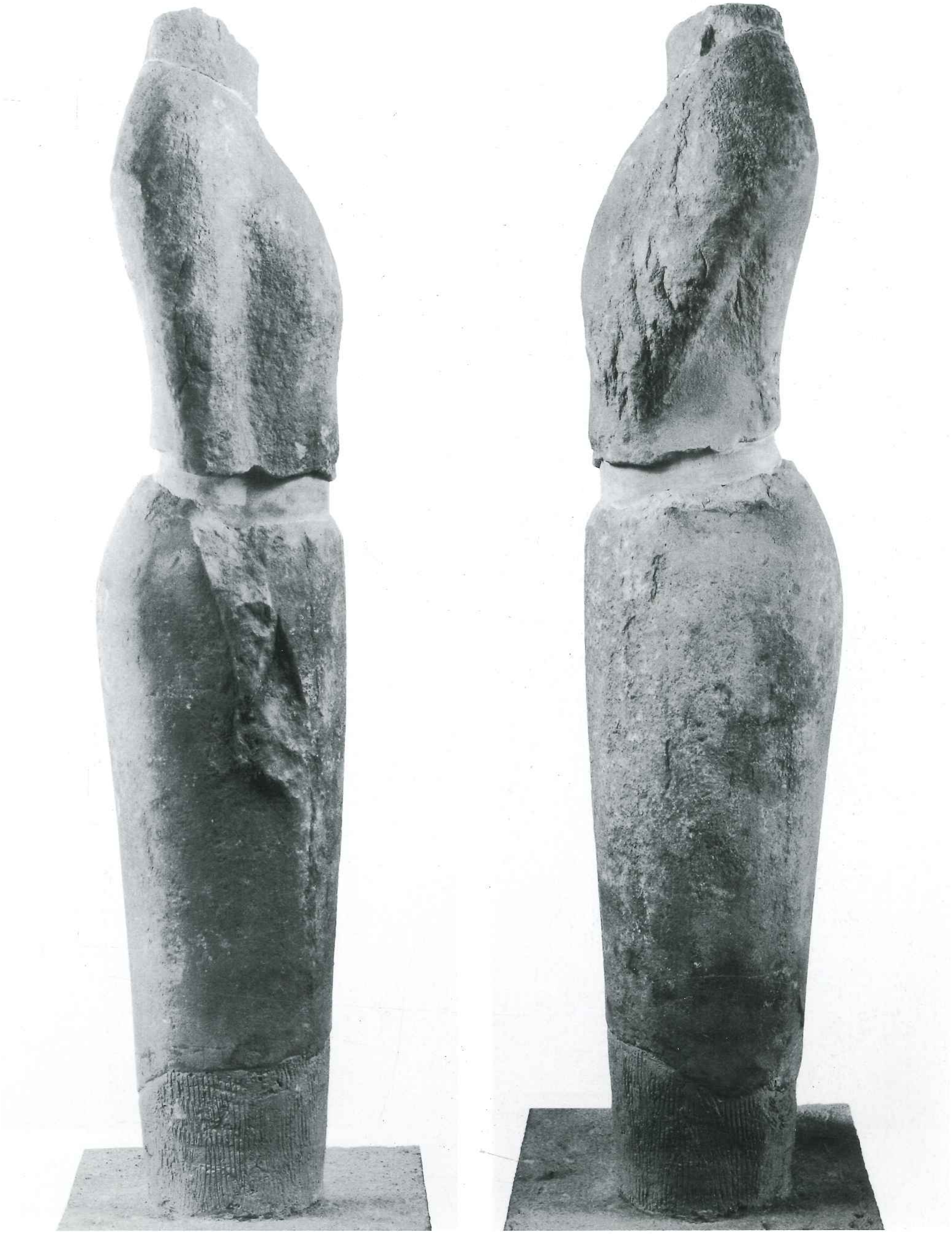
Athens, National Museum 1



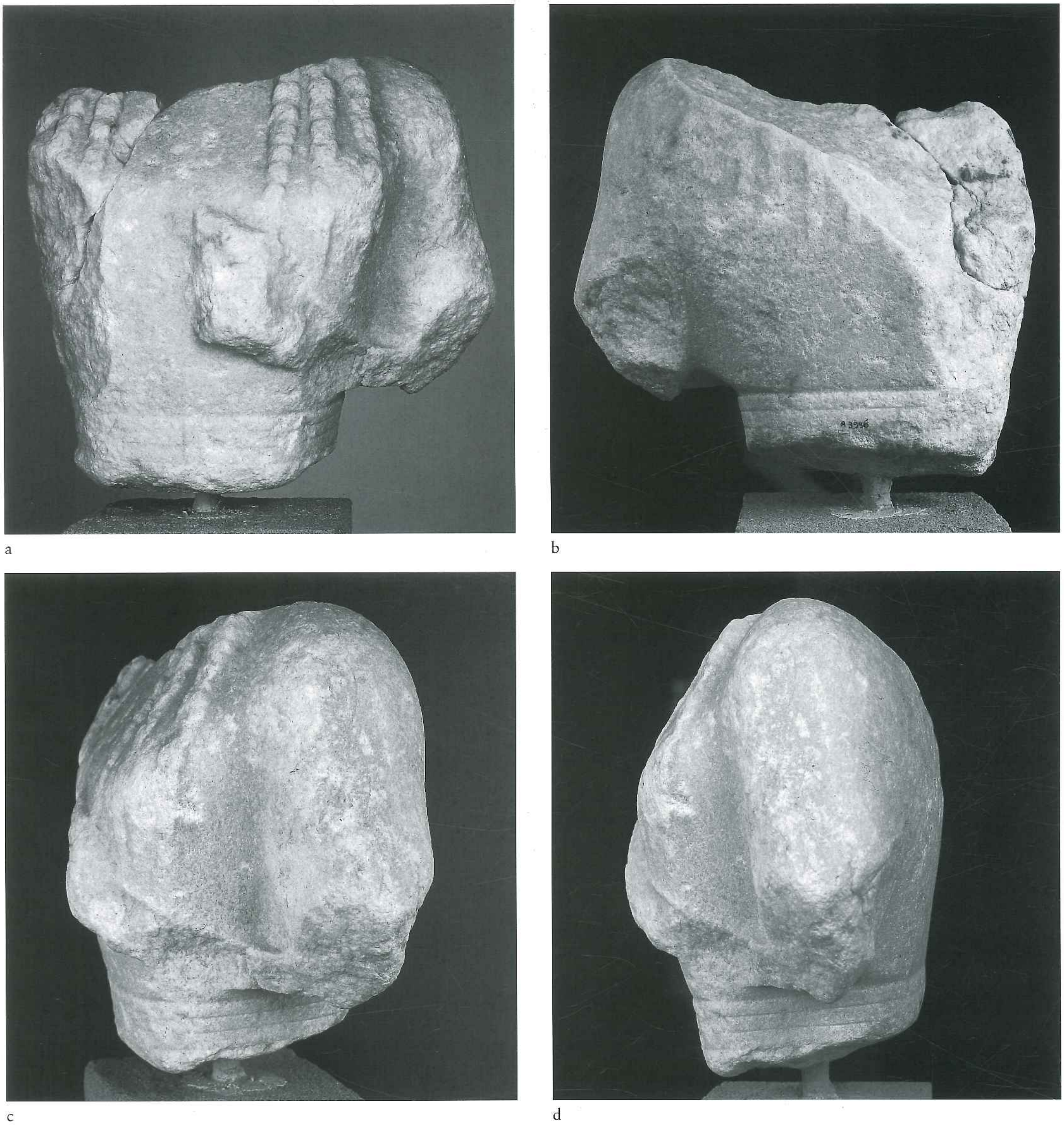
a b

Delos, Museum A 4062

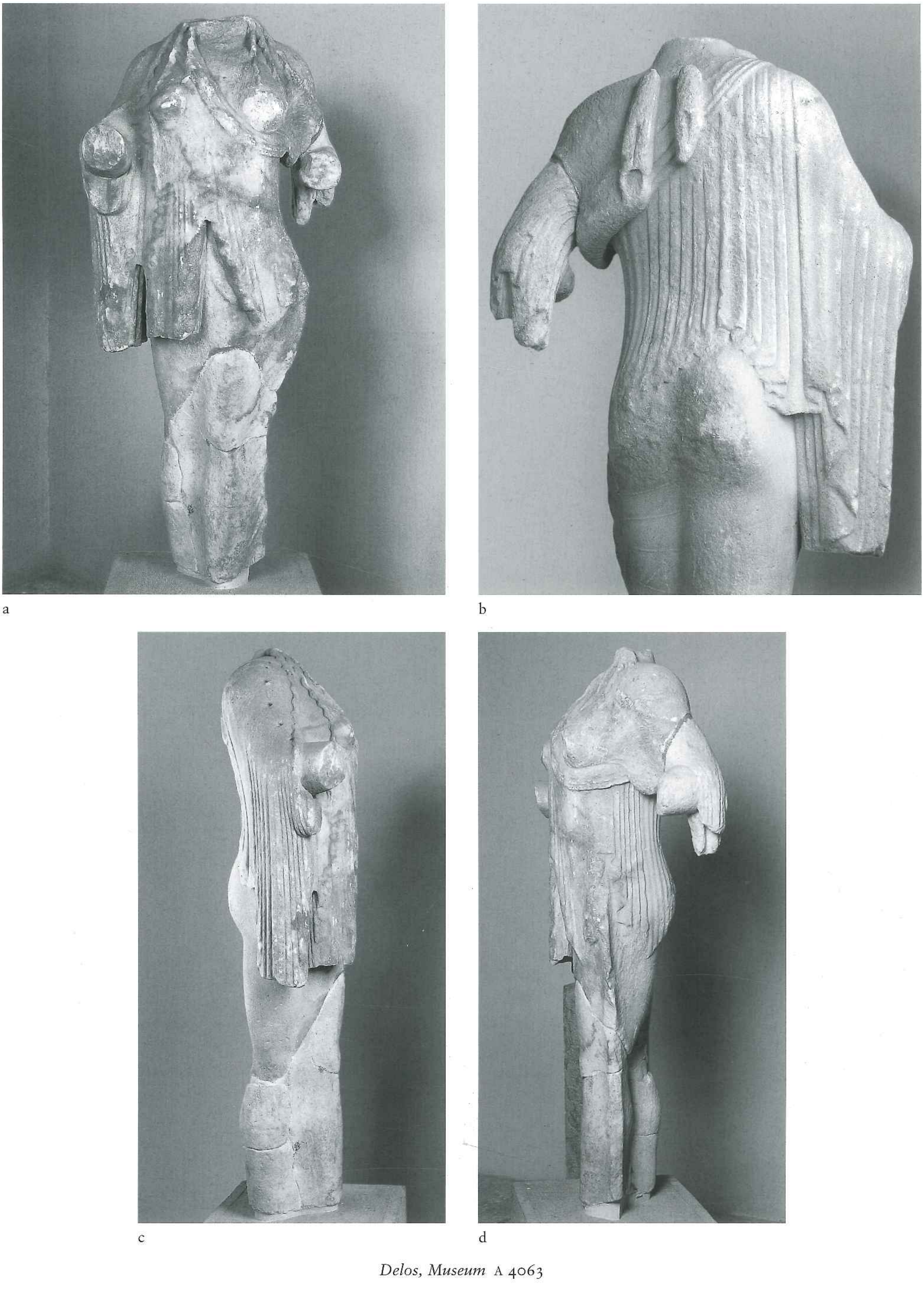


c d

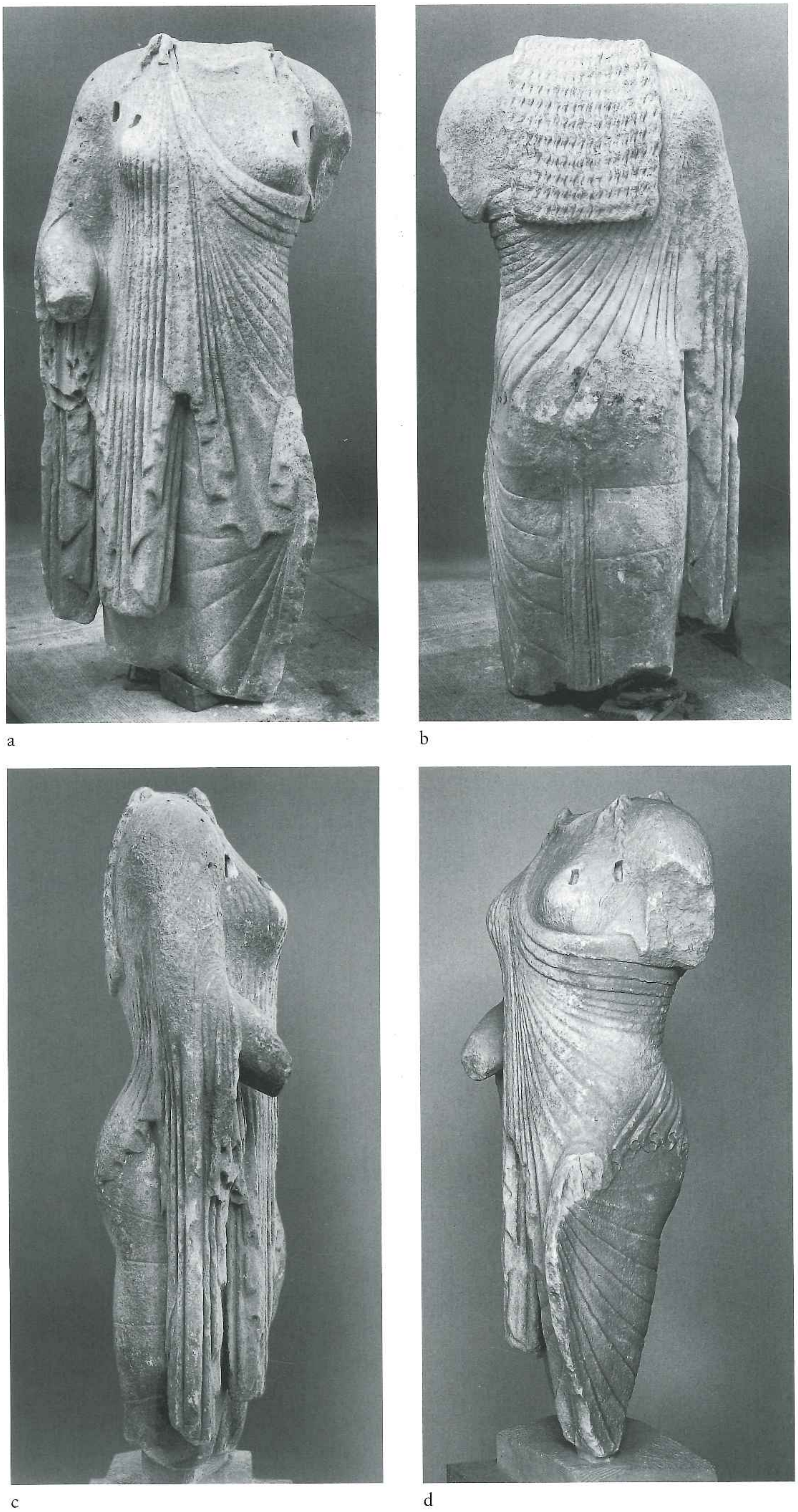
Delos, Museum A 4062



Delos, Museum A 3996

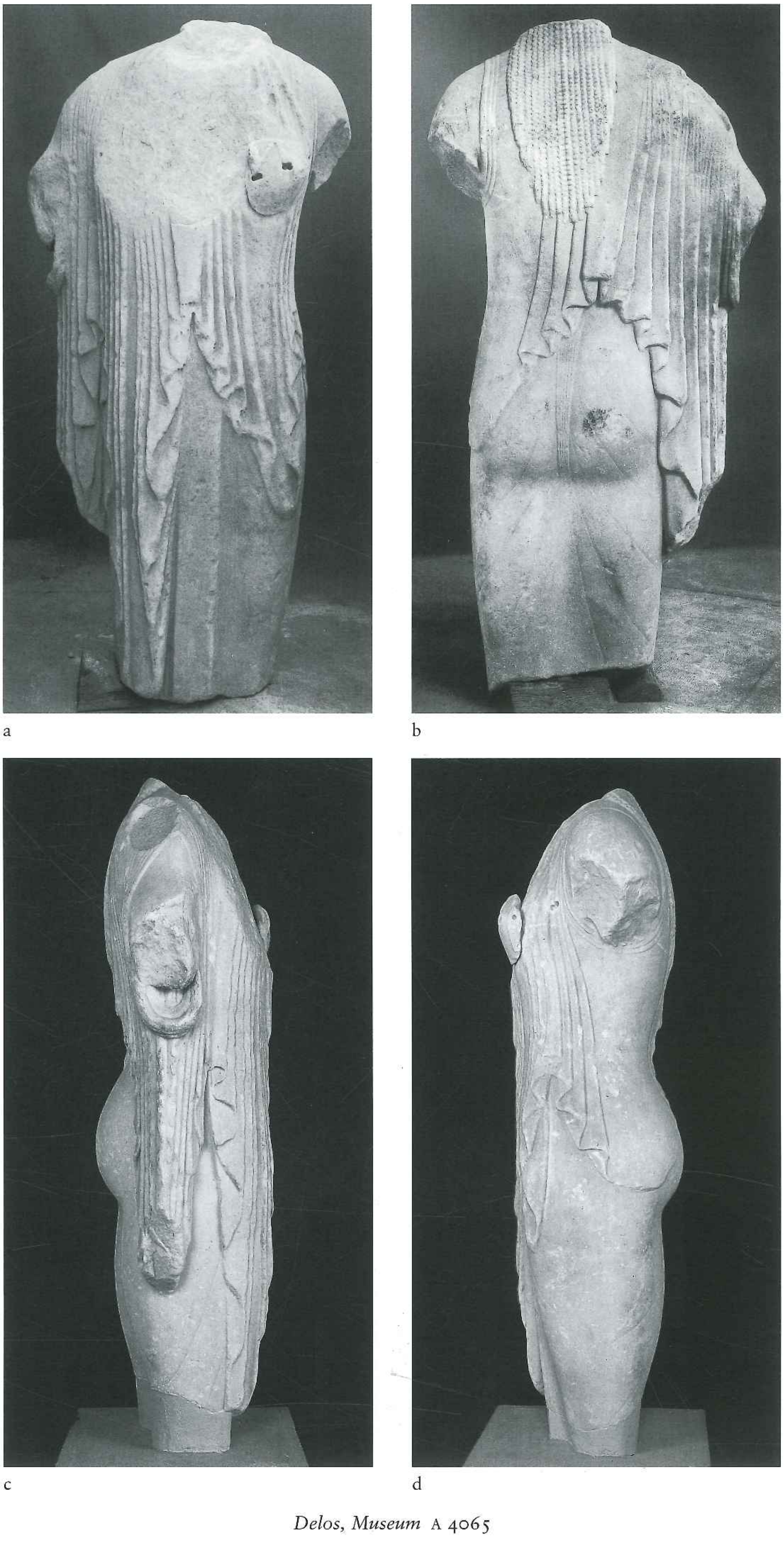


Delos, Museum A 4063



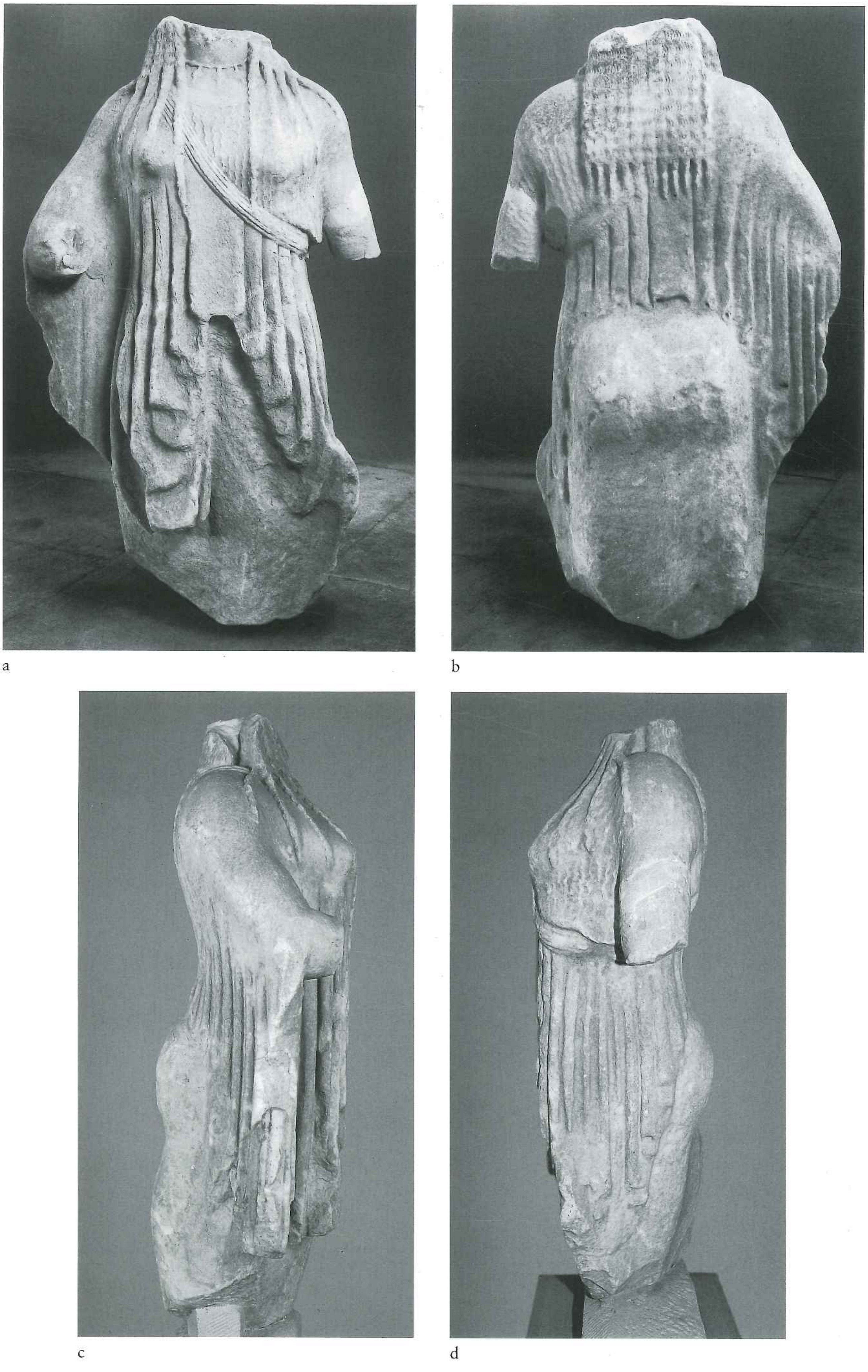
a b c d

Delos, Museum A 4064



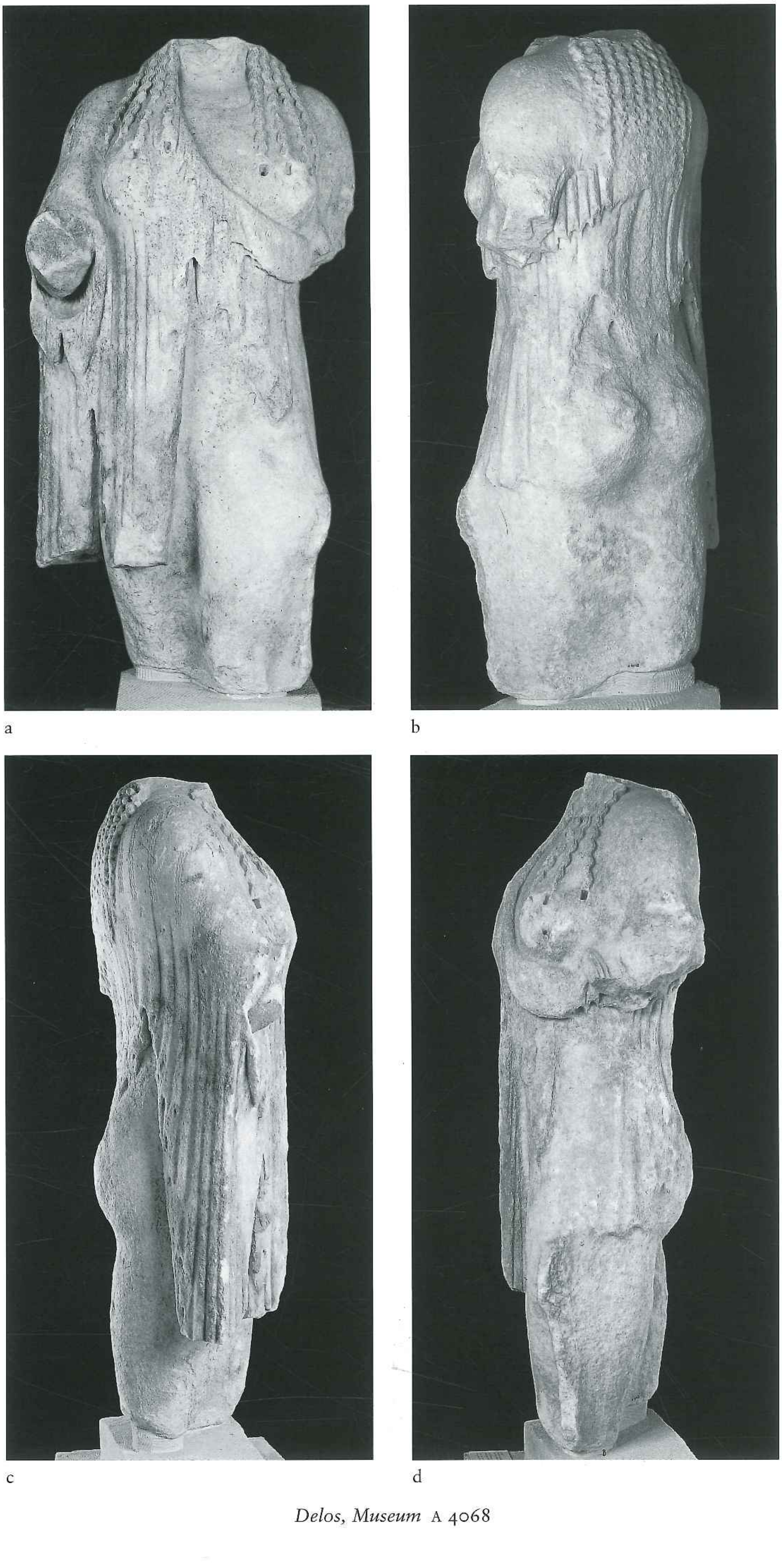
a b c d

Delos, Museum A 4065

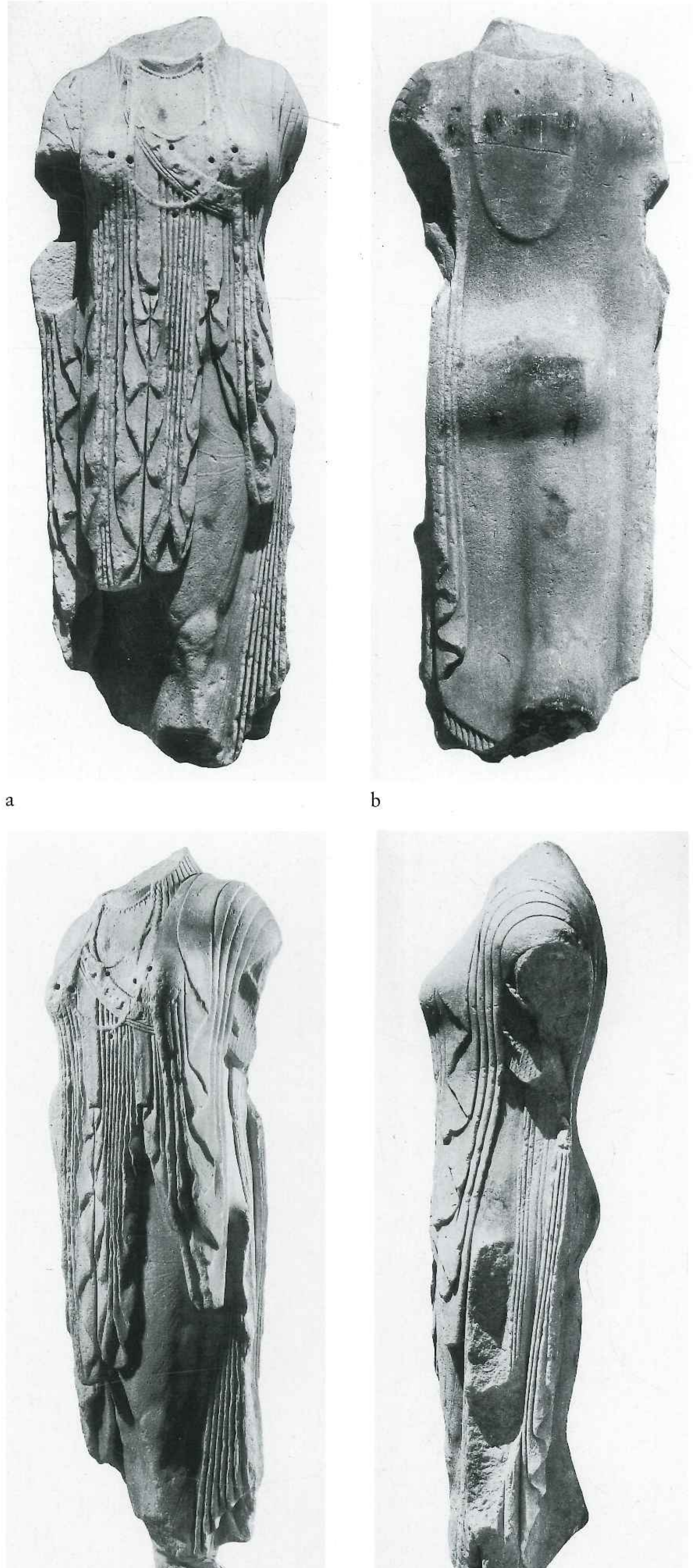


a b c d

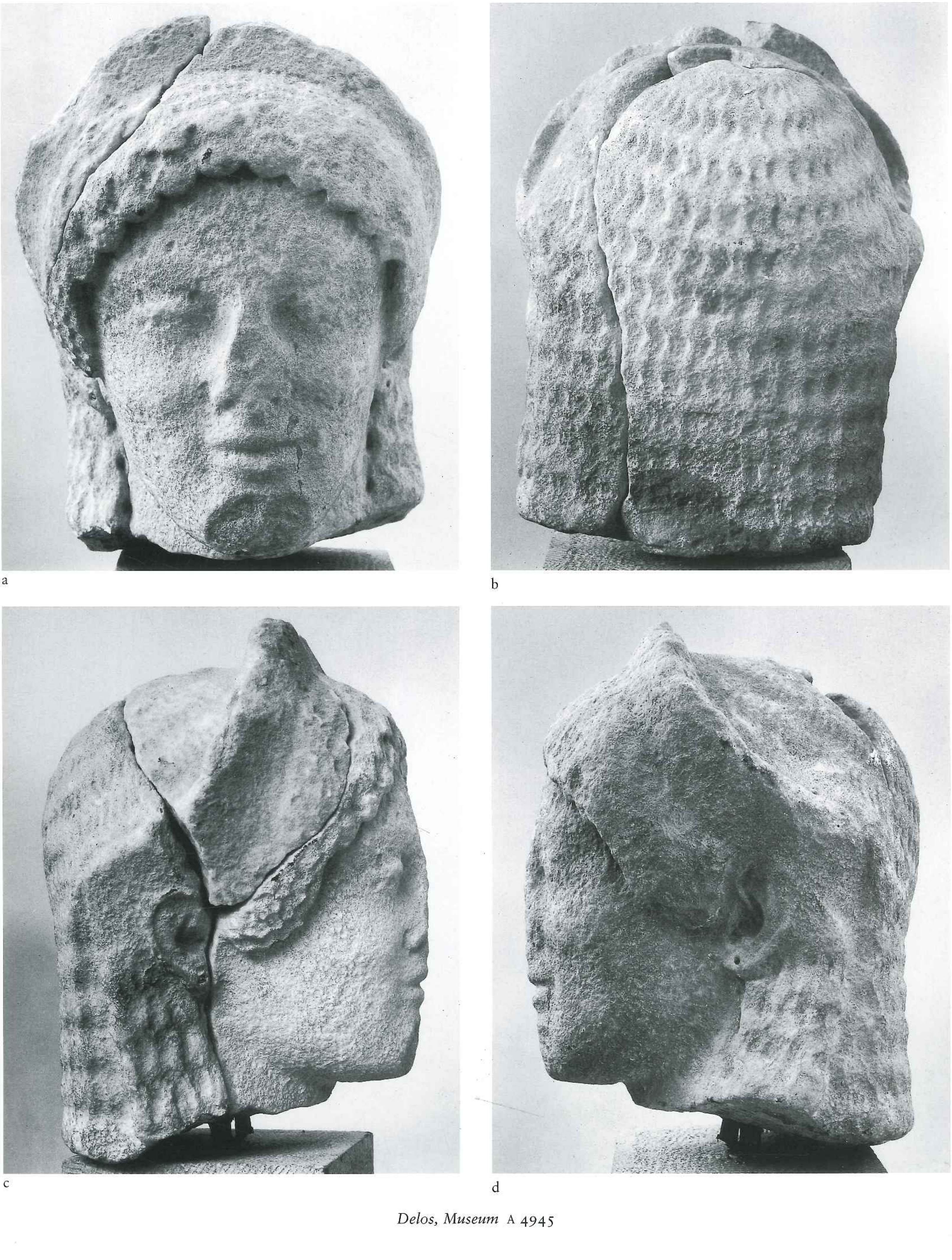
Delos, Museum A 4067



Delos, Museum A 4068

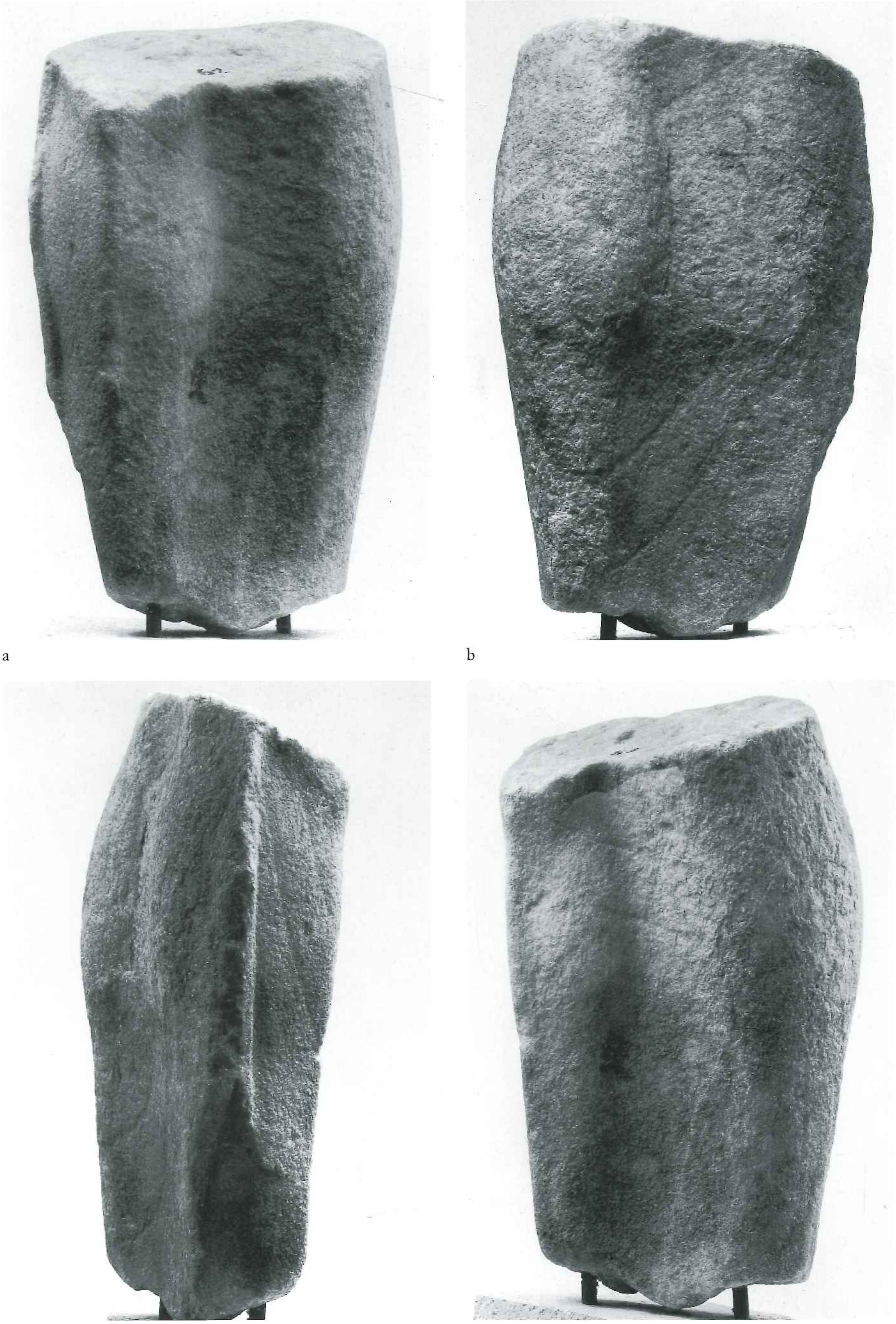

a b c d

Athens, National Museum 22



a b c d

Delos, Museum A 4945



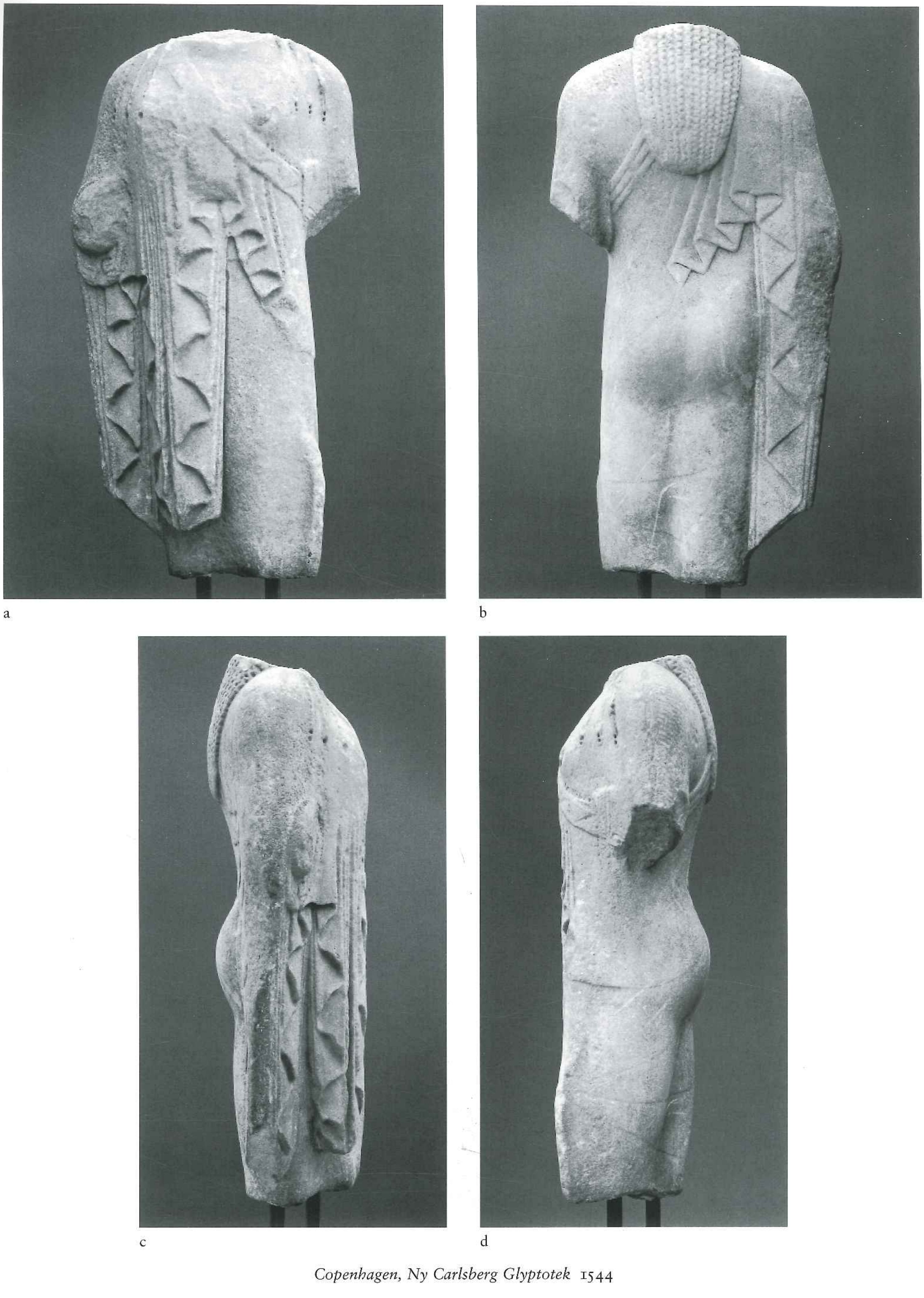
a

b

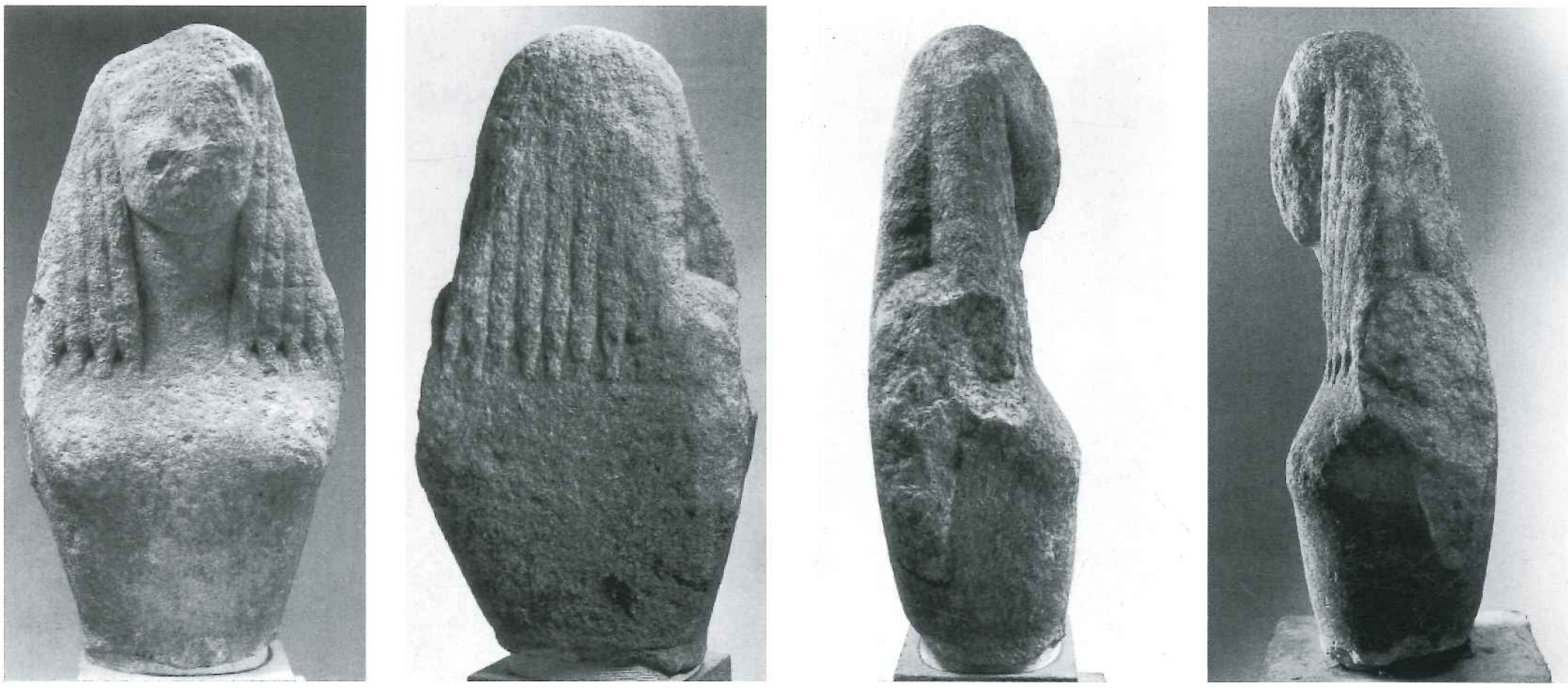
c

d

Naxos, Museum 62



Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1544

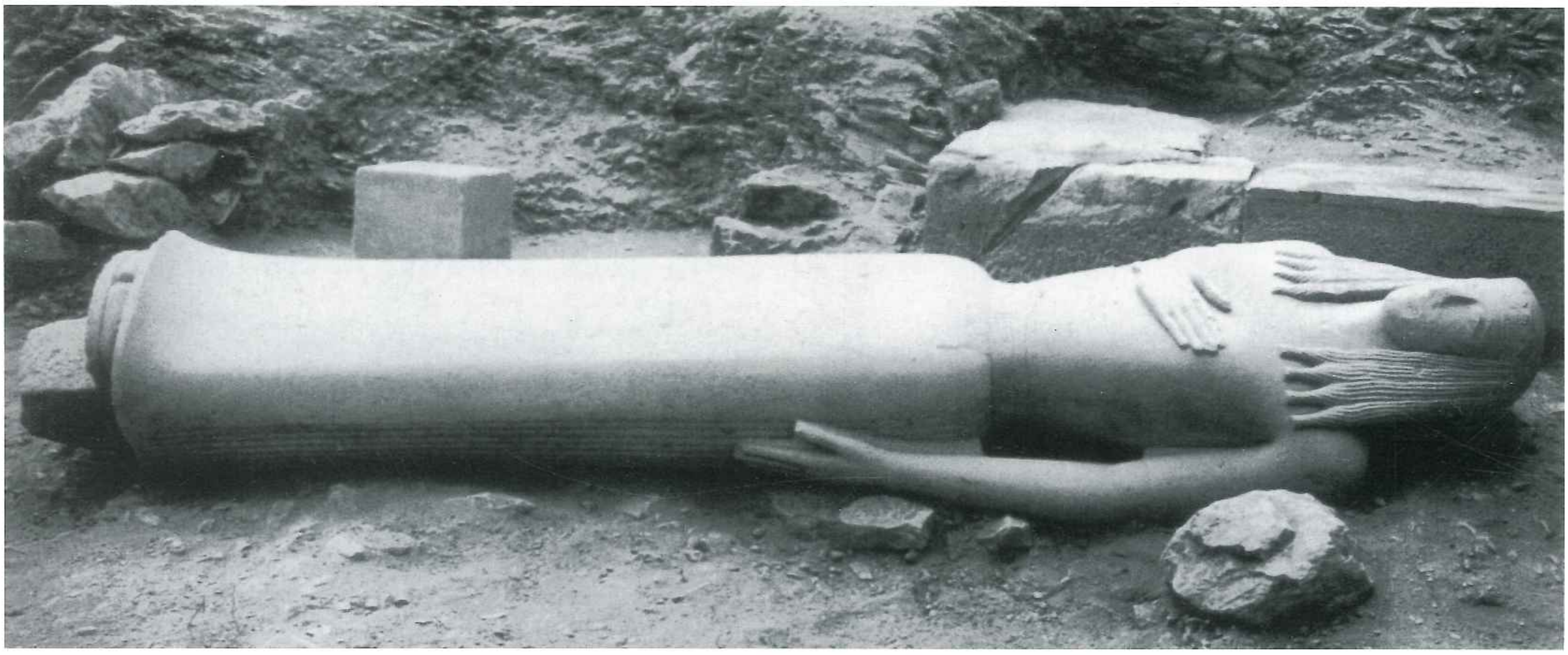


318 a

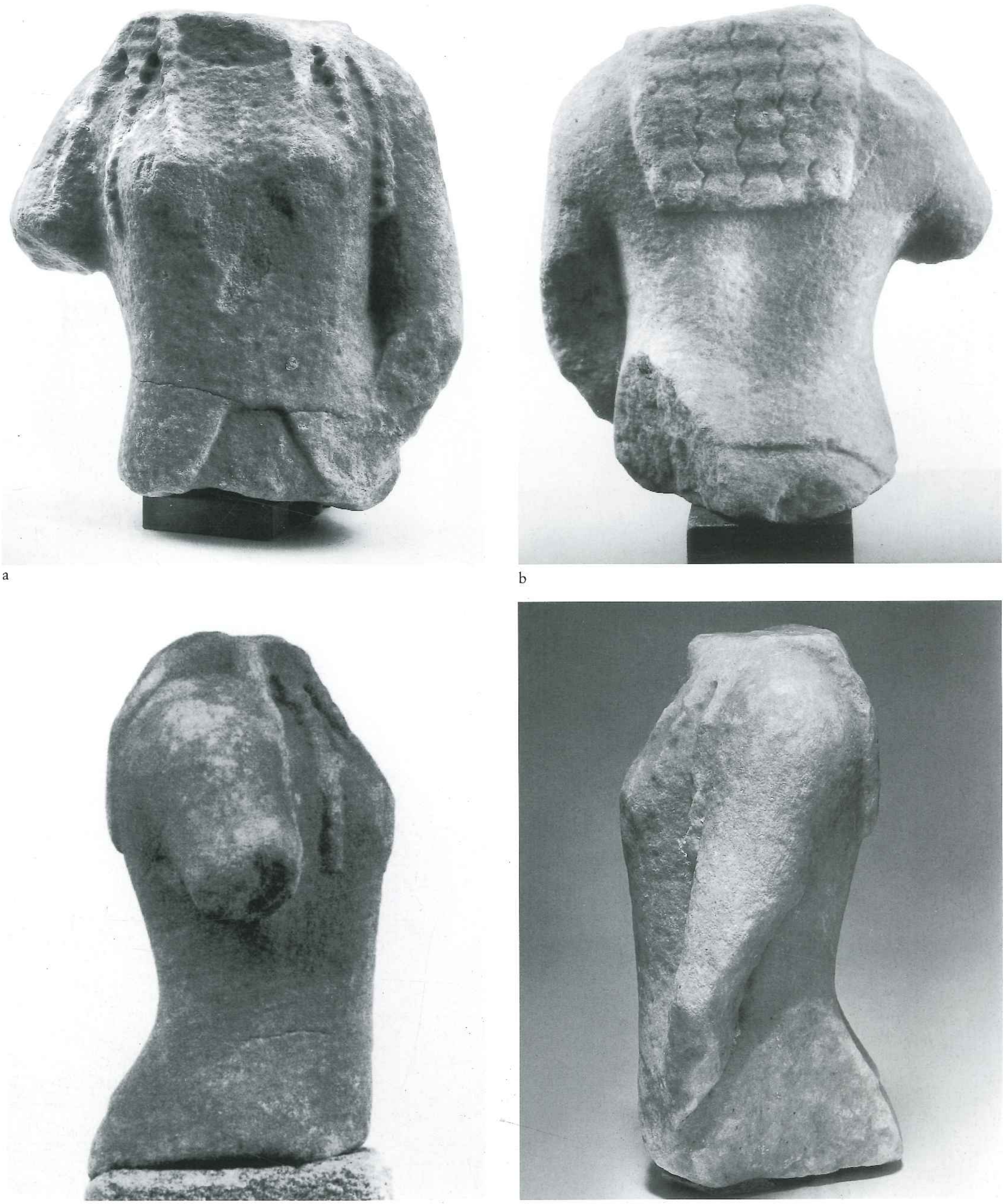
318 b

318 c

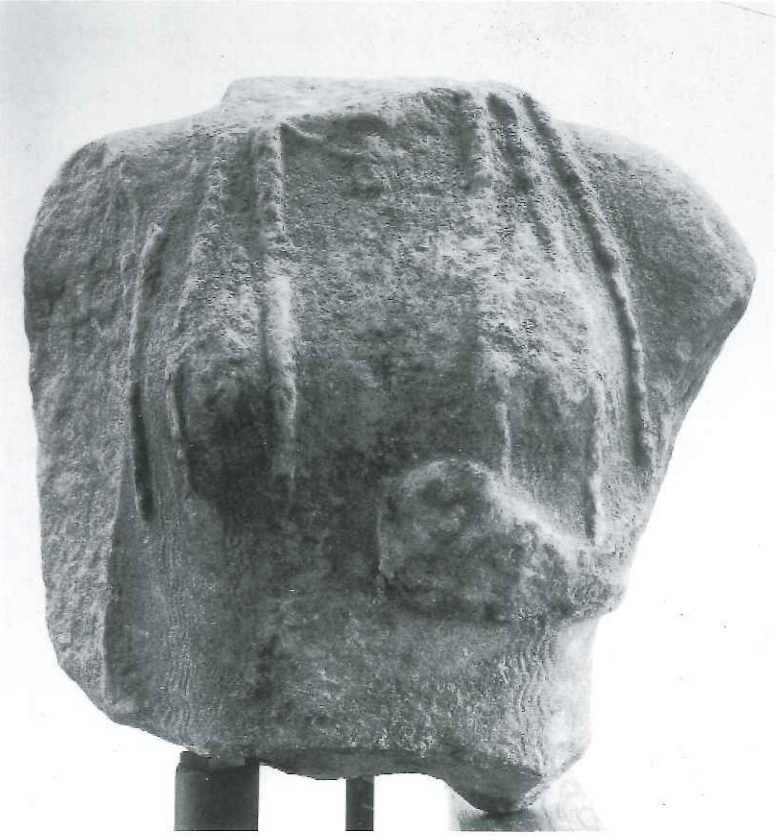
318 d



Thera, Museum 318 · Colossal kore found in Sellada near the town of Thera in November 2000



Paros, Museum 163 (Hagios Ioannis)



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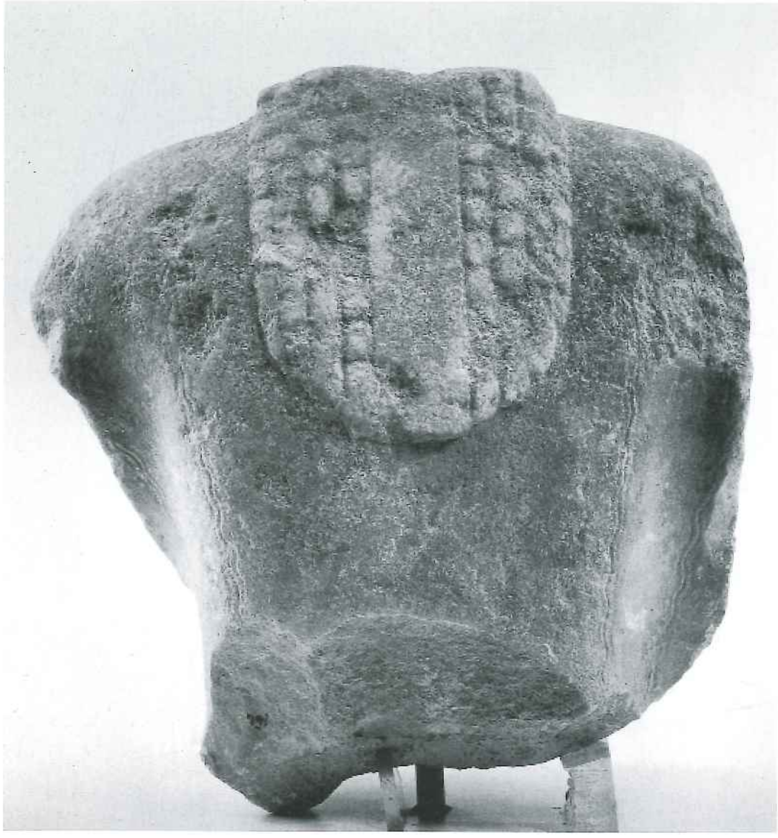

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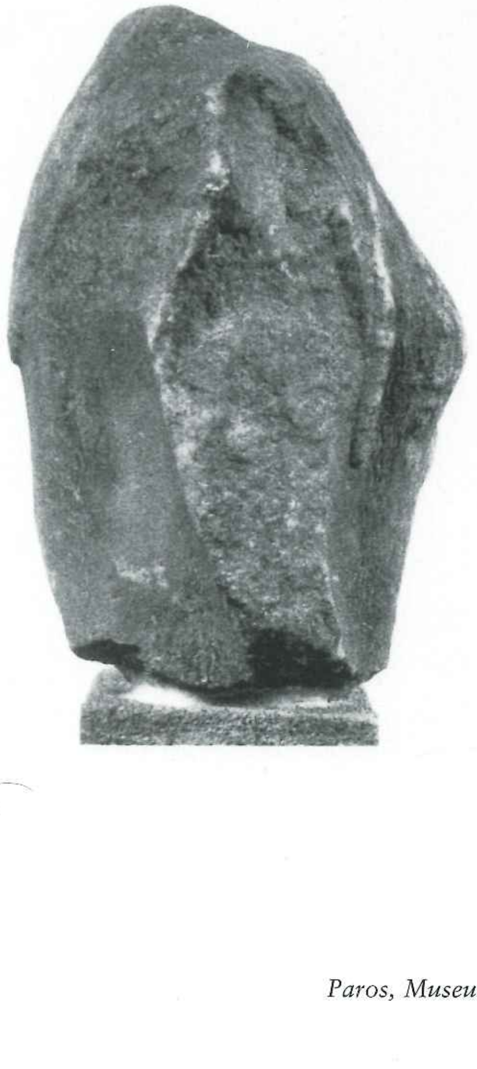

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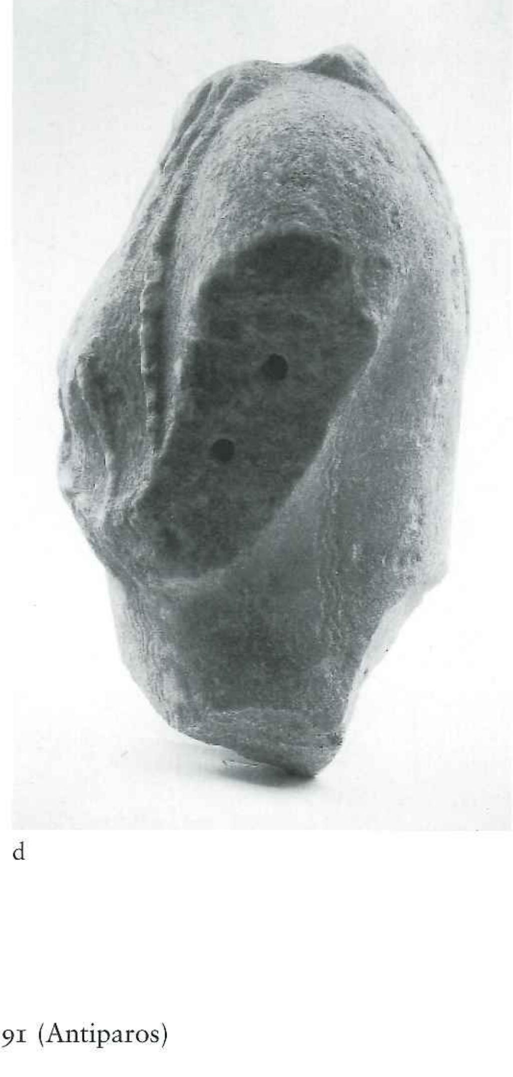
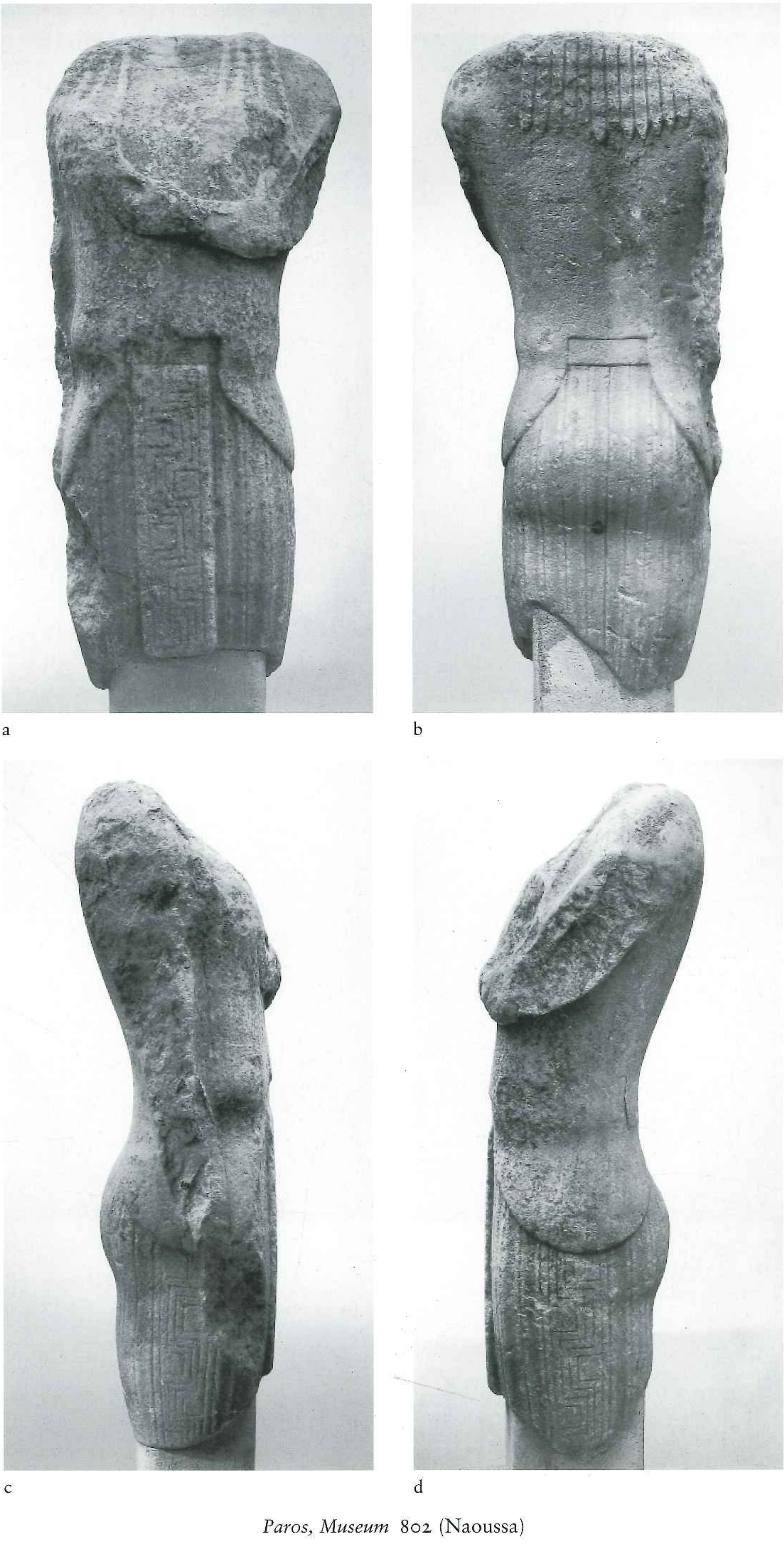


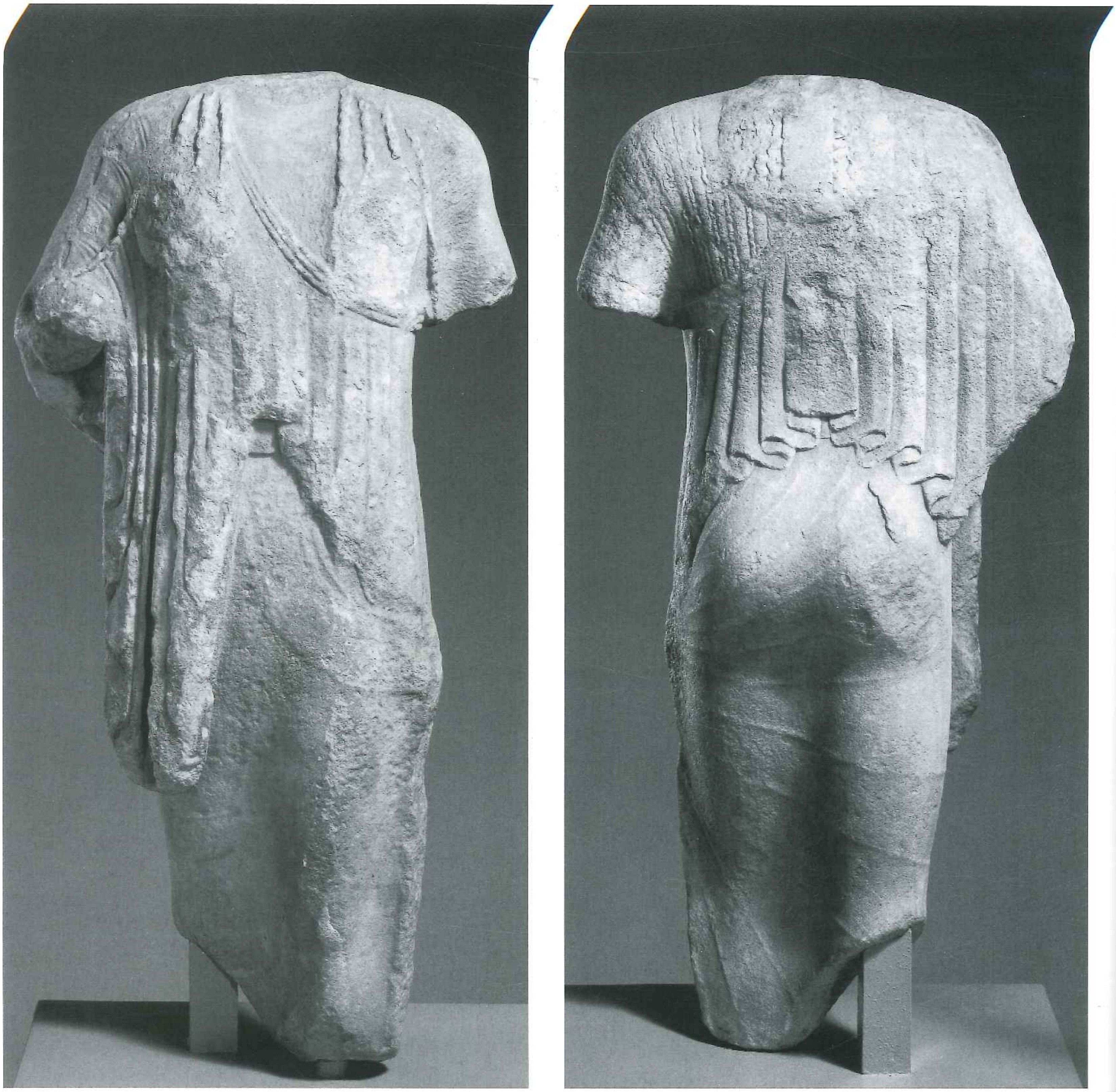
d

Paros, Museum 791 (Antiparos)

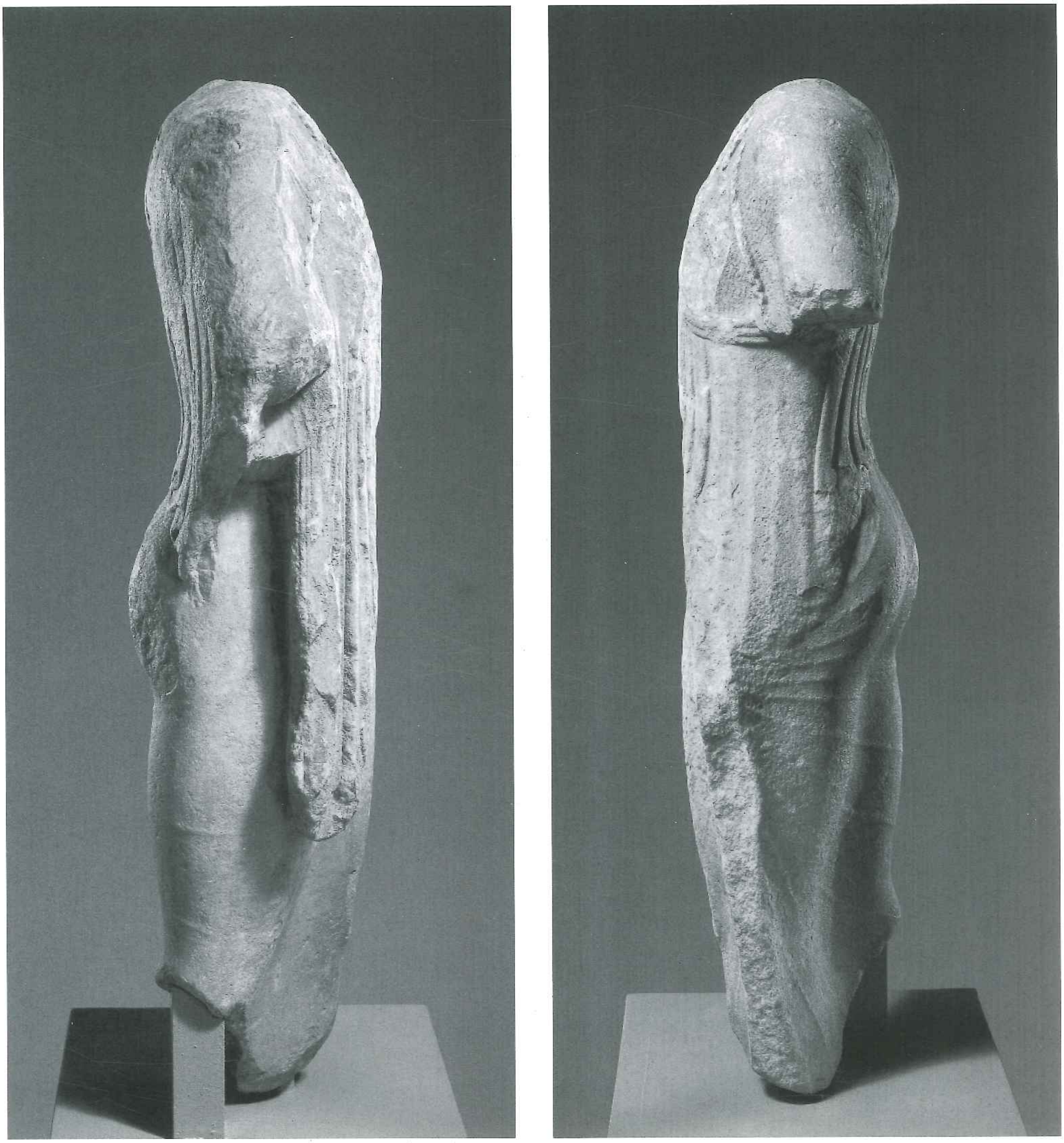


a b c d

Paros, Museum 802 (Naoussa)



New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.306



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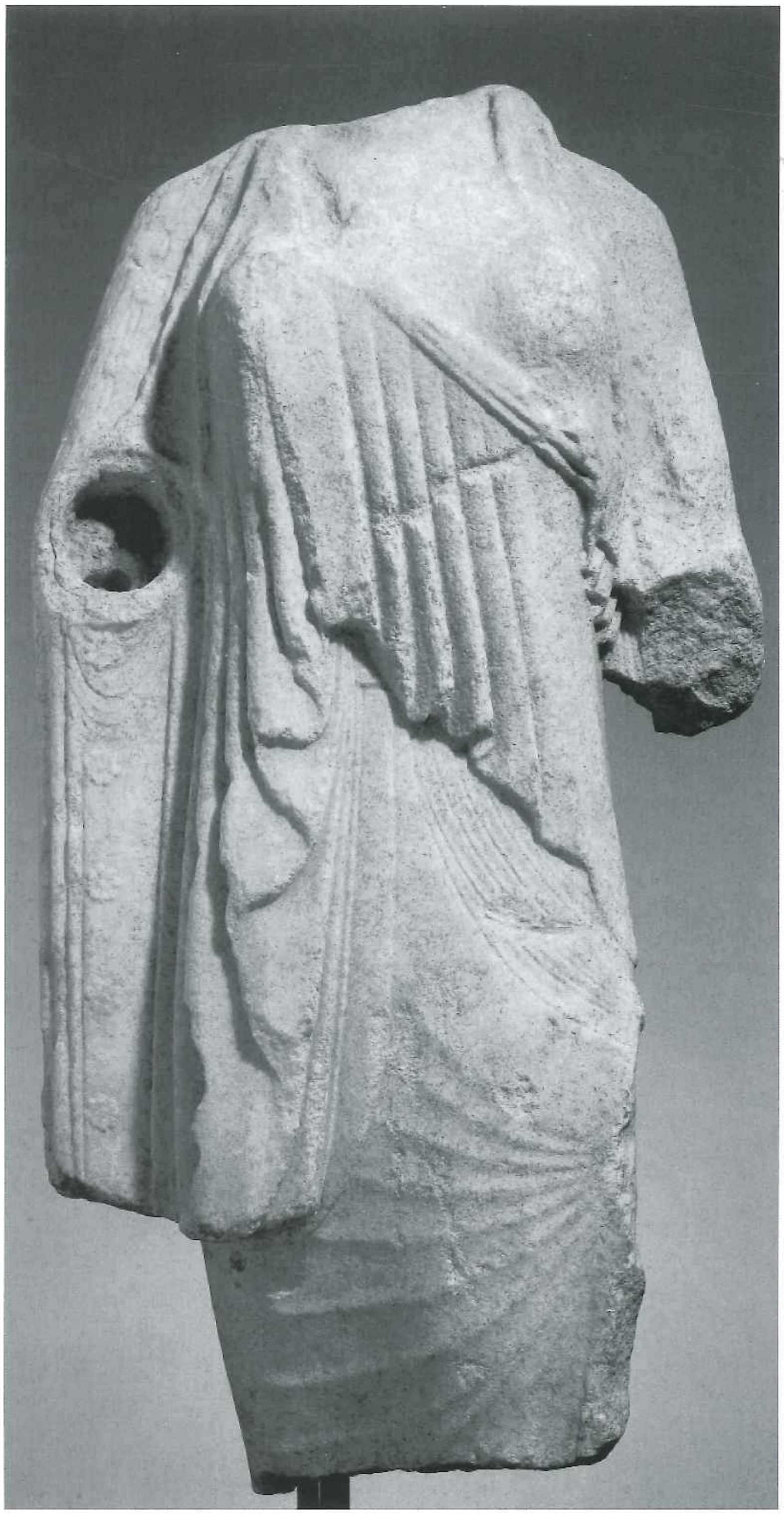
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.306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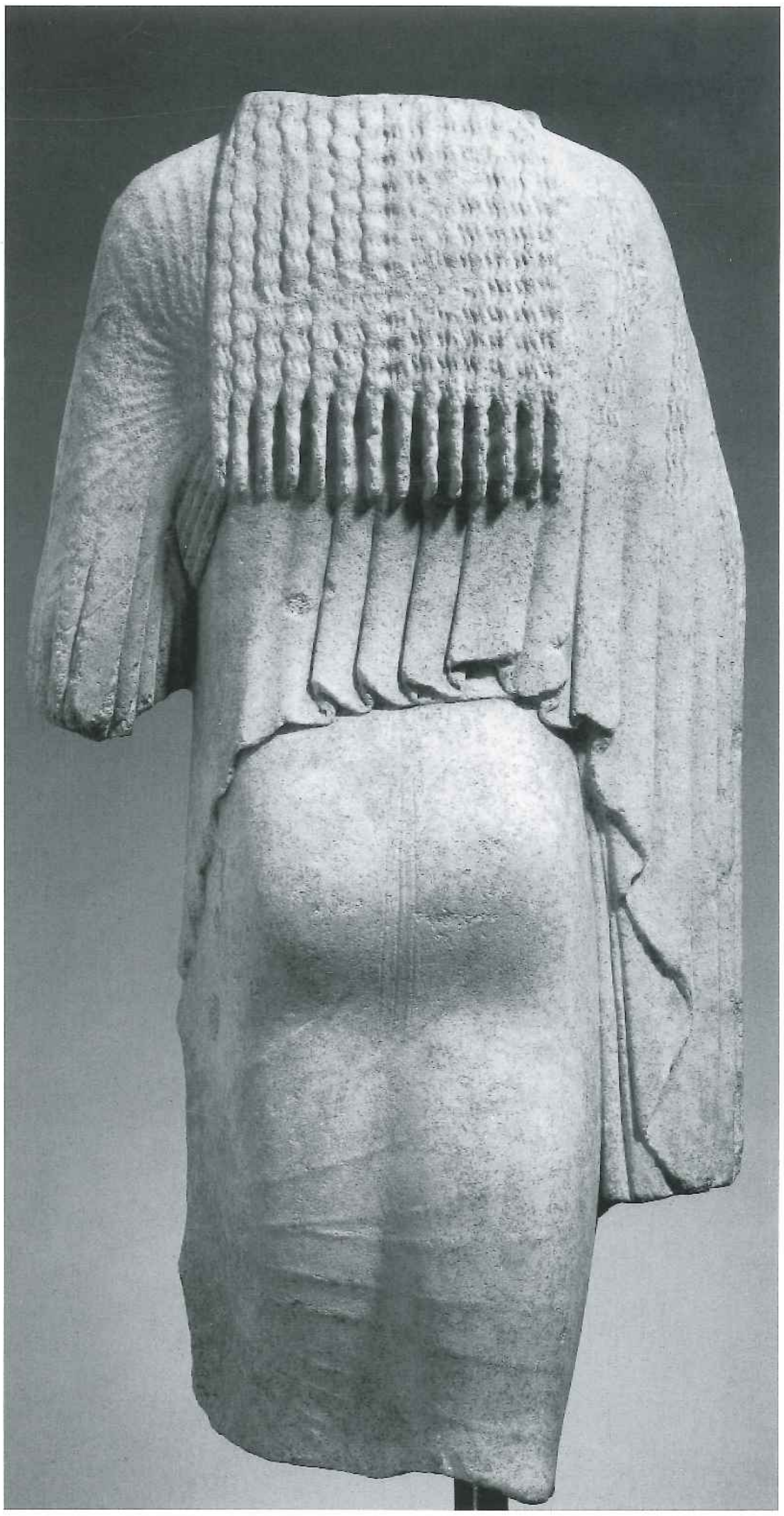
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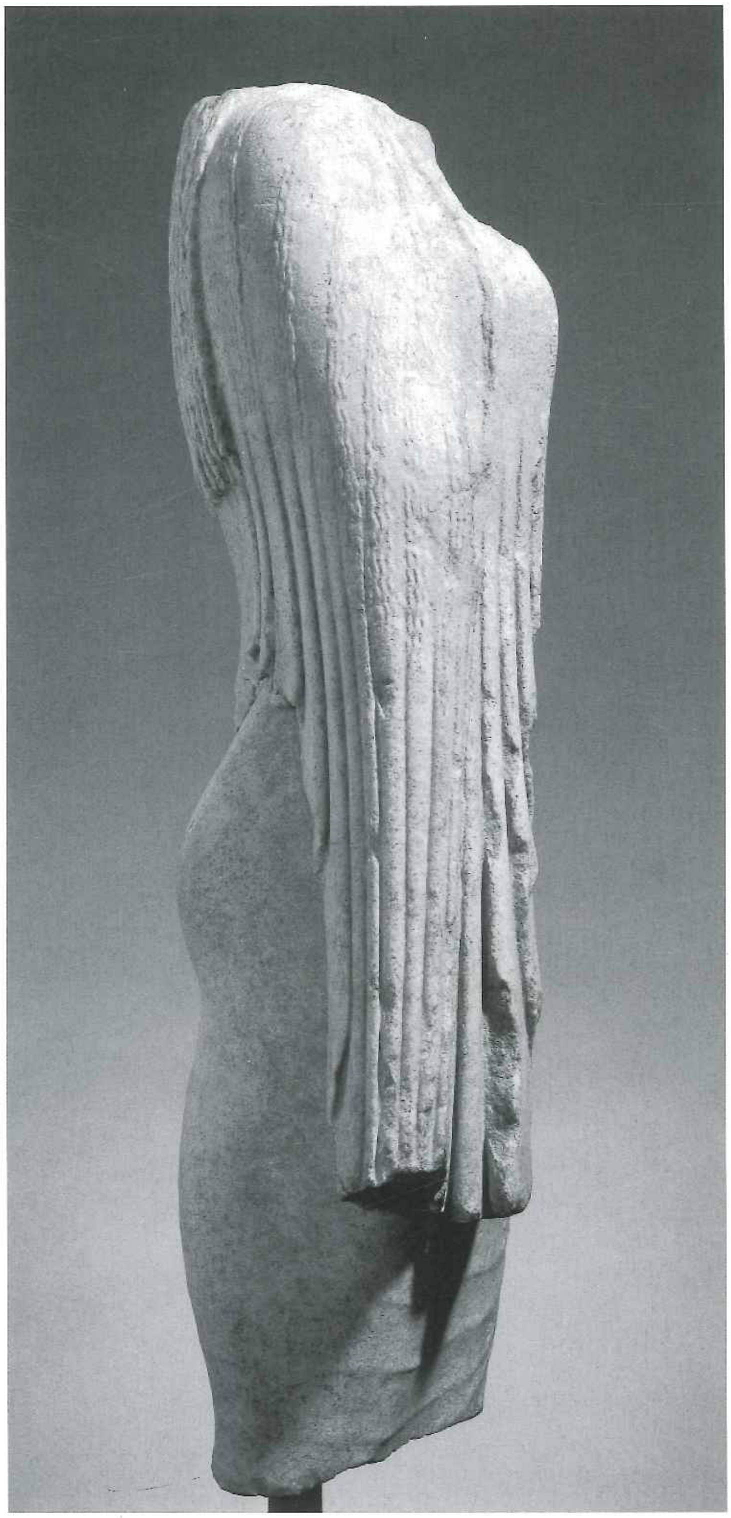
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 93.AA.24



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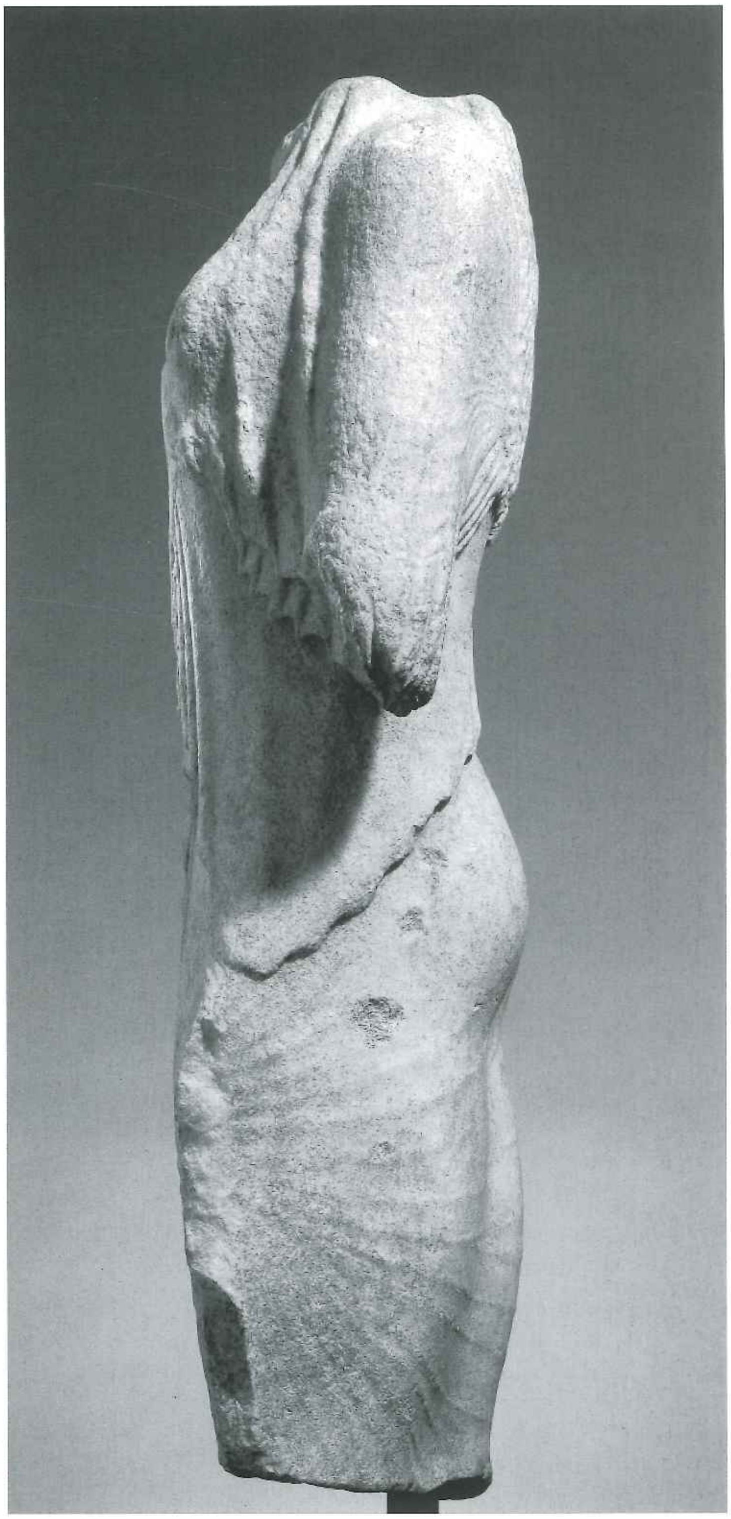

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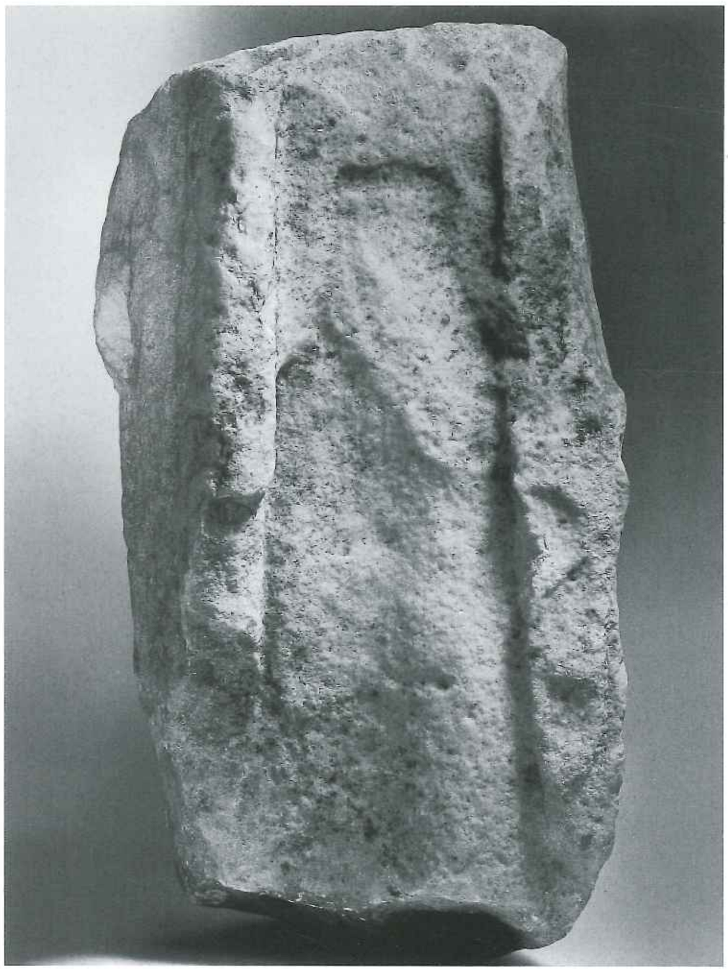
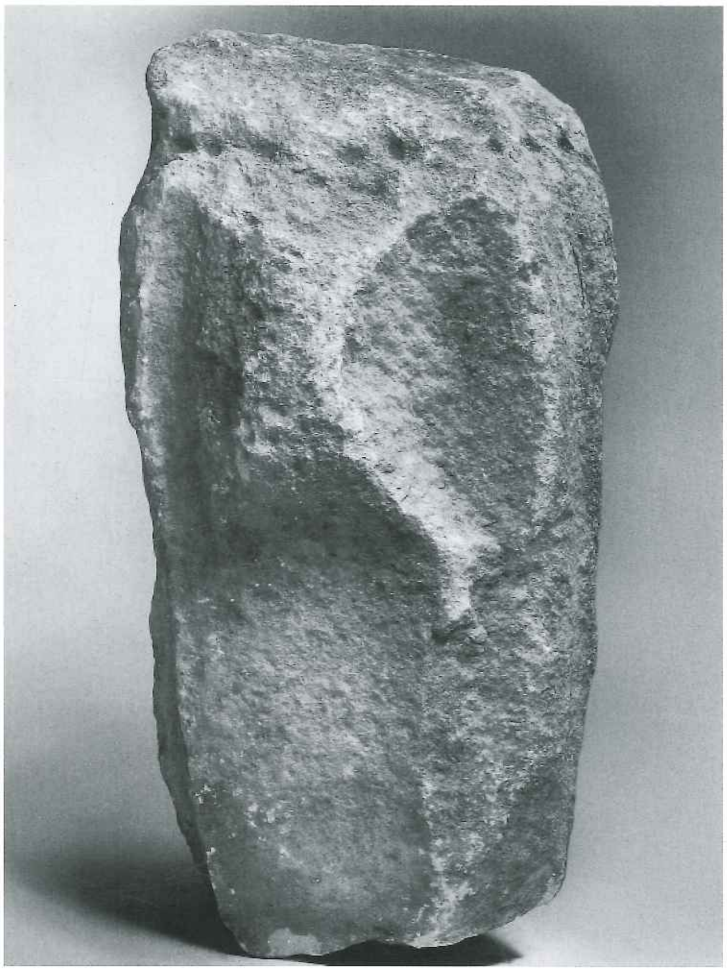
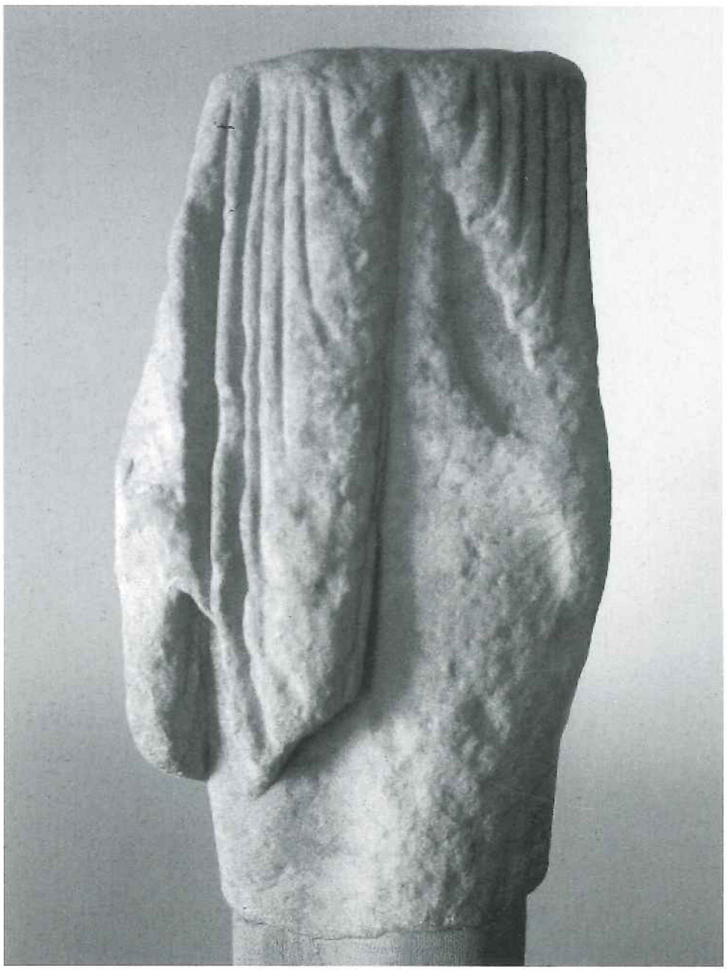
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 93.AA.24



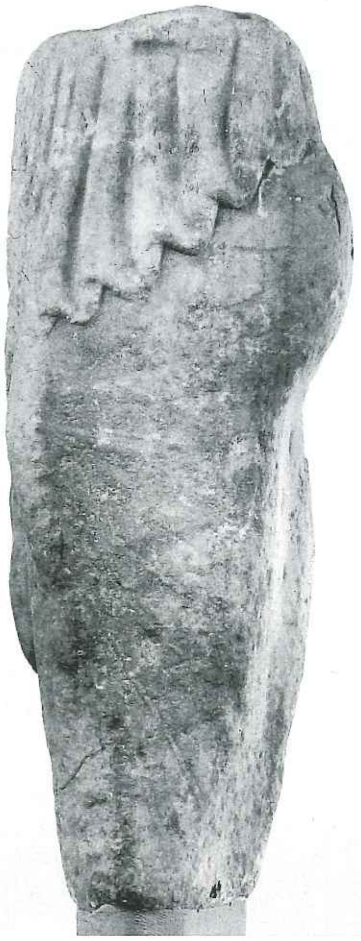
719 a



719 b

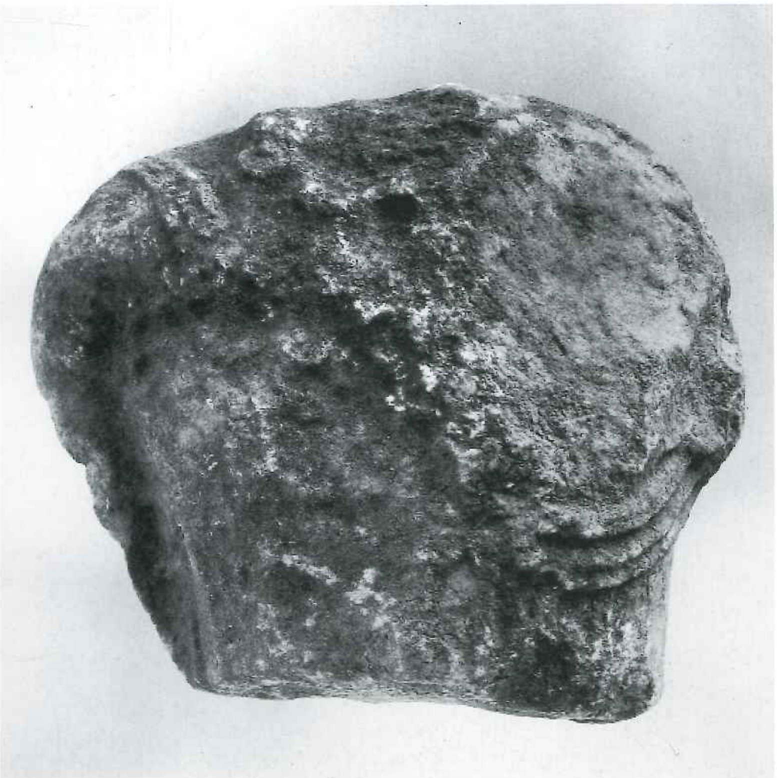


166 a



166 b

Paros, Museum 719 and 166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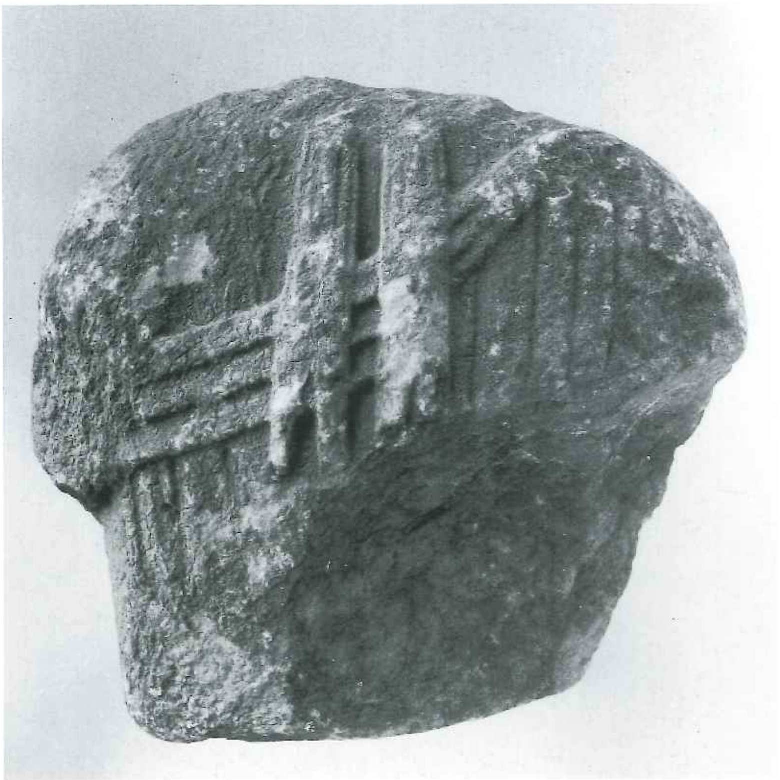
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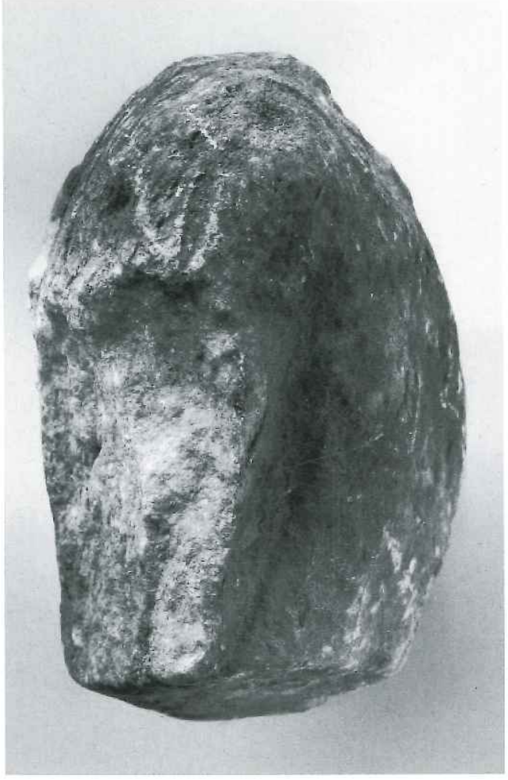
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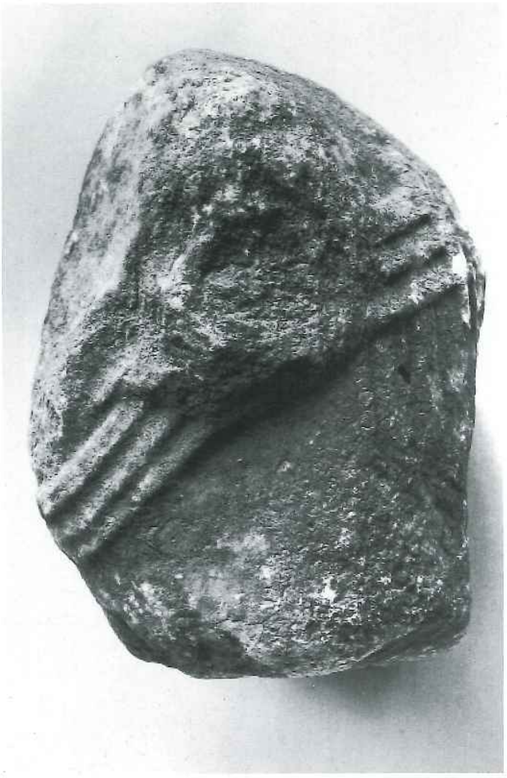
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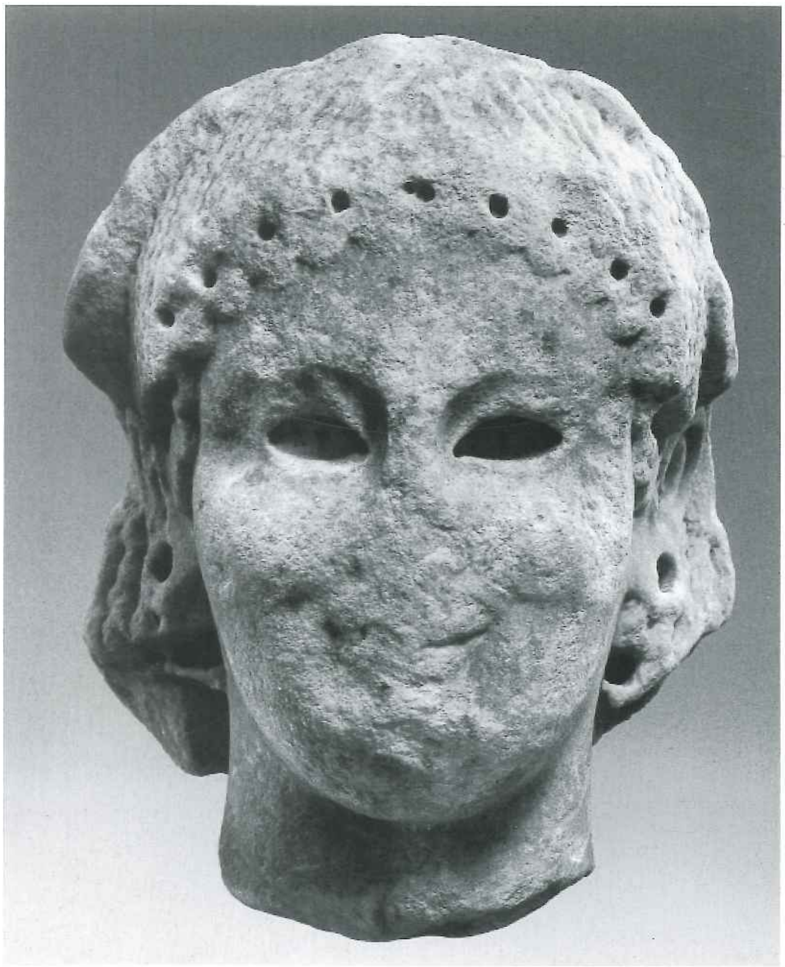
Amorgos, Museum 305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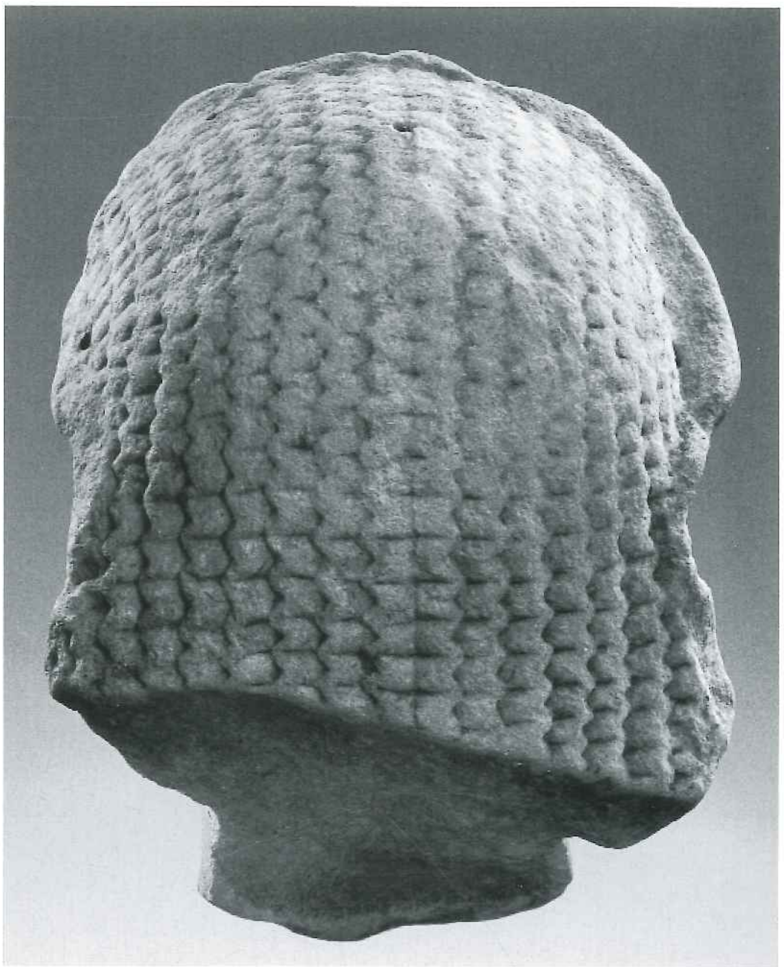
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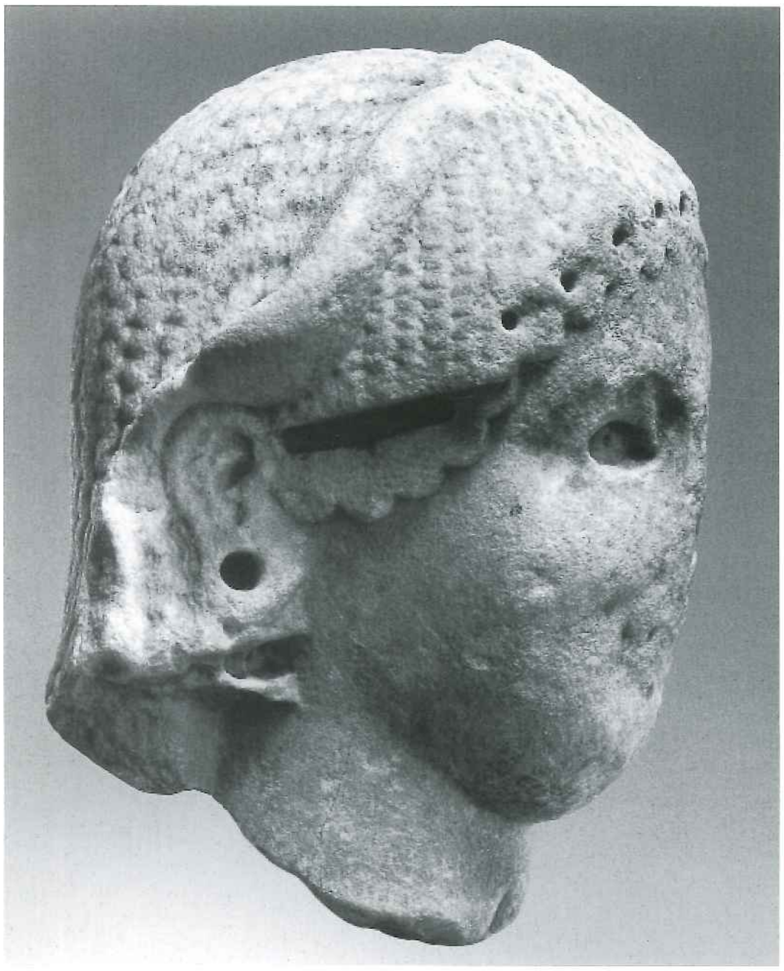
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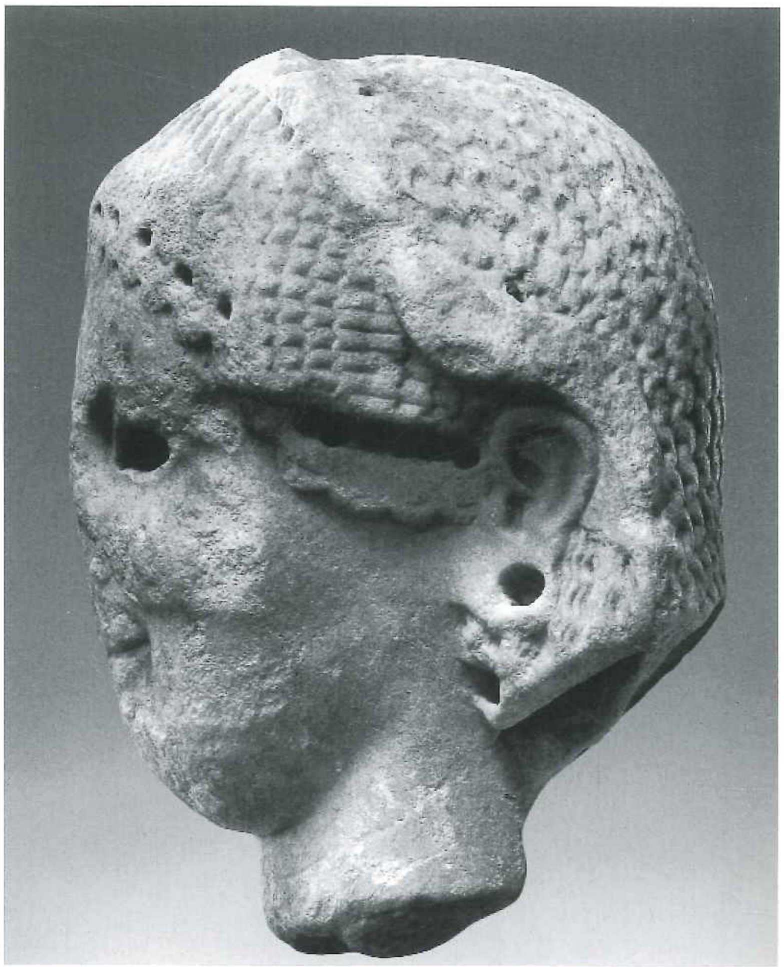
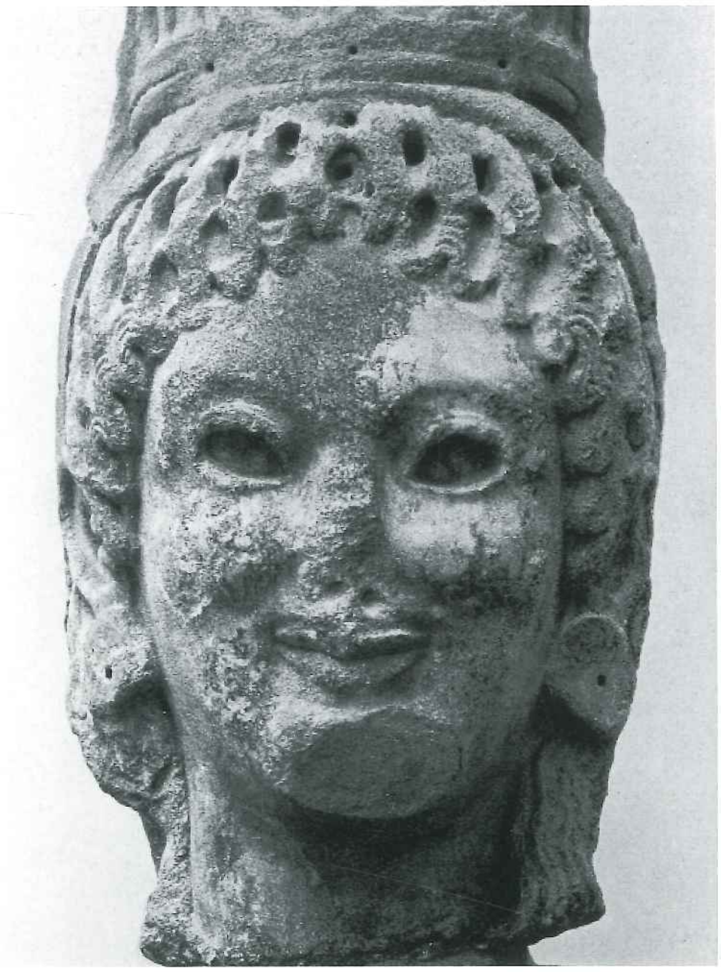
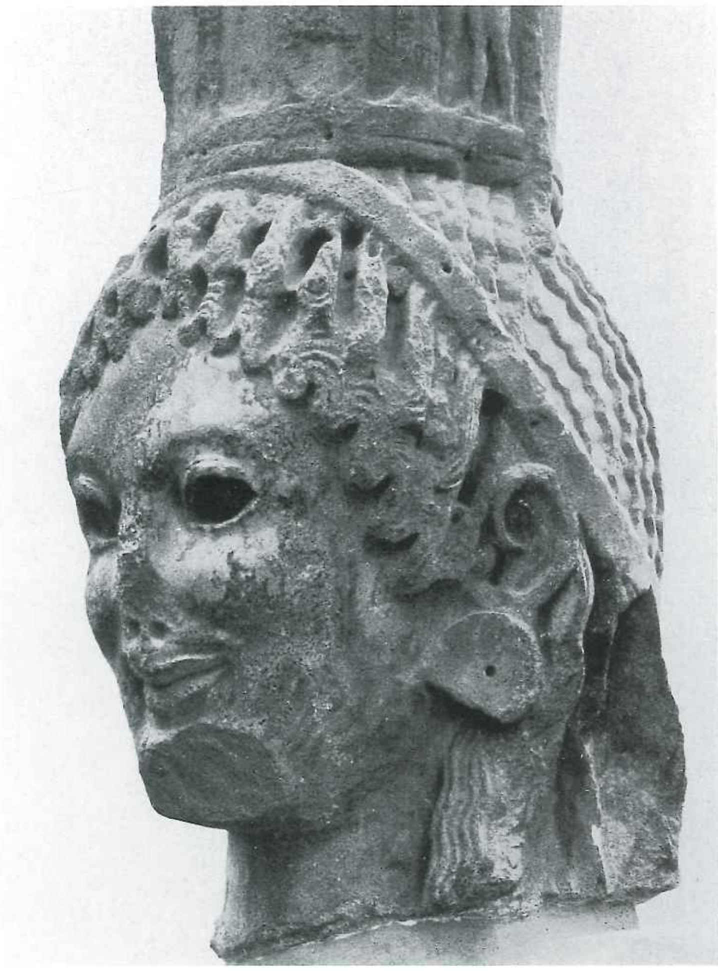

d

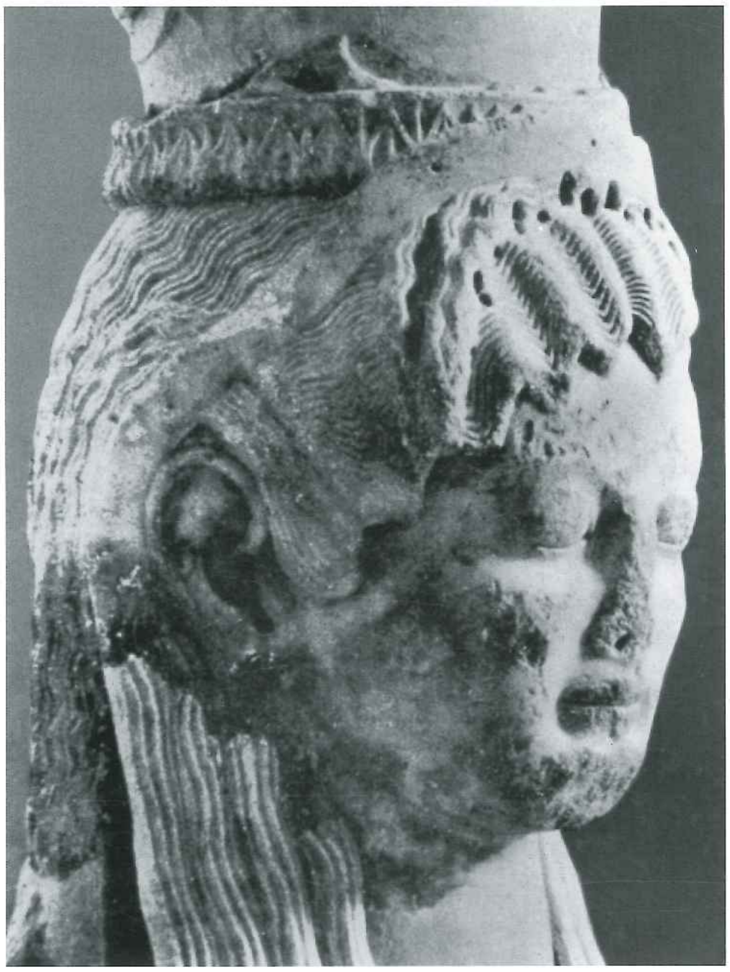
Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 245



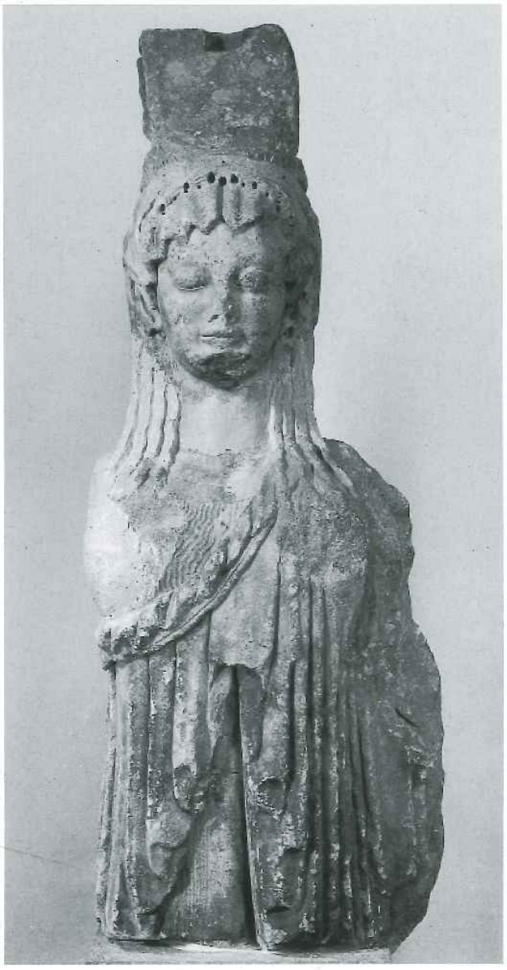
"Ex-Knidian" karyatid a



"Ex-Knidian" karyatid b

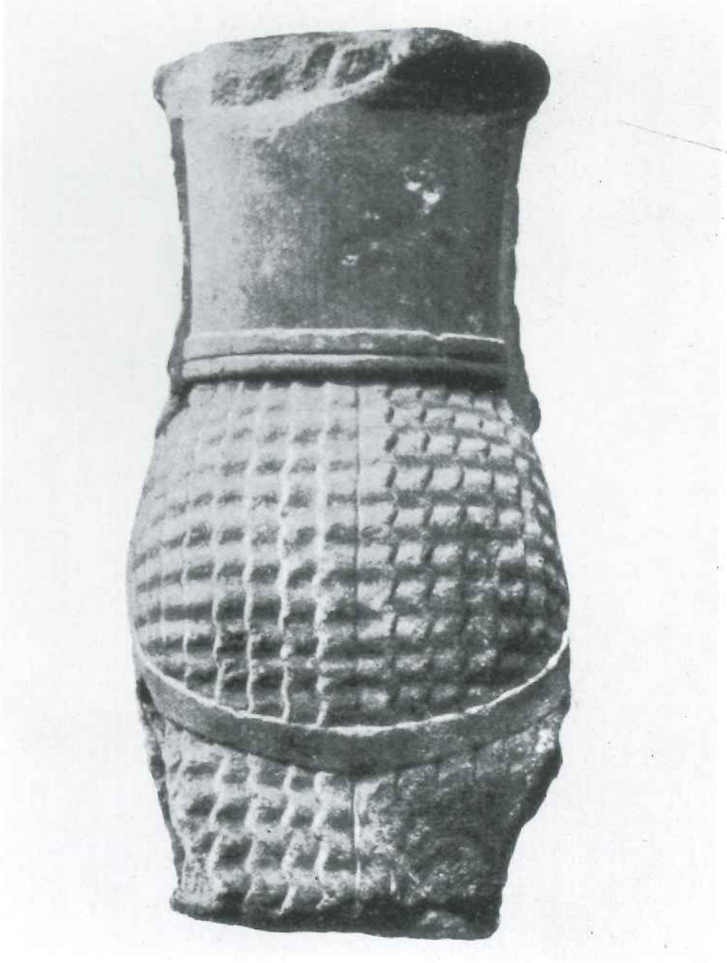


Treasury of the Siphnians a

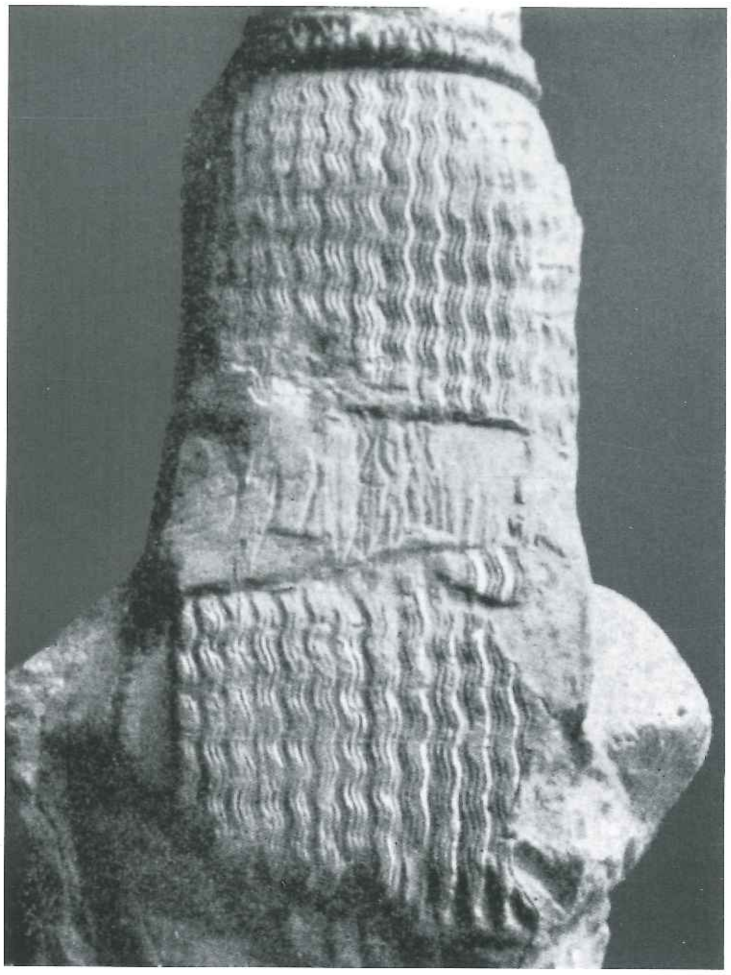


Treasury of the Siphnians b

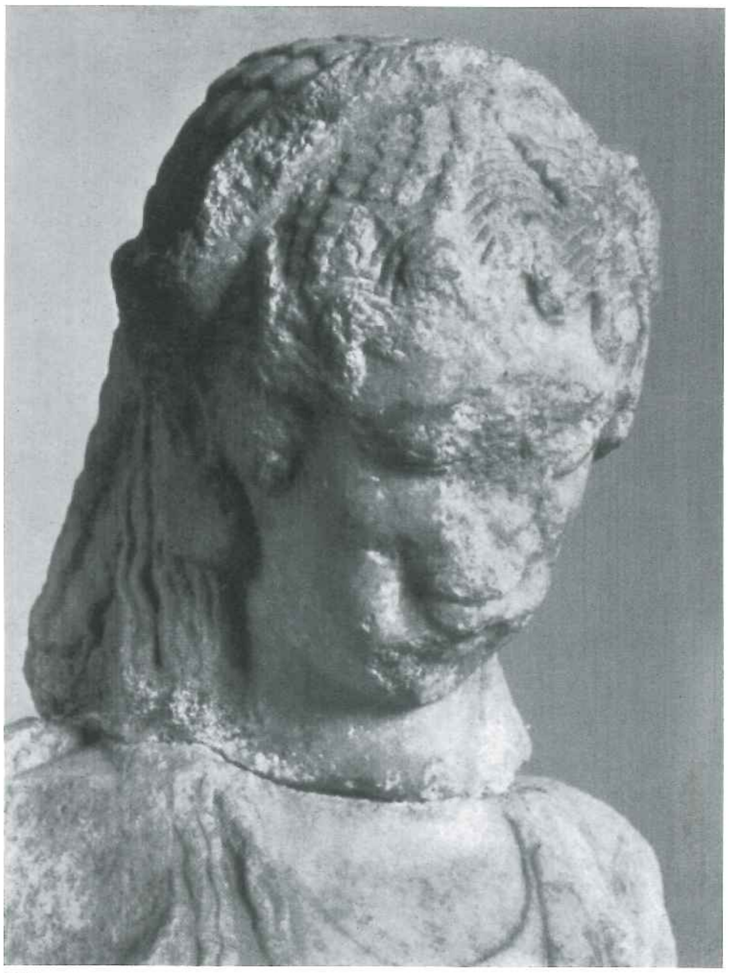
Delphi, Museum "Ex-Knidian" and the Treasury of the Siphnians karyatids



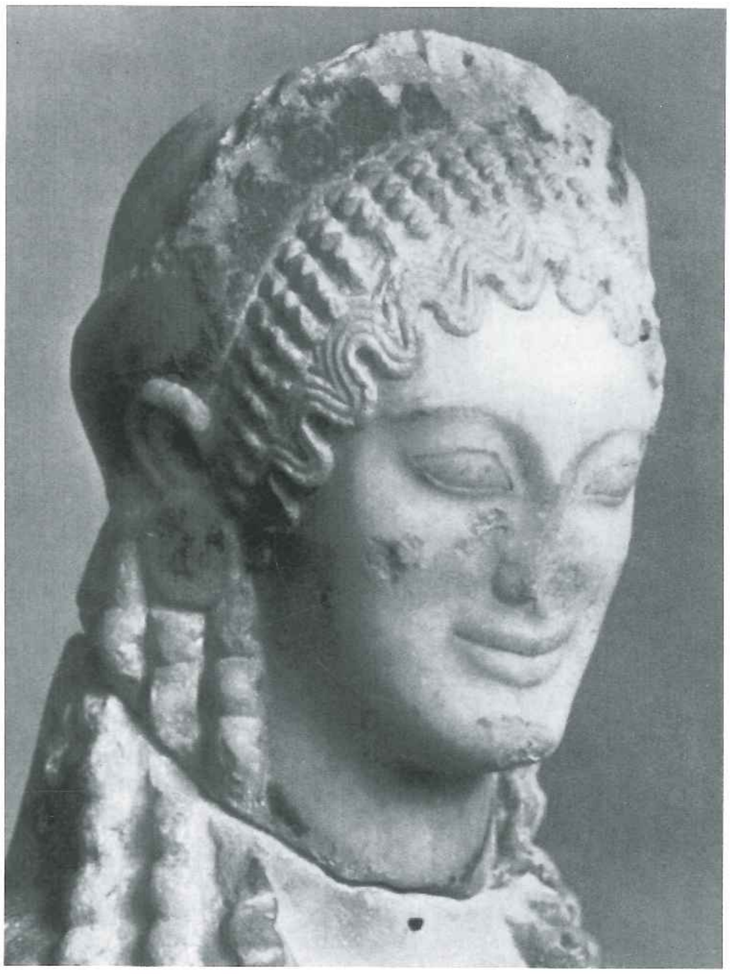
"Ex-Knidian" karyatid



Treasury of the Siphnians

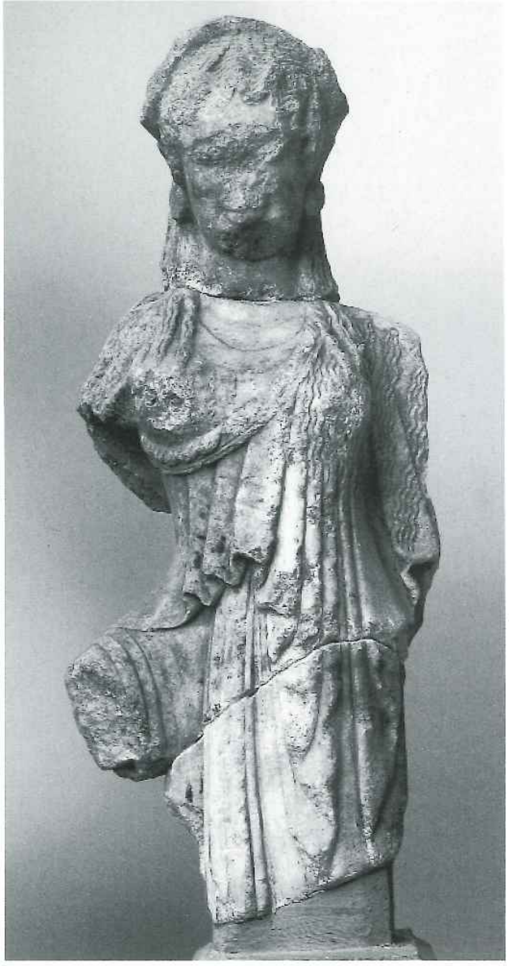


Nike 693

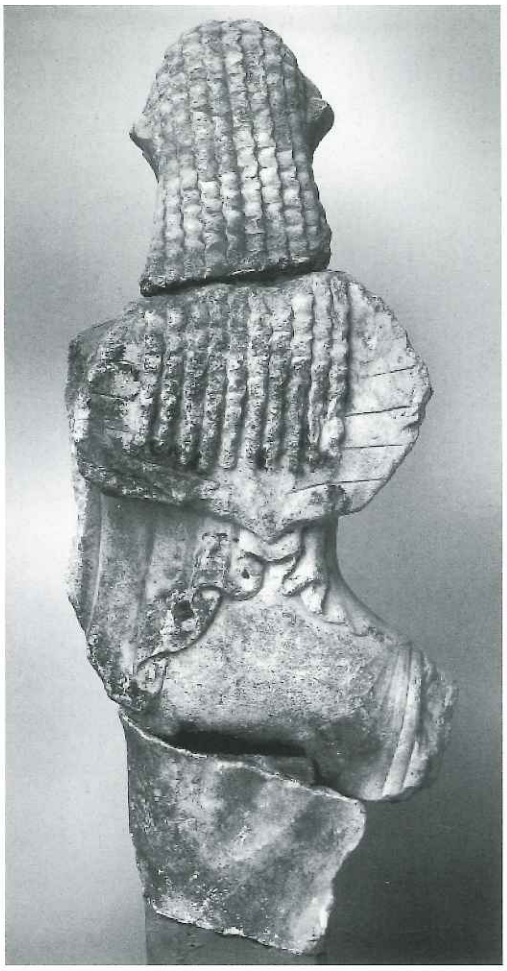


675

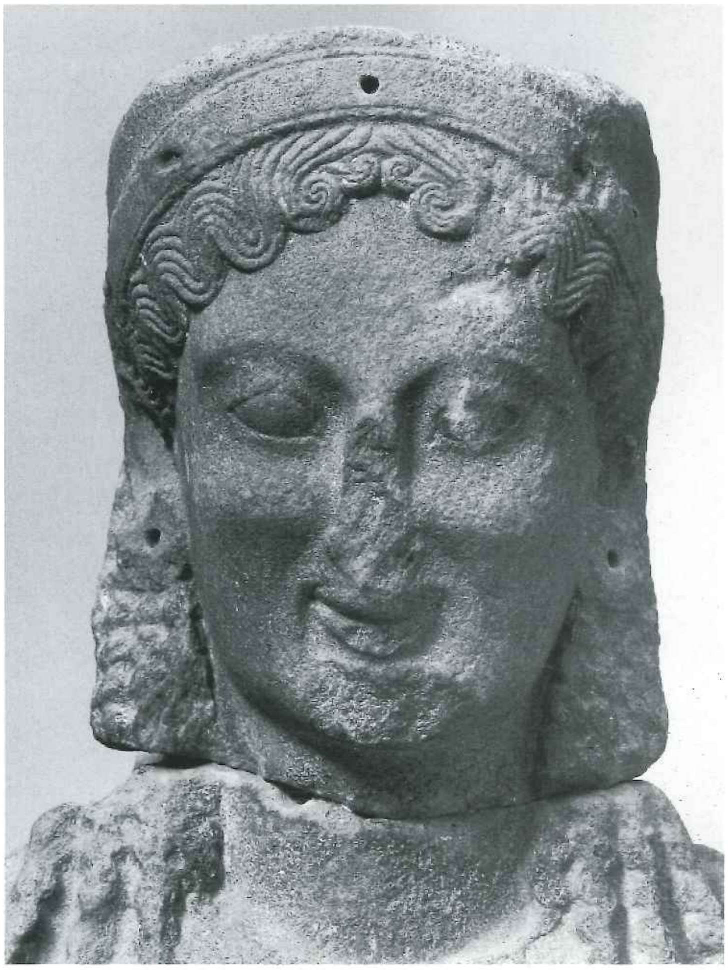
Delphi, Museum "Ex-Knidian" and Treasury of the Siphnians karyatids · *Athens, Akropolis Museum* Nike 693 and 675



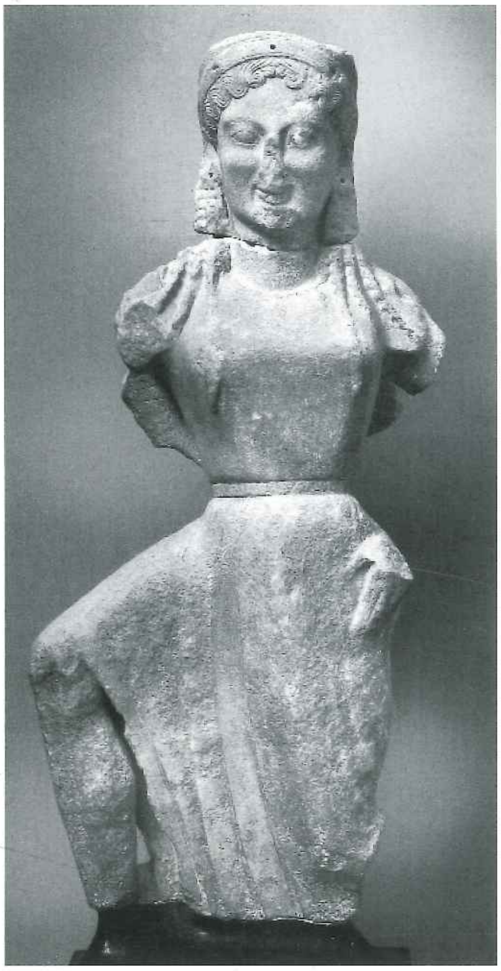
Nike 693 a



Nike 693 b

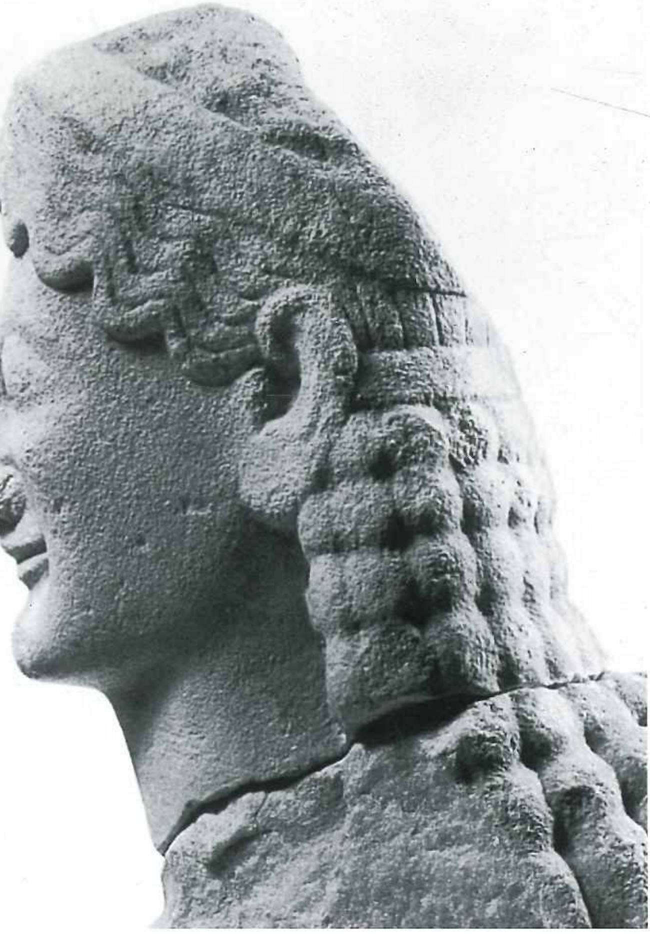


Nike 21 a

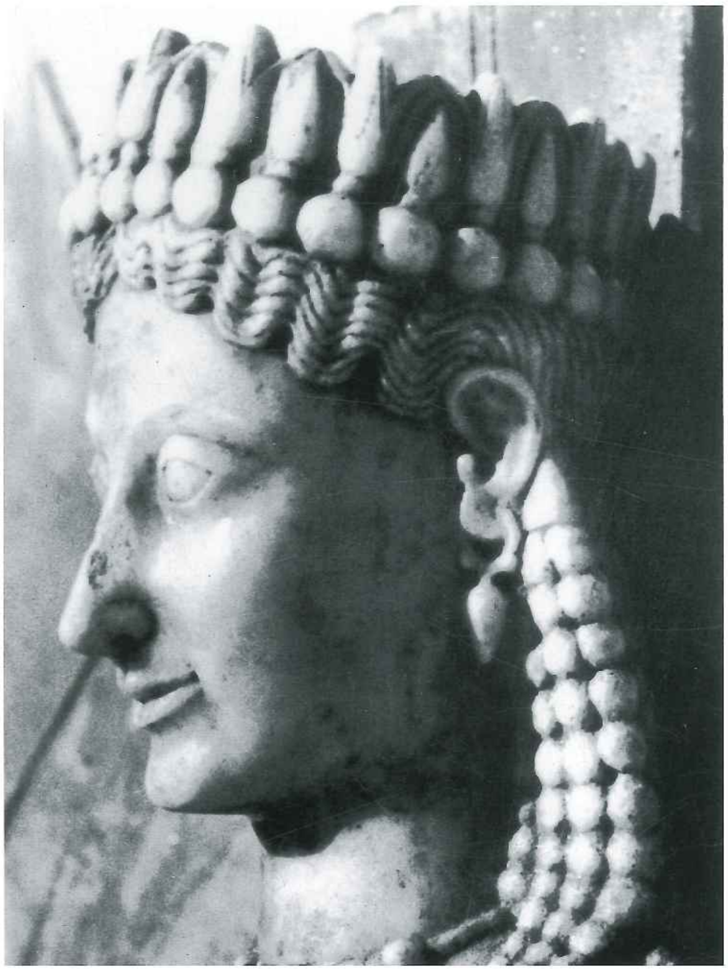


Nike 21 b

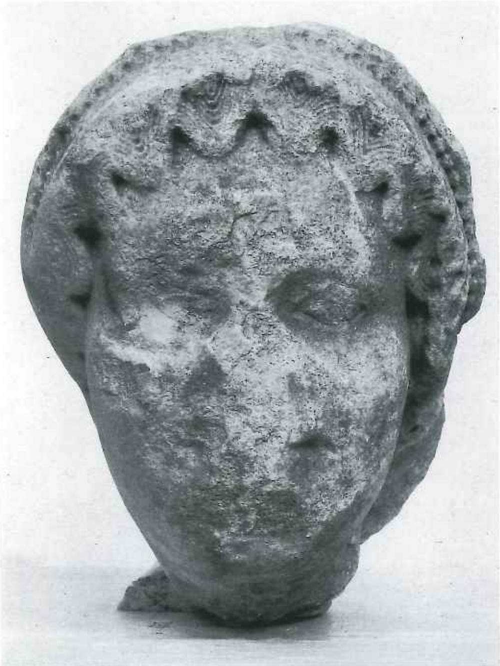
Athens, Akropolis Museum Nike 693 · *National Museum* Nike 21



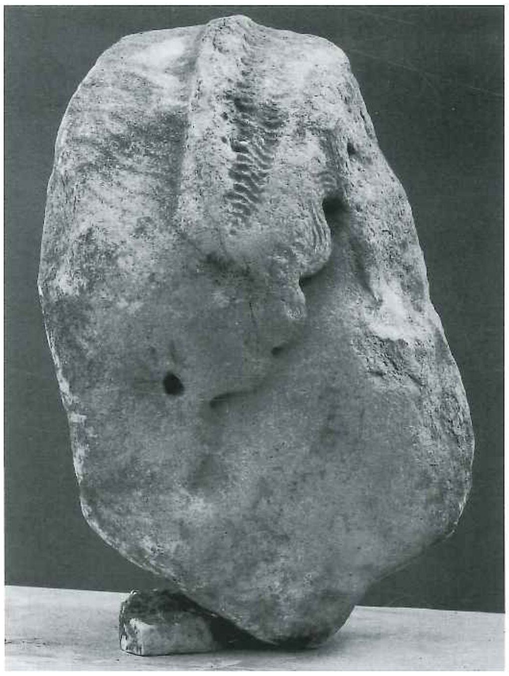
2823



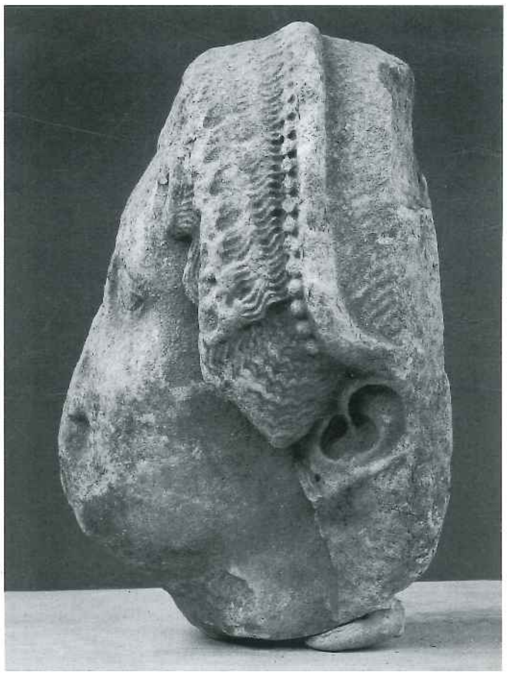
4889



678 a

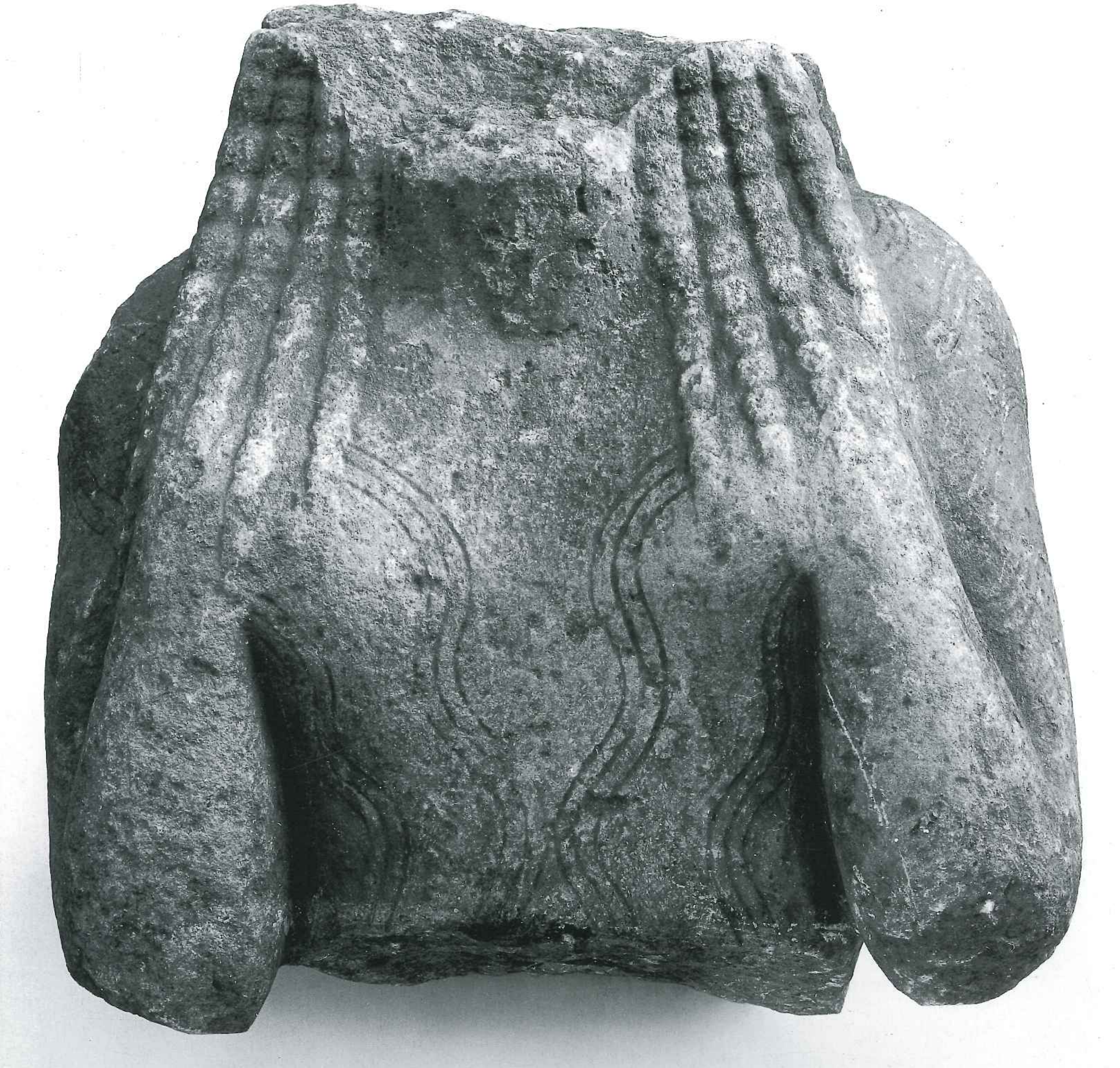


678 b



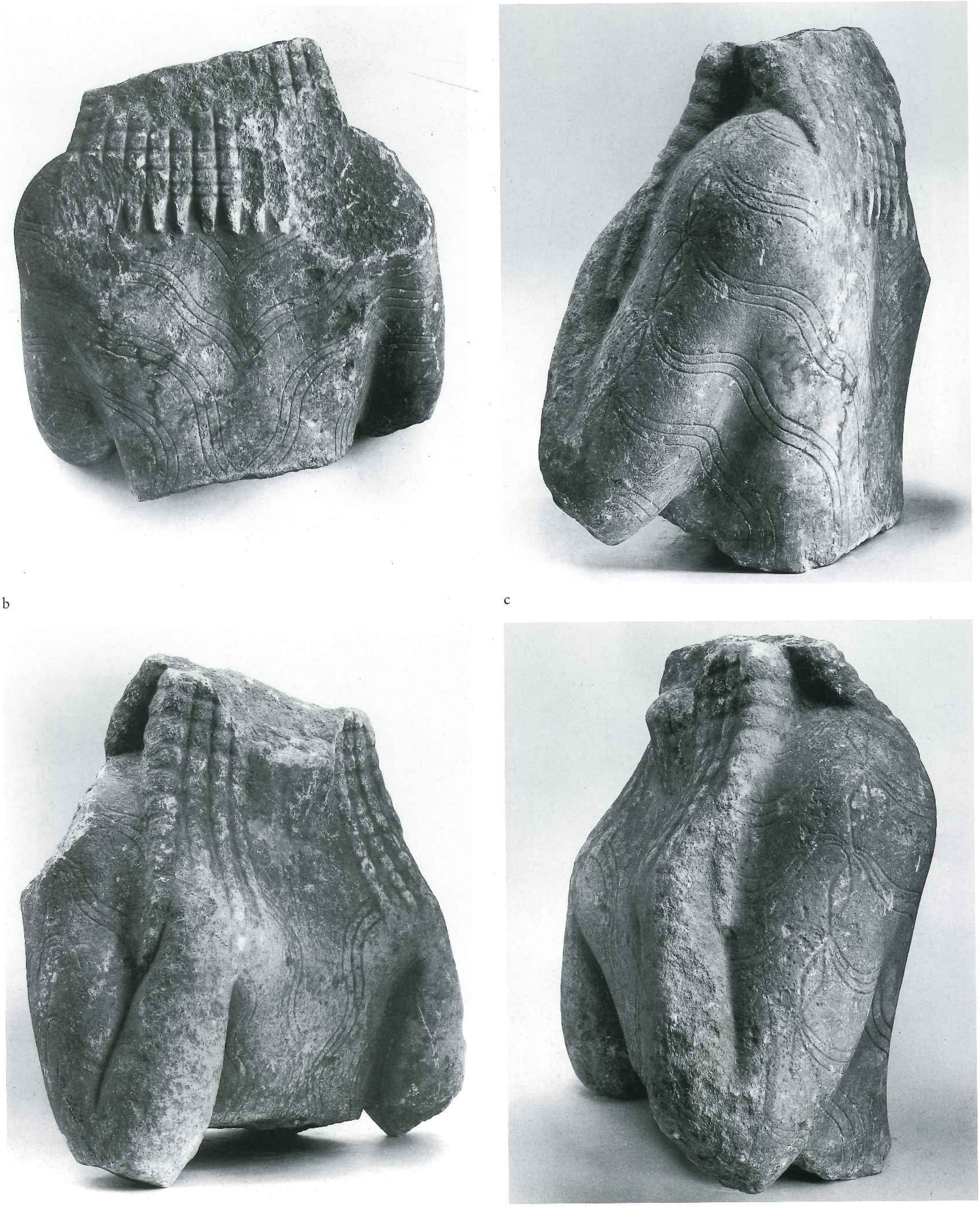
678 c

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2823 · *Athens, National Museum* 4889 · *Thasos, Museum* 678



225 a

Chios, Museum 225



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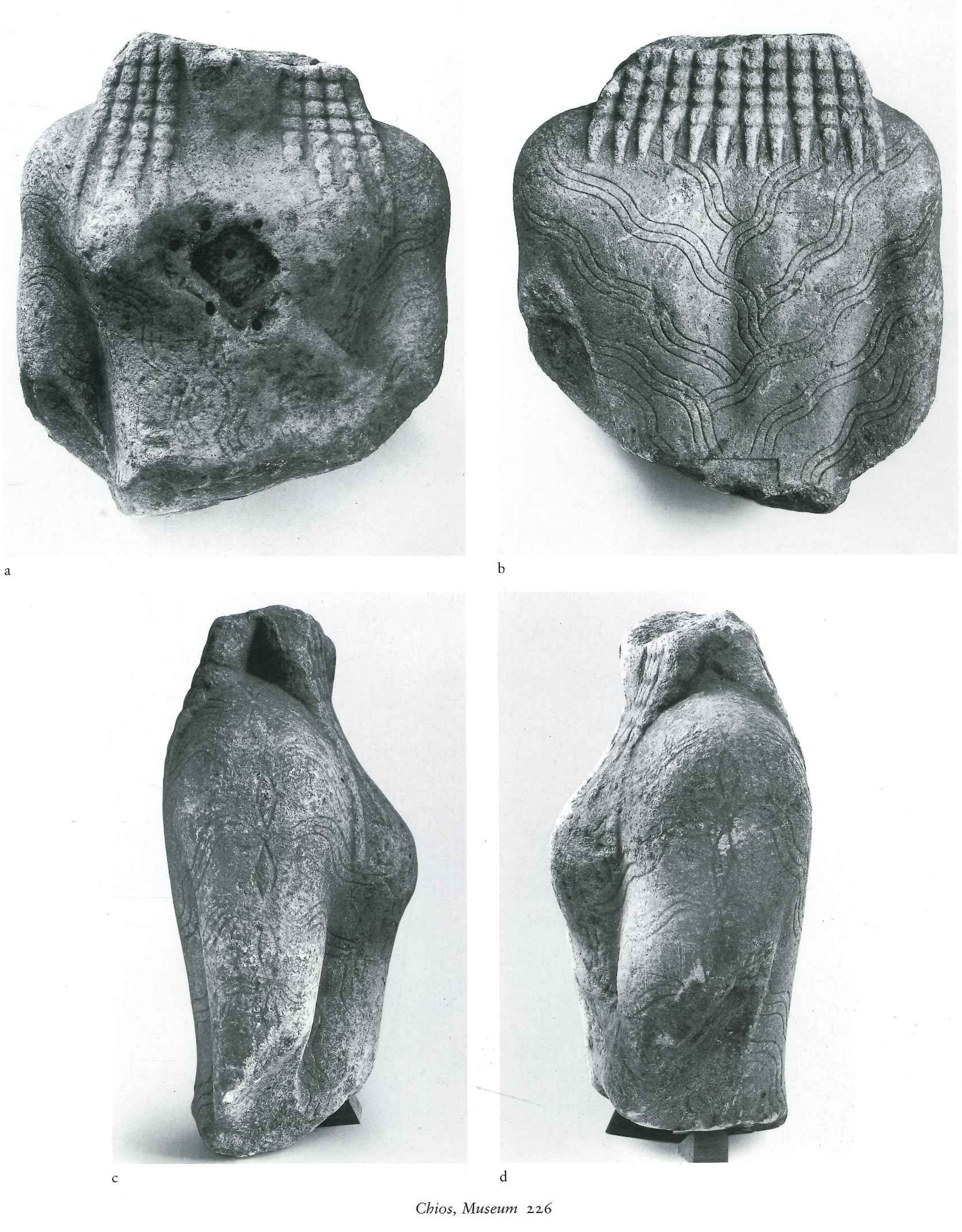
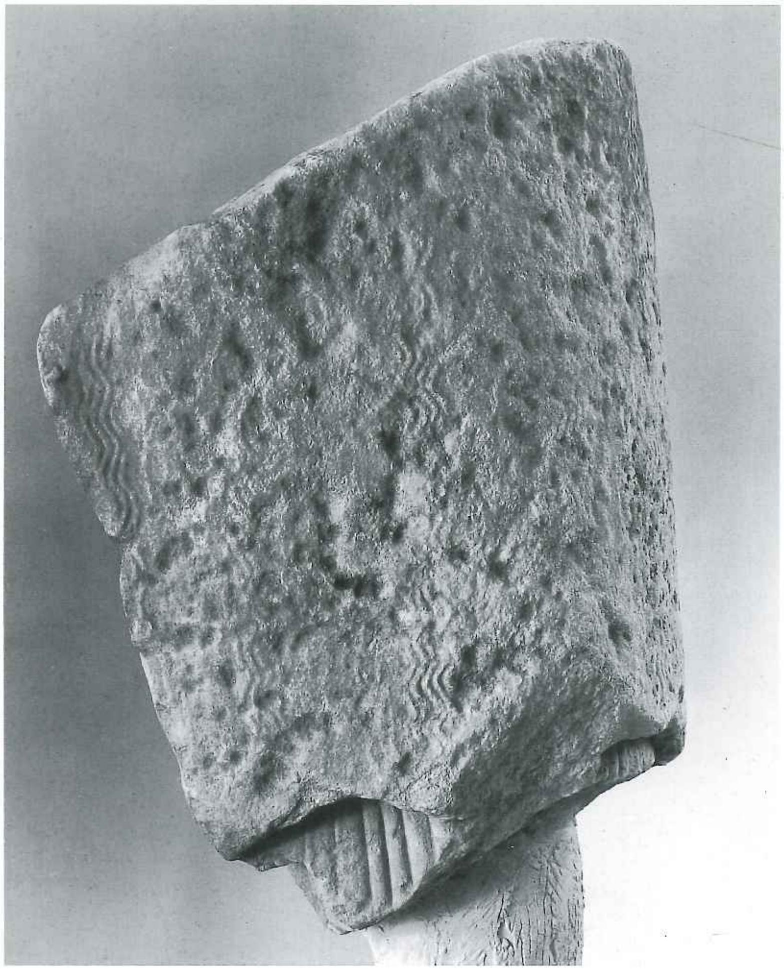
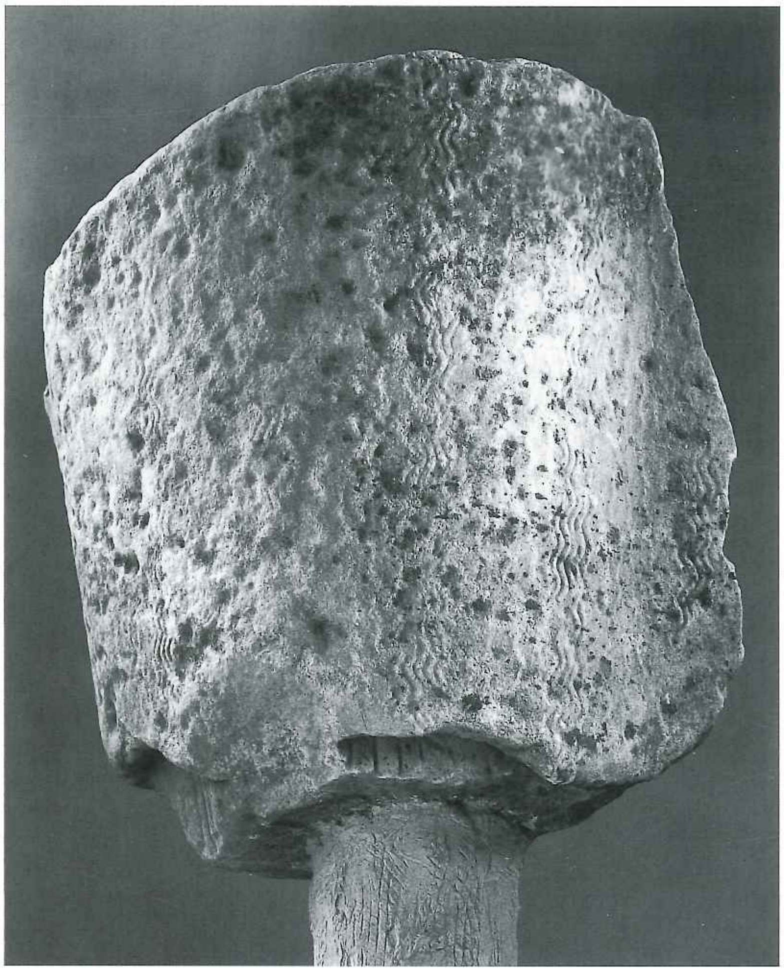
Chios, Museum 225



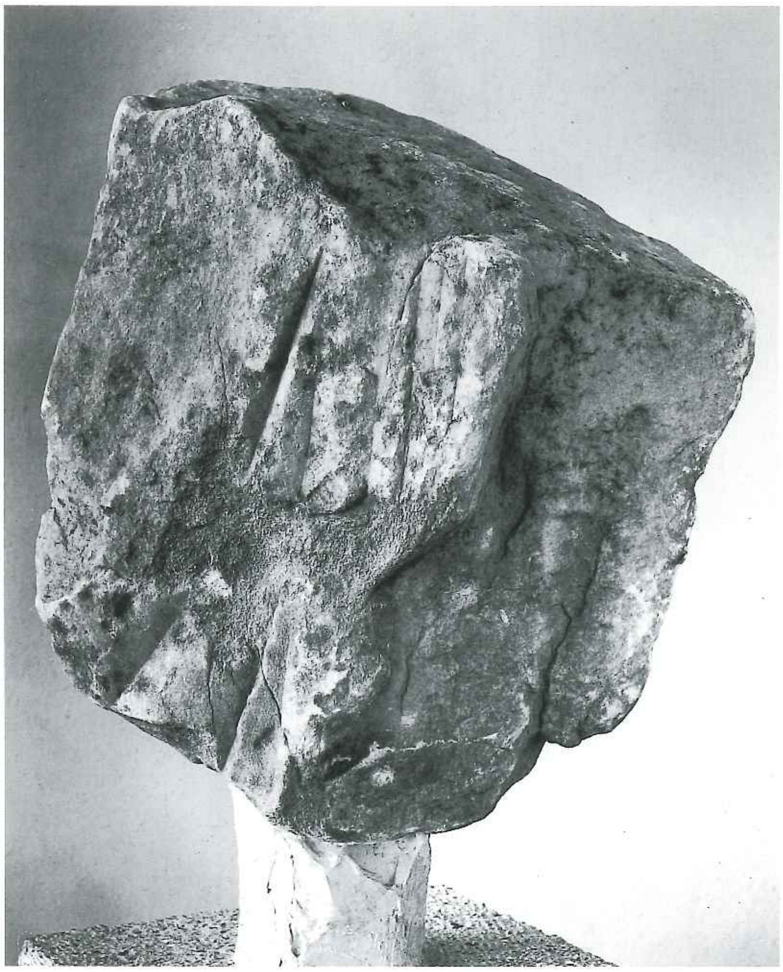
Chios, Museum 226



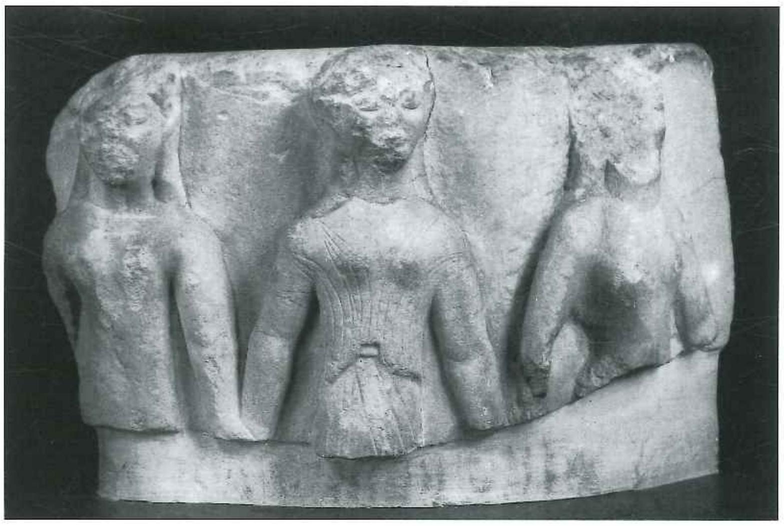
Metochi Kore a



Metochi Kore b

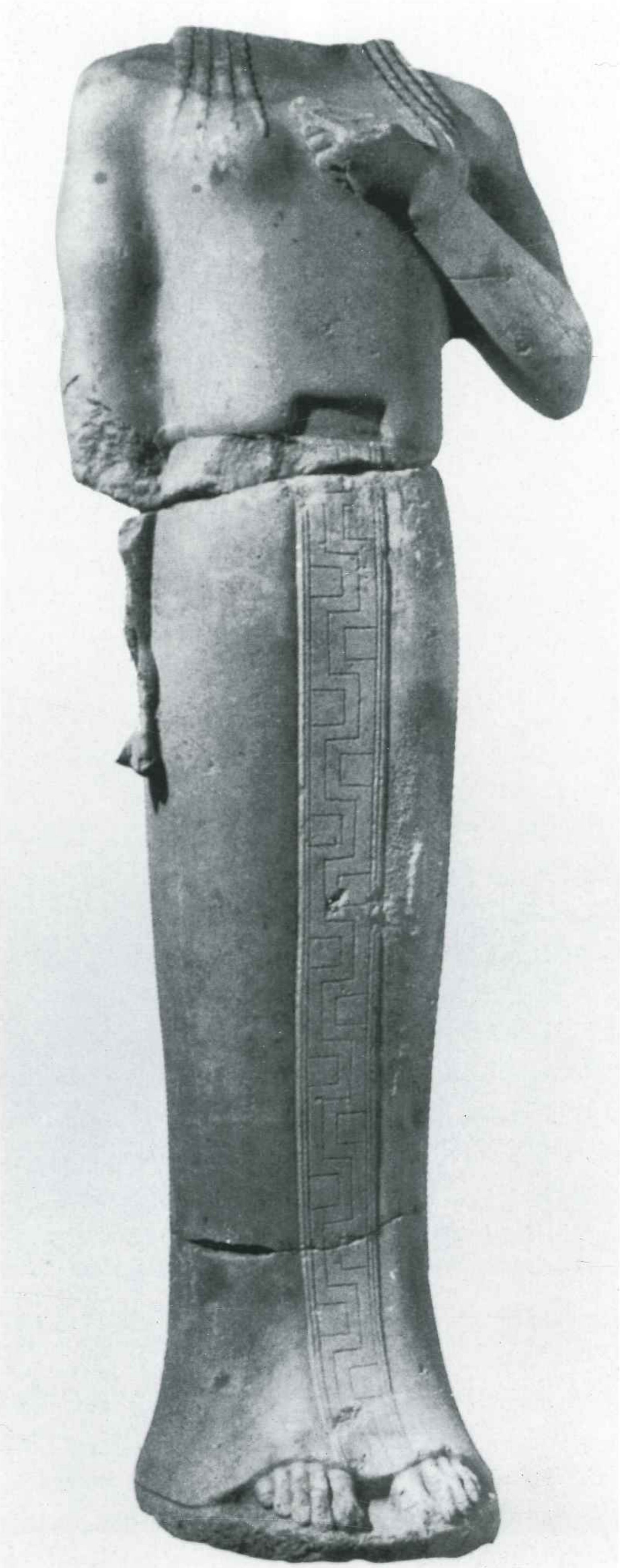


Metochi Kore c



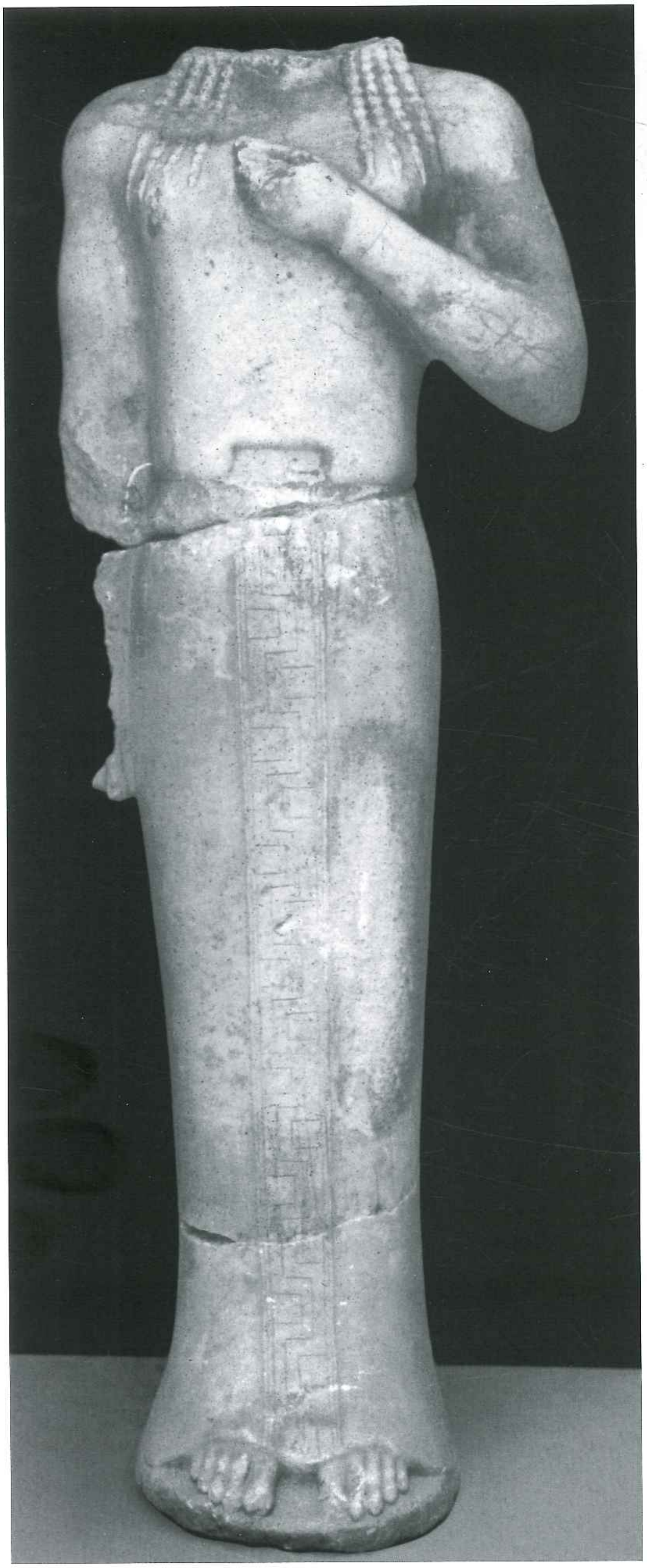
Round base from Kyzikos

Chios, Museum Metochi Kore · *Istanbul, Archaeological Museum* Round base from Kyzikos

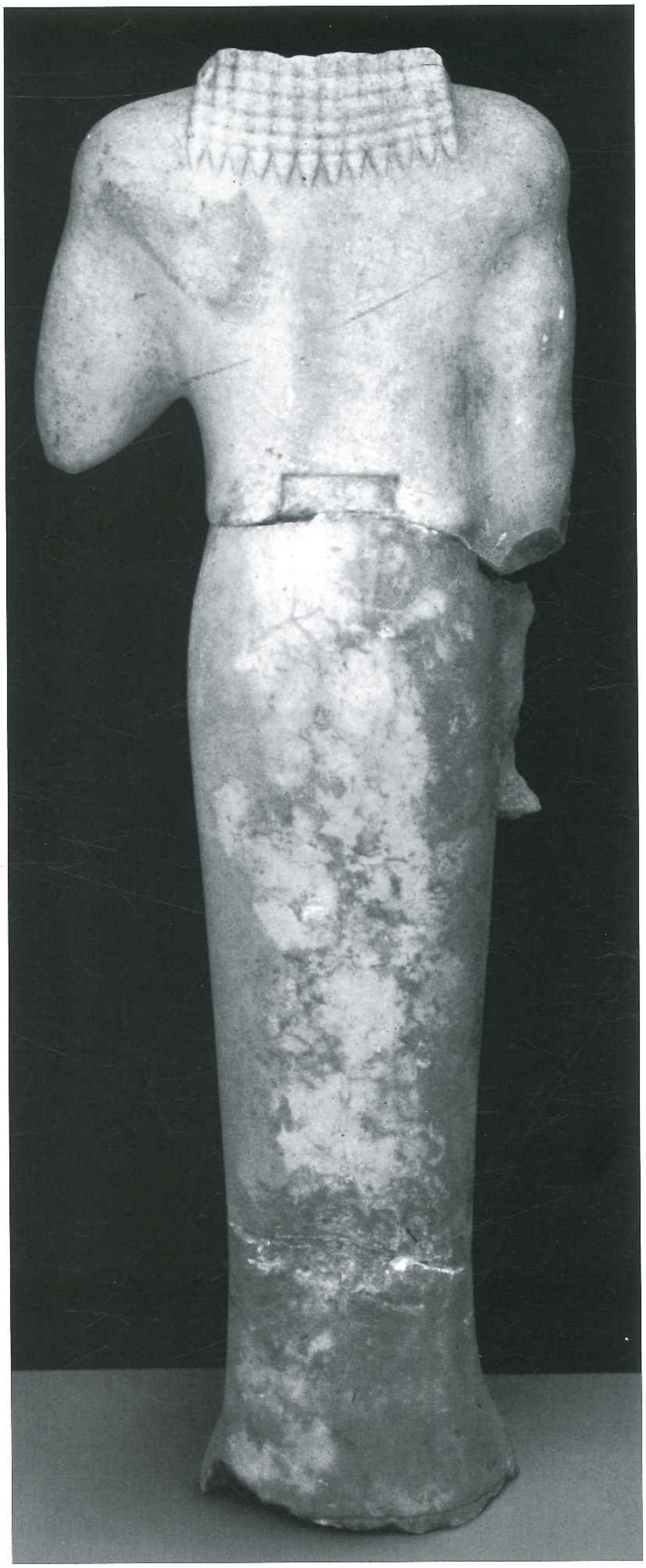


a

Kyrene, Museum I

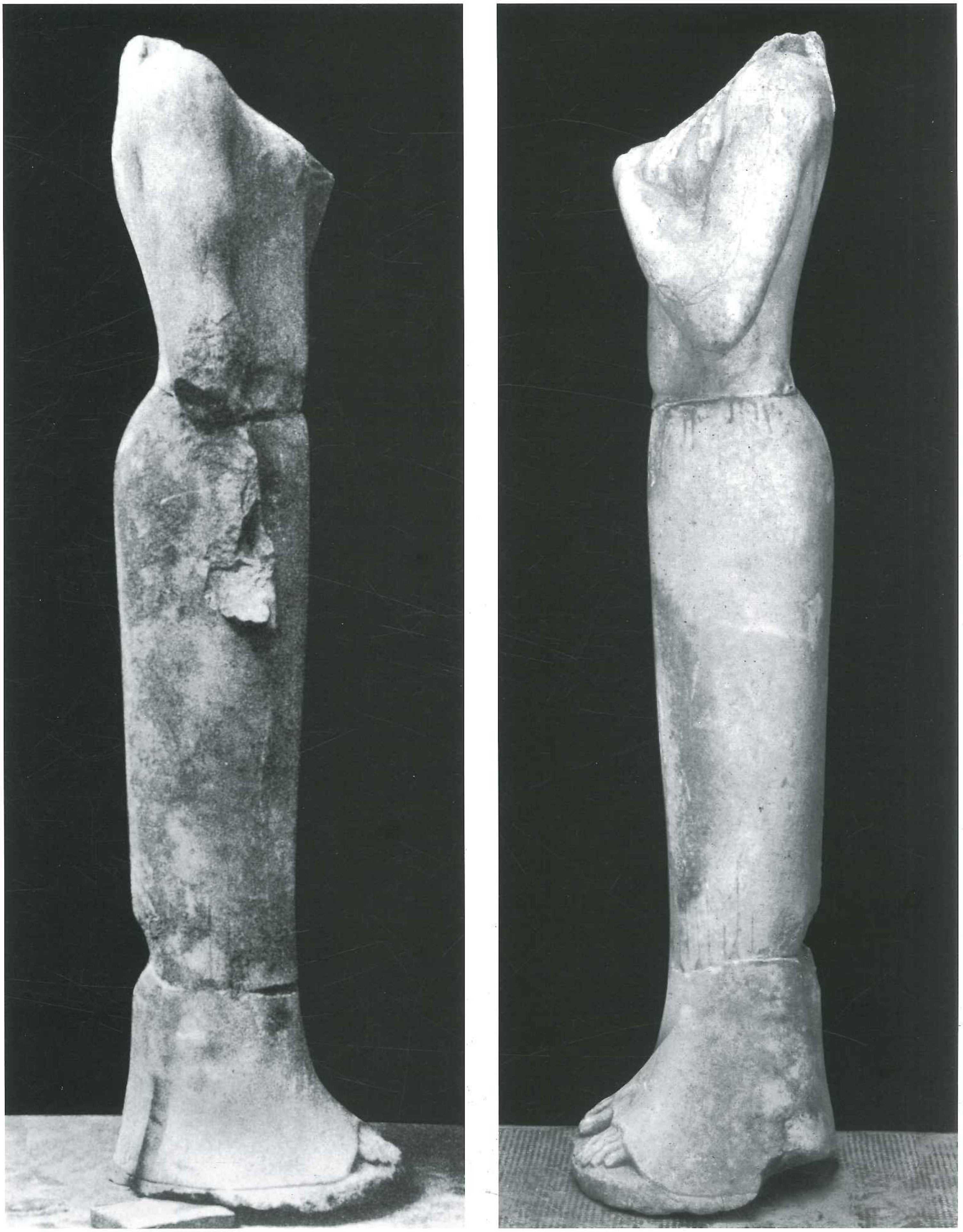


b



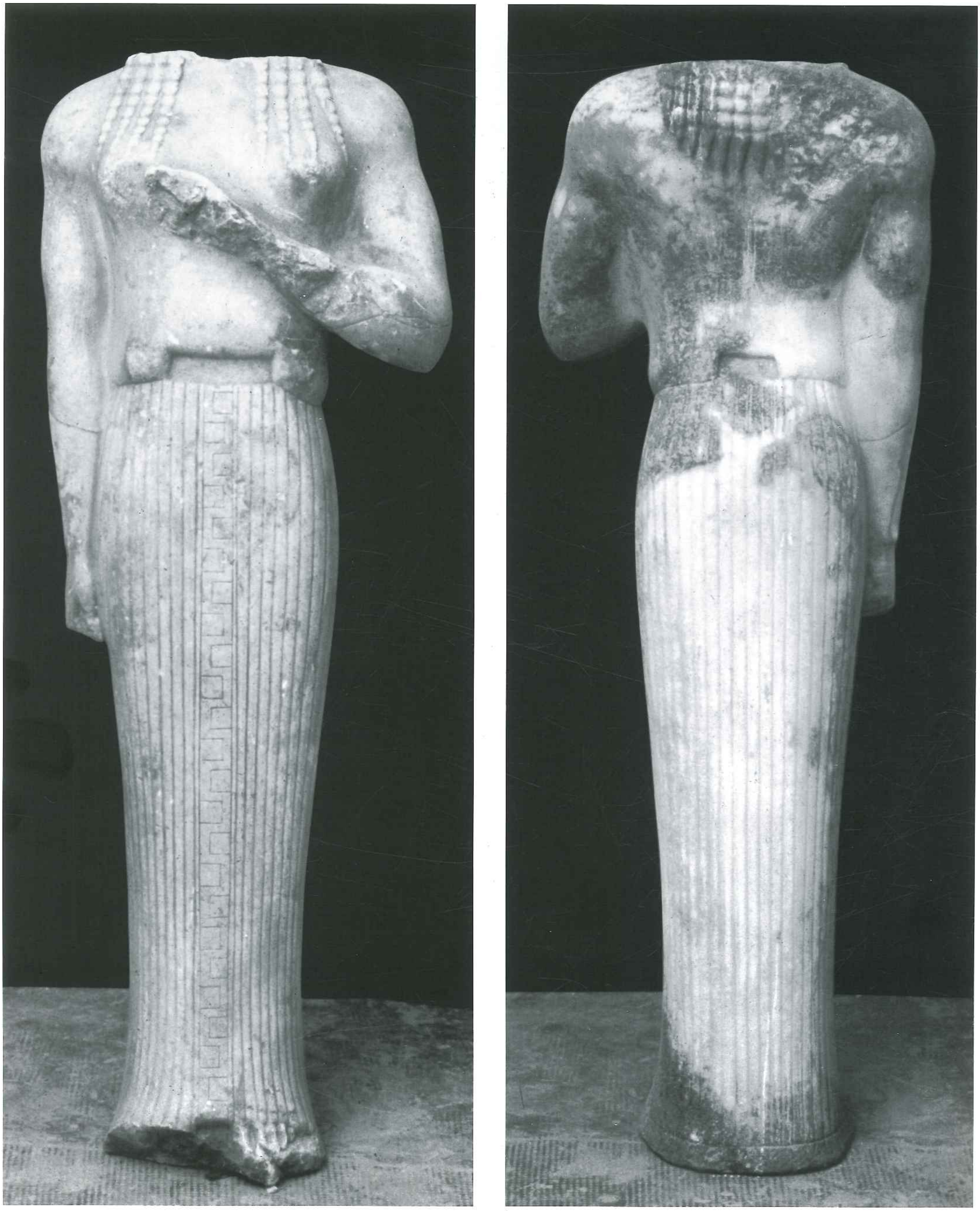
c

Kyrene, Museum 1

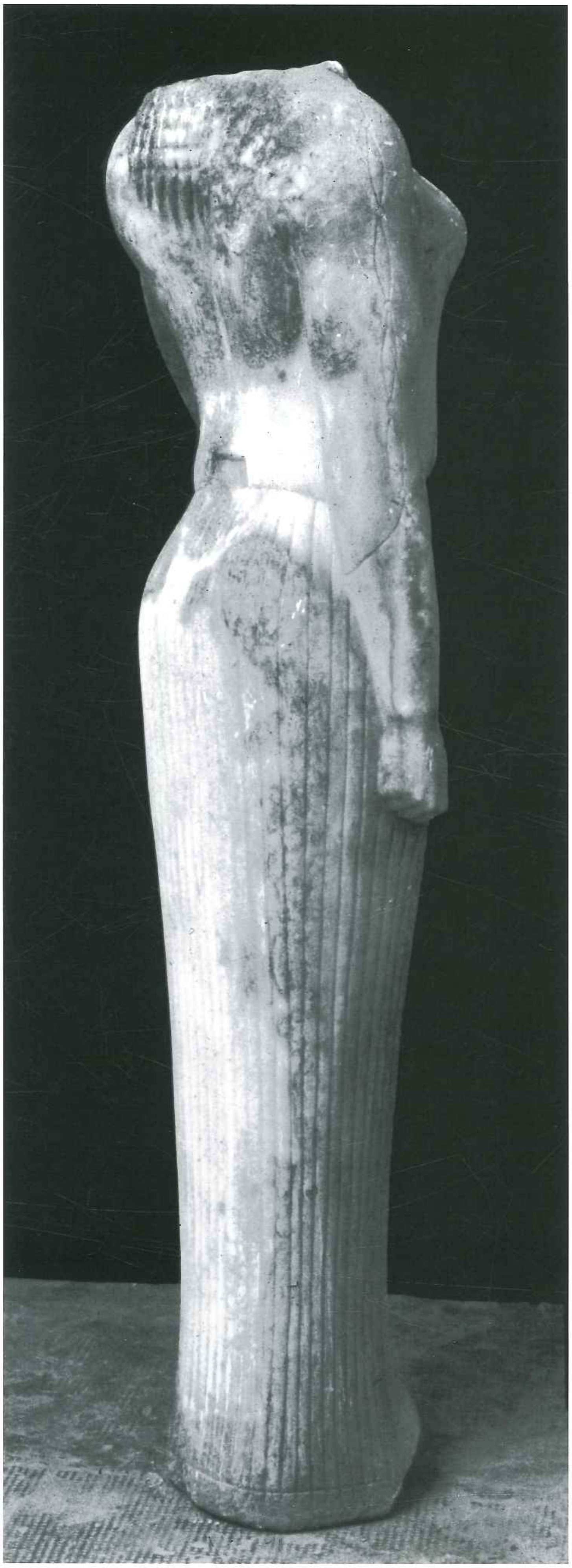


d e

Kyrene, Museum 1


a b

Kyrene, Museum II



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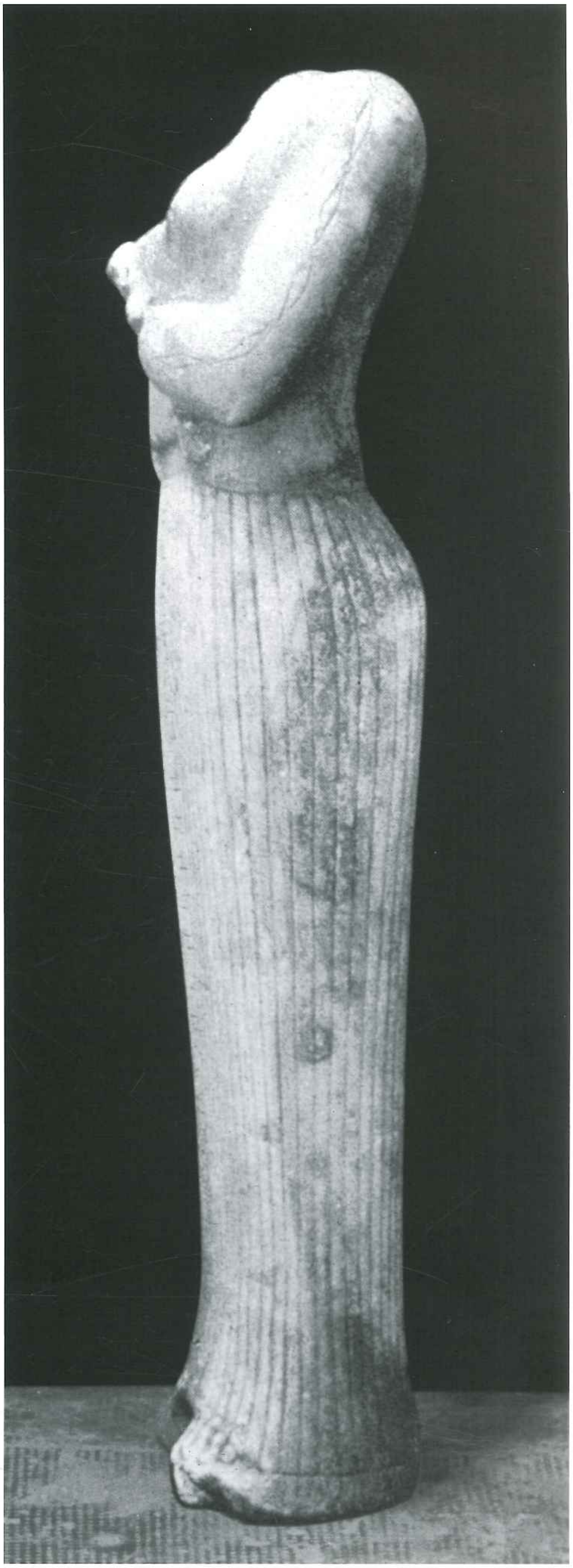

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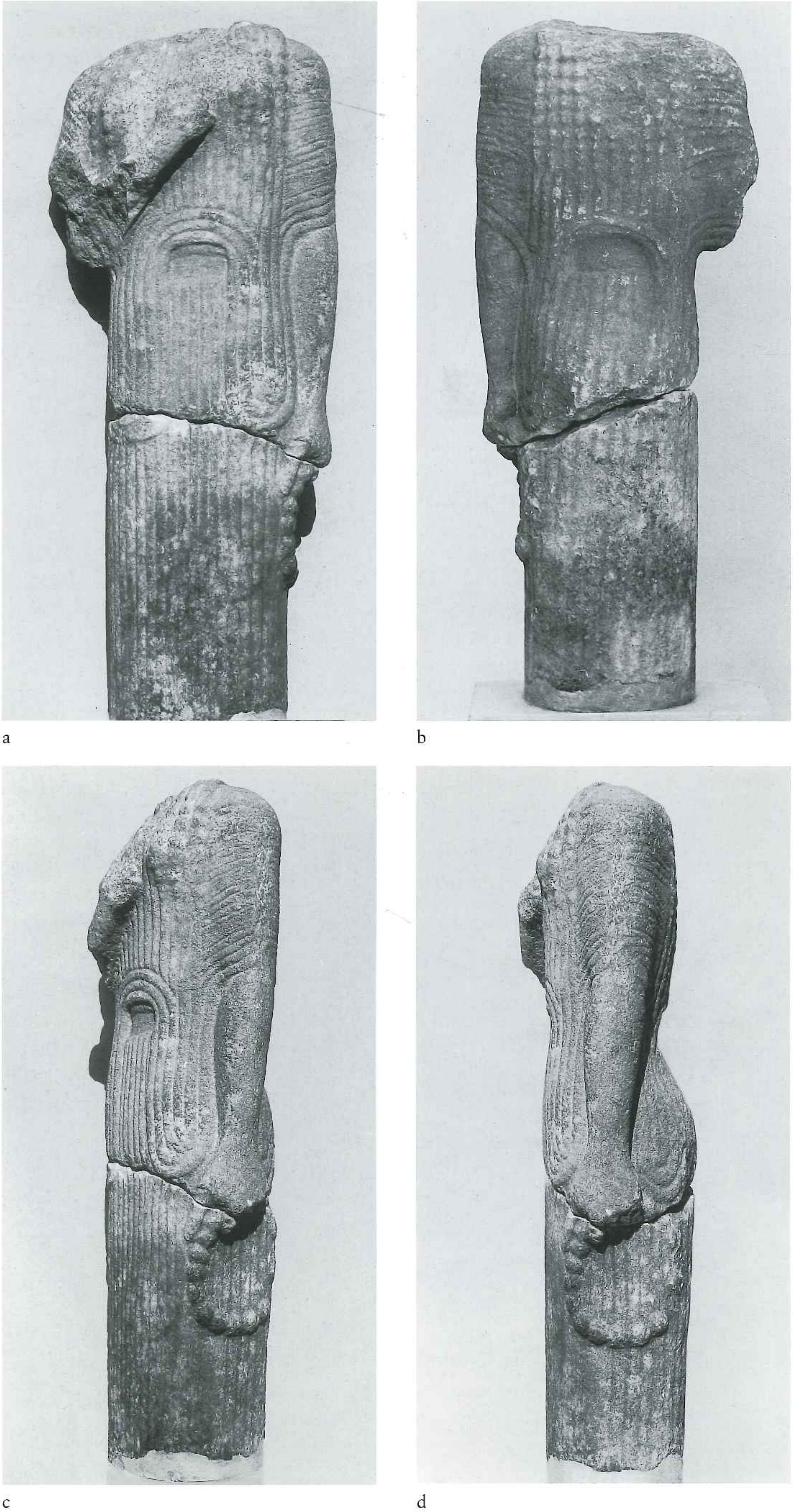
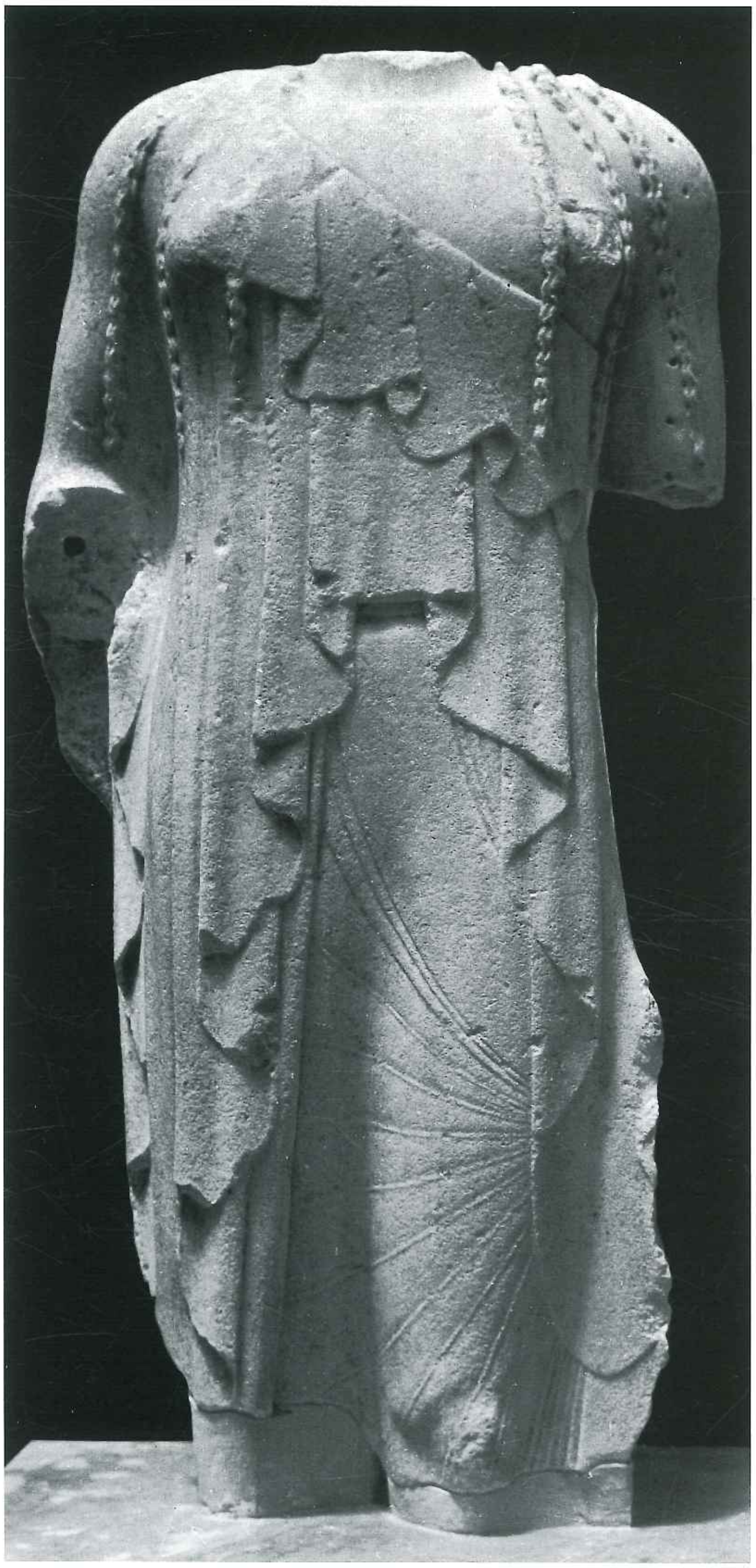
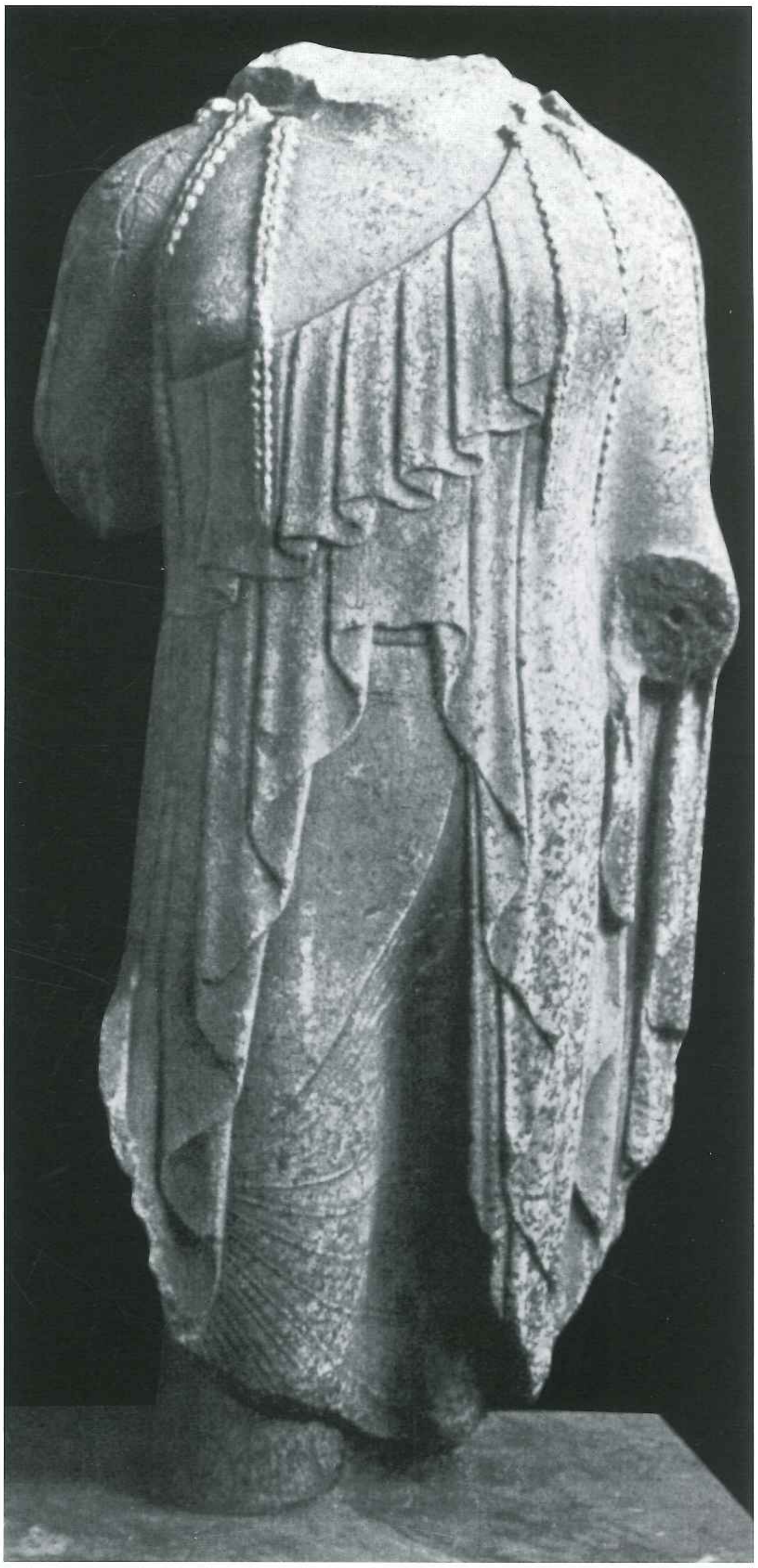
Kyrene, Museum II



Kyrene, Museum 76–810

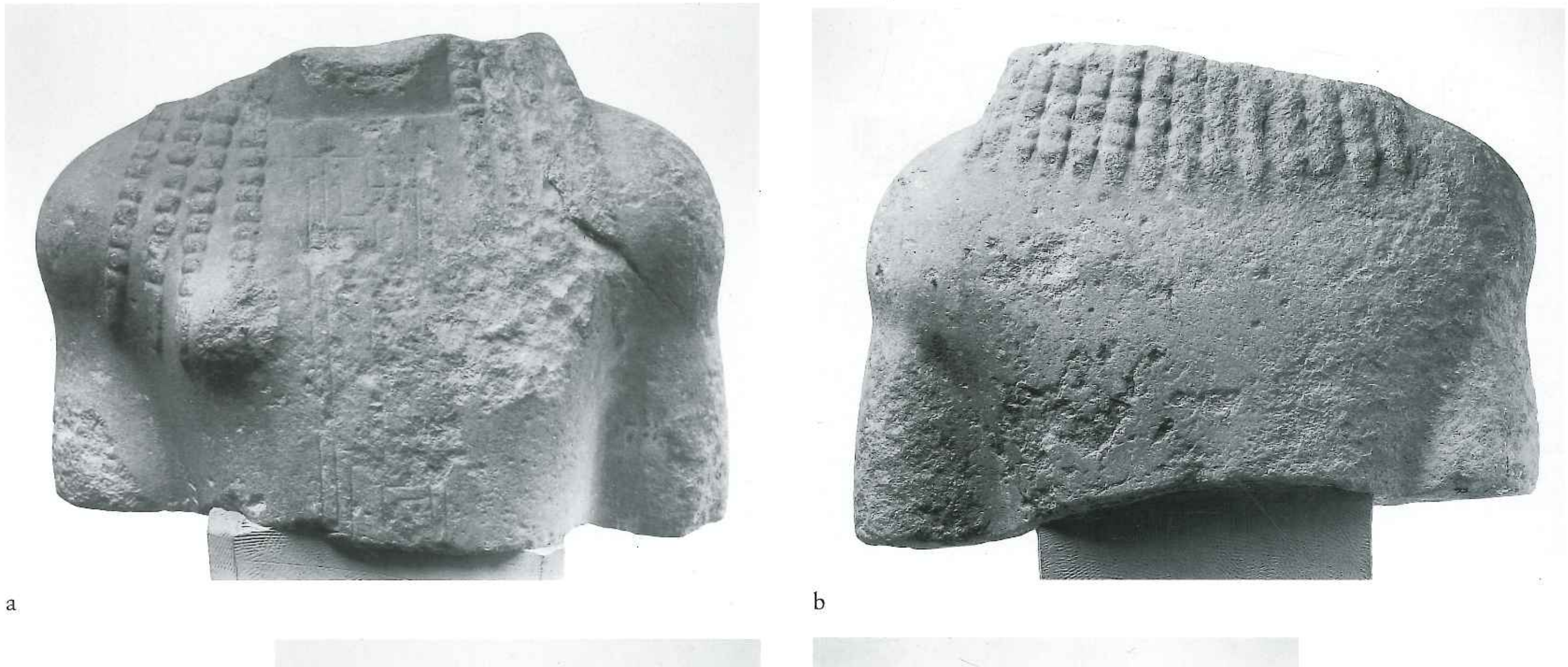


14009

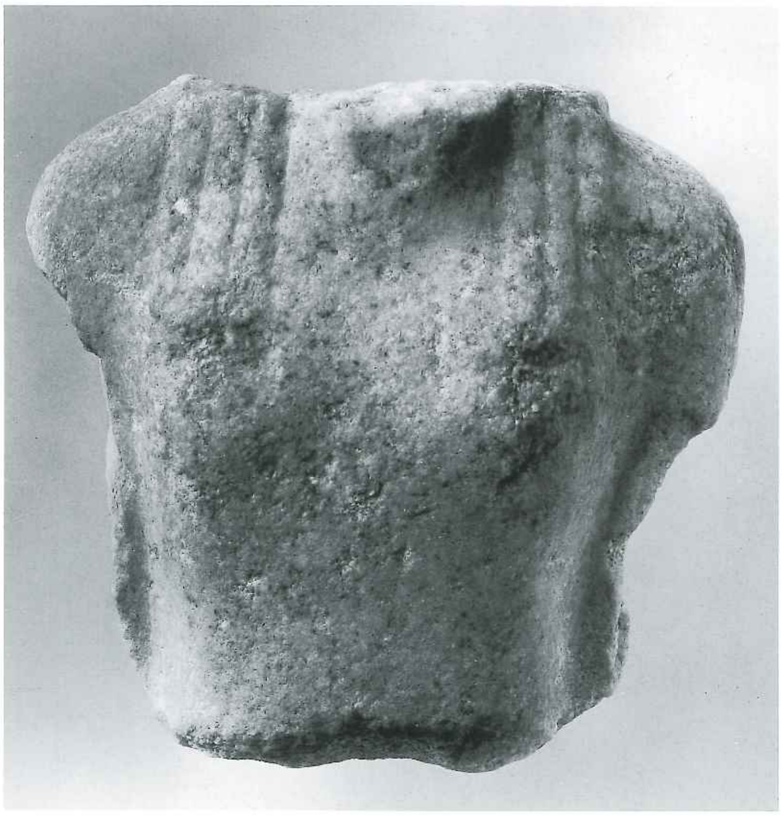


14008

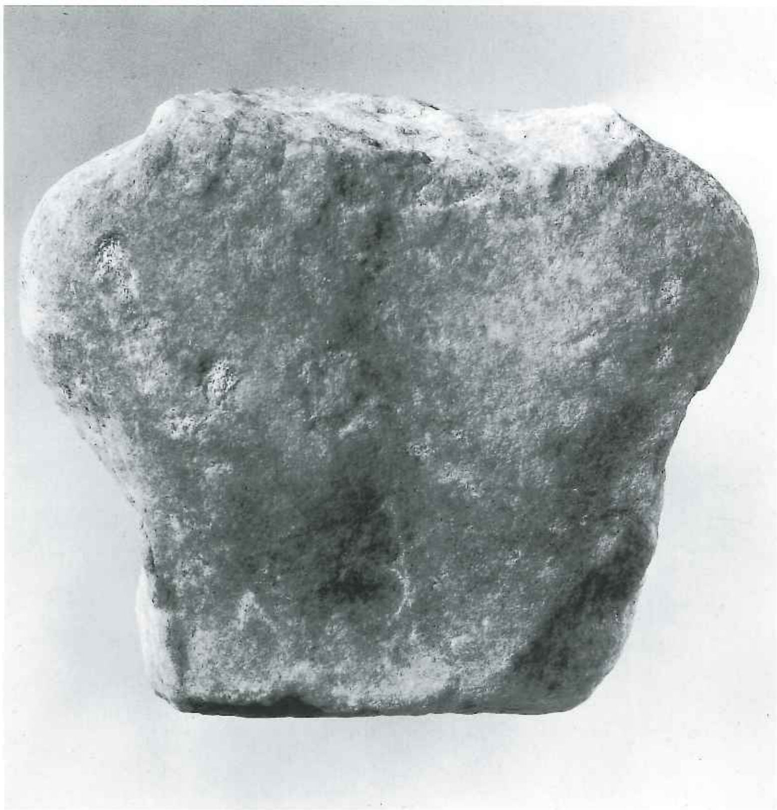
Kyrene, Museum 14009 and 14008



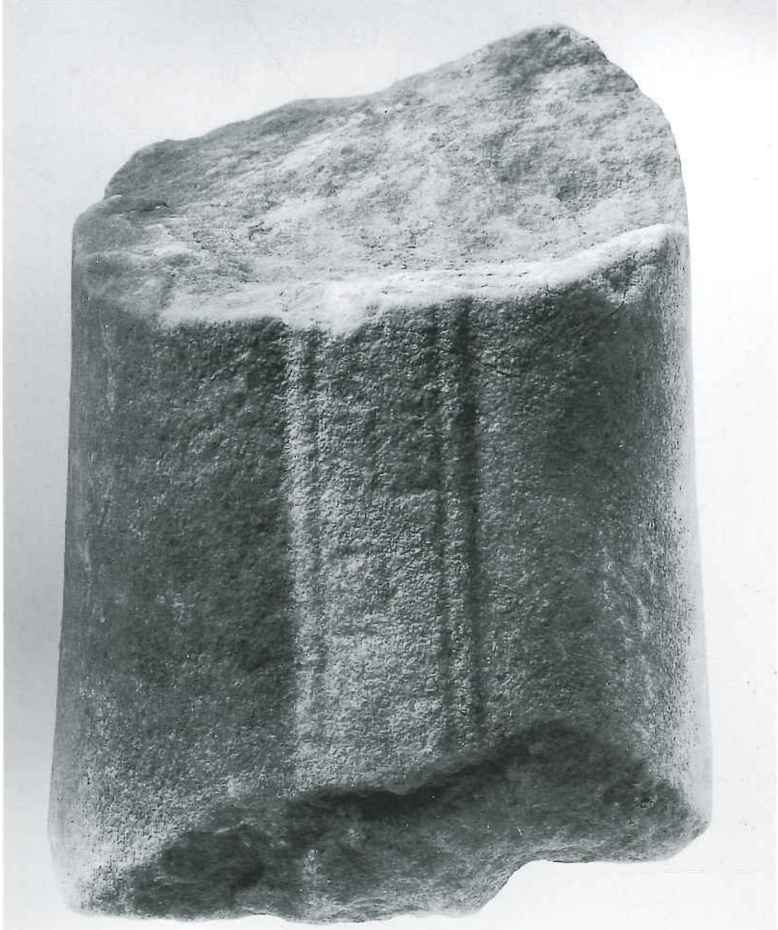
Athens, National Museum 73



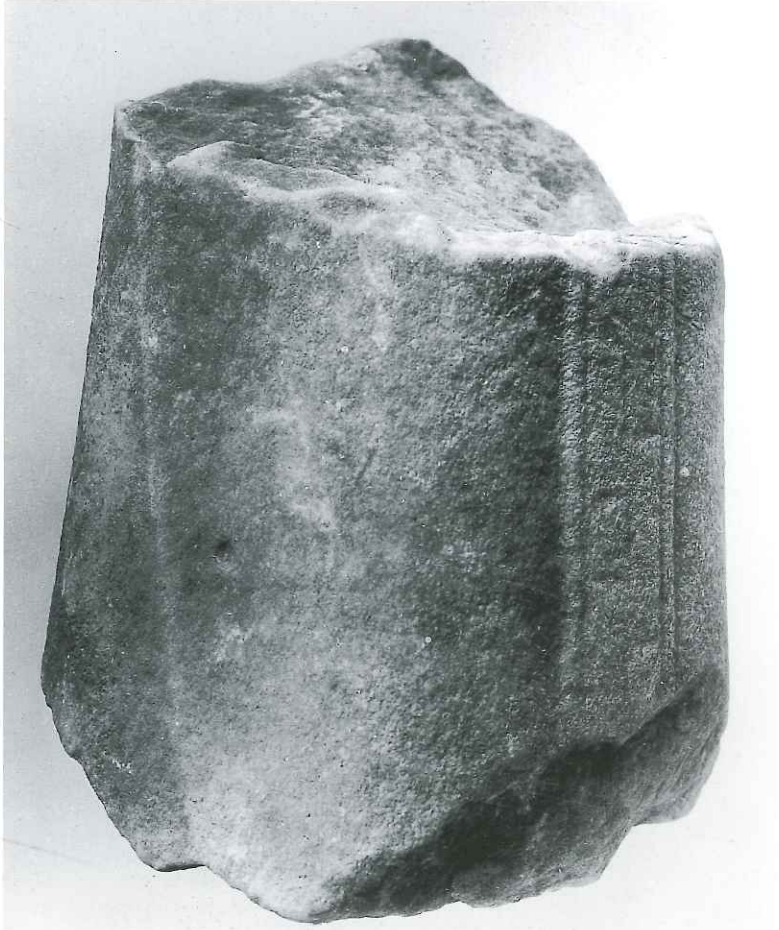
S59 a



S59 b

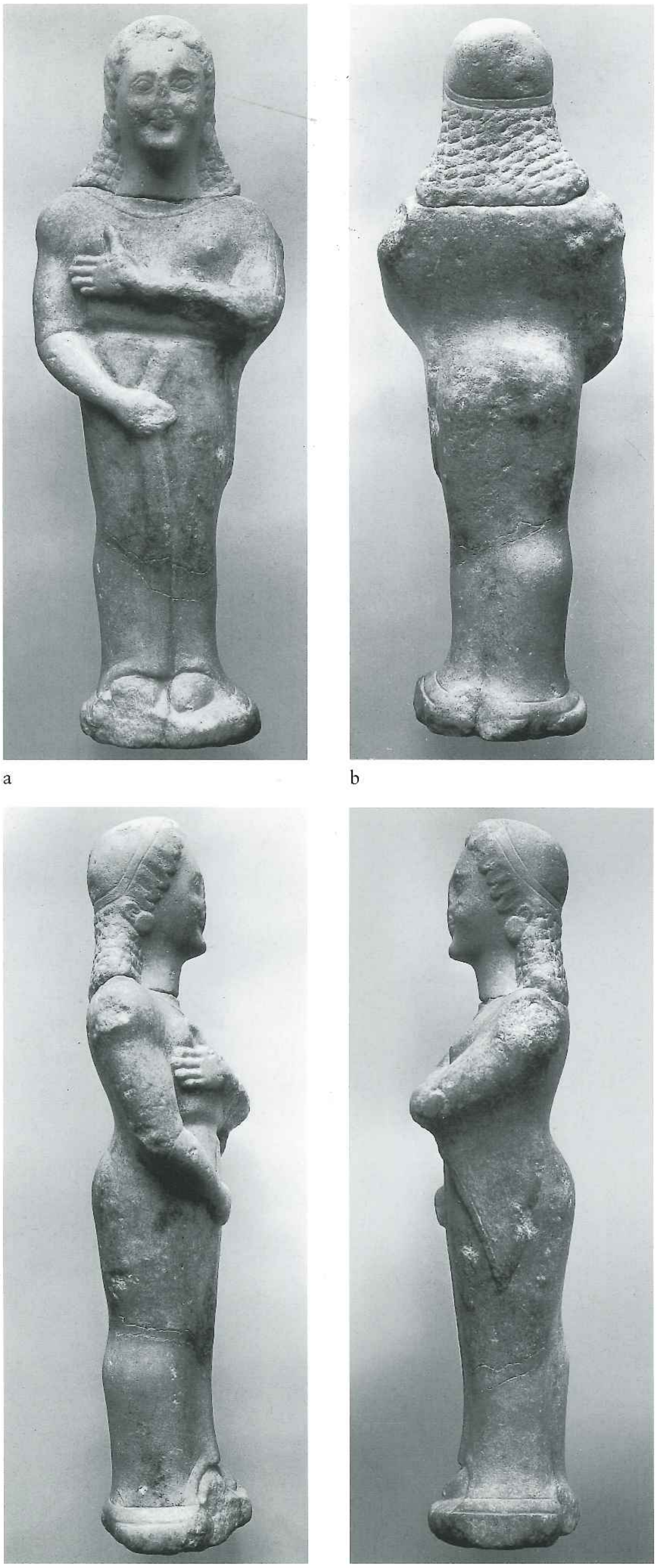


S1 a



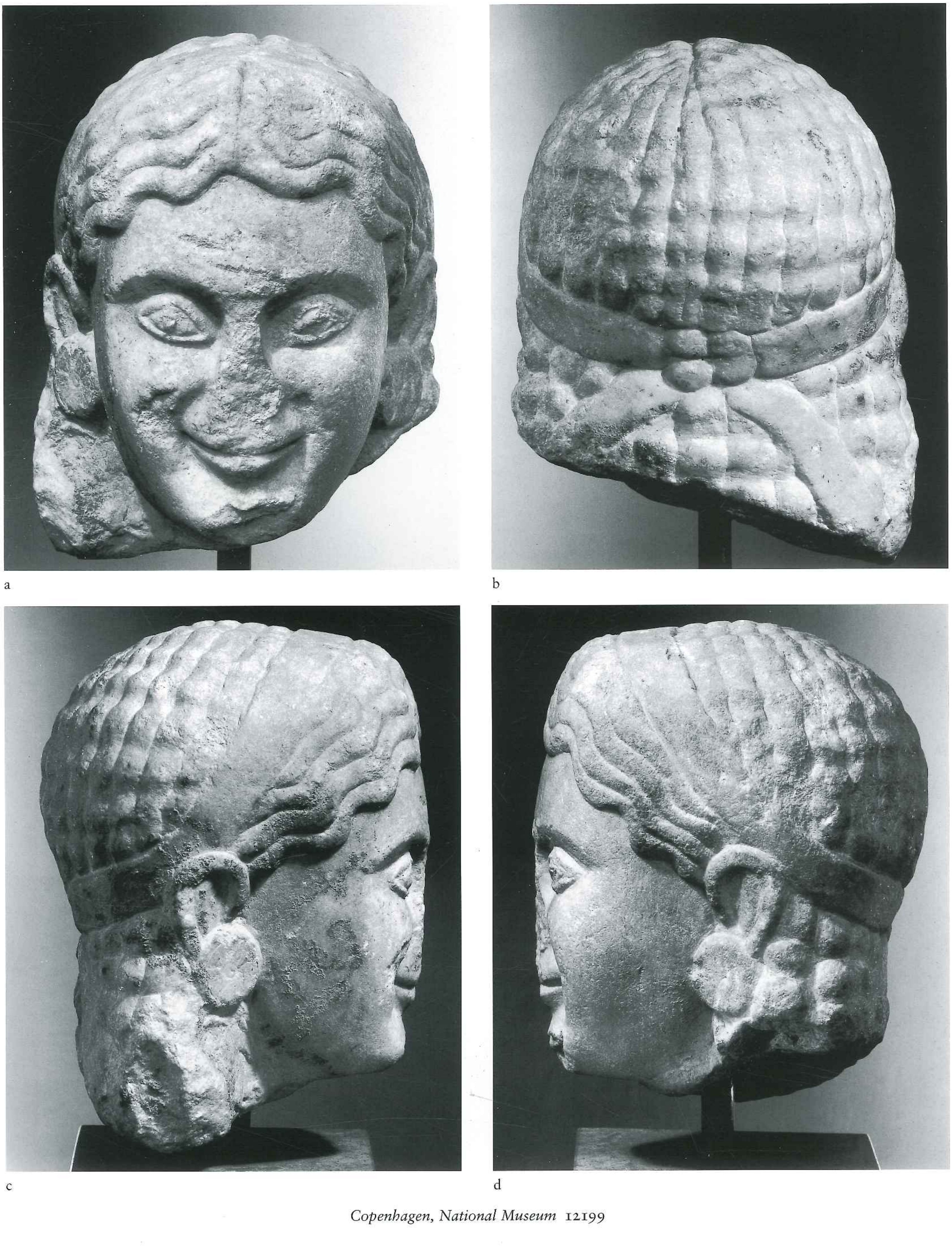
S1 b

Aigina, Museum S59 and S1

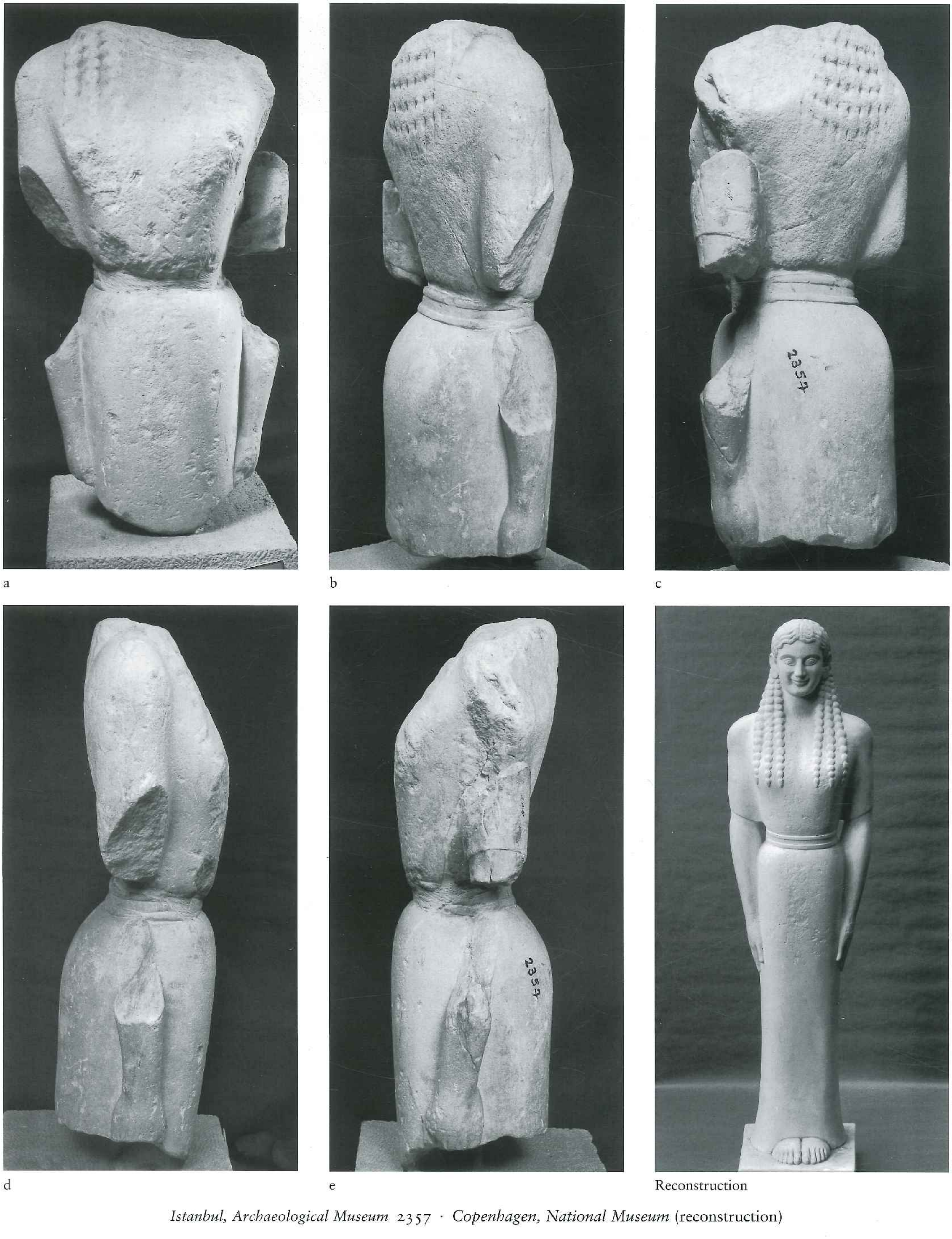


a b c d

Aigina, Museum S151



Copenhagen, National Museum 12199



a

b

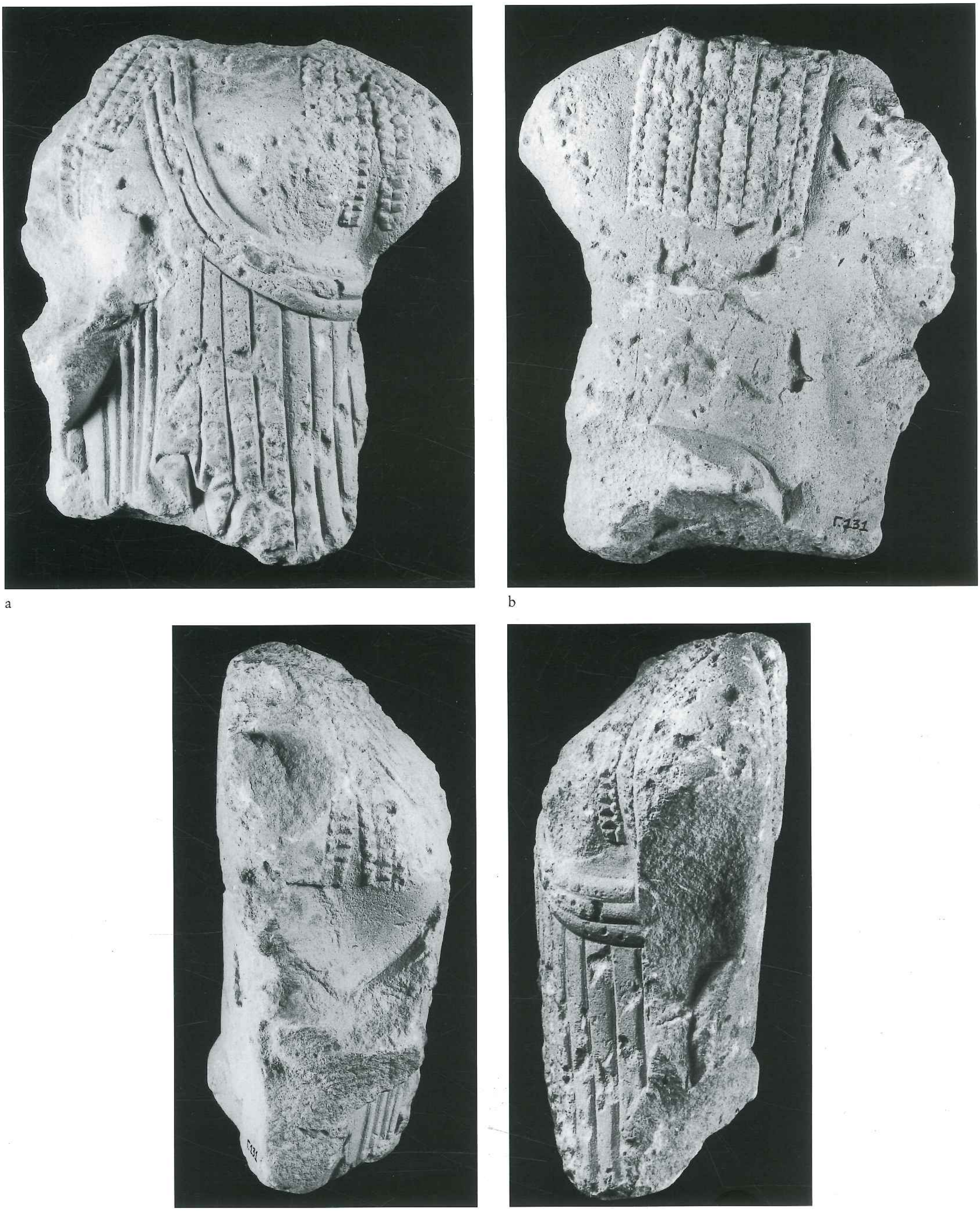
c

d

e

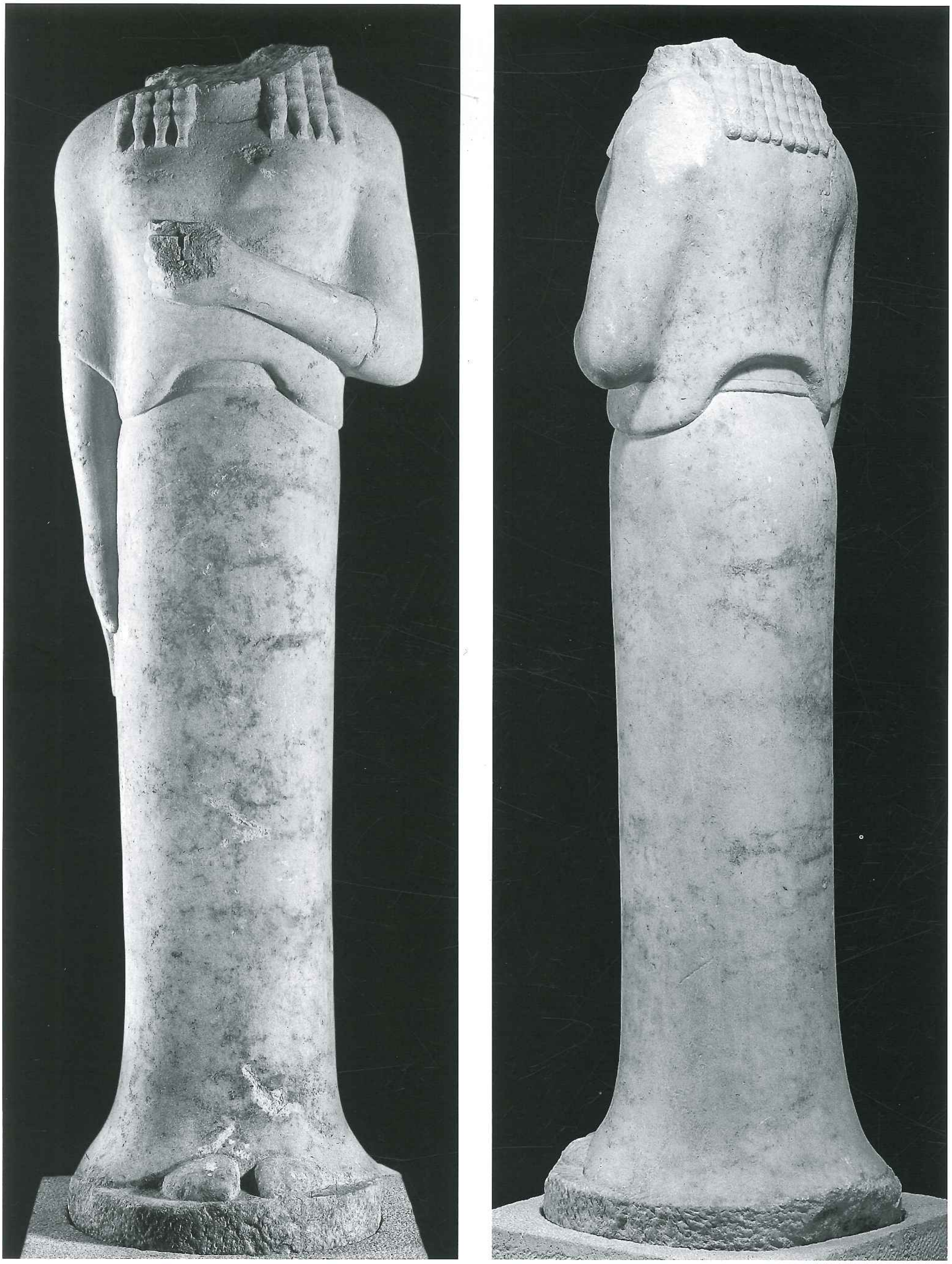
Reconstruction

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2357 · *Copenhagen, National Museum* (reconstruction)



a b c d

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum Γ131



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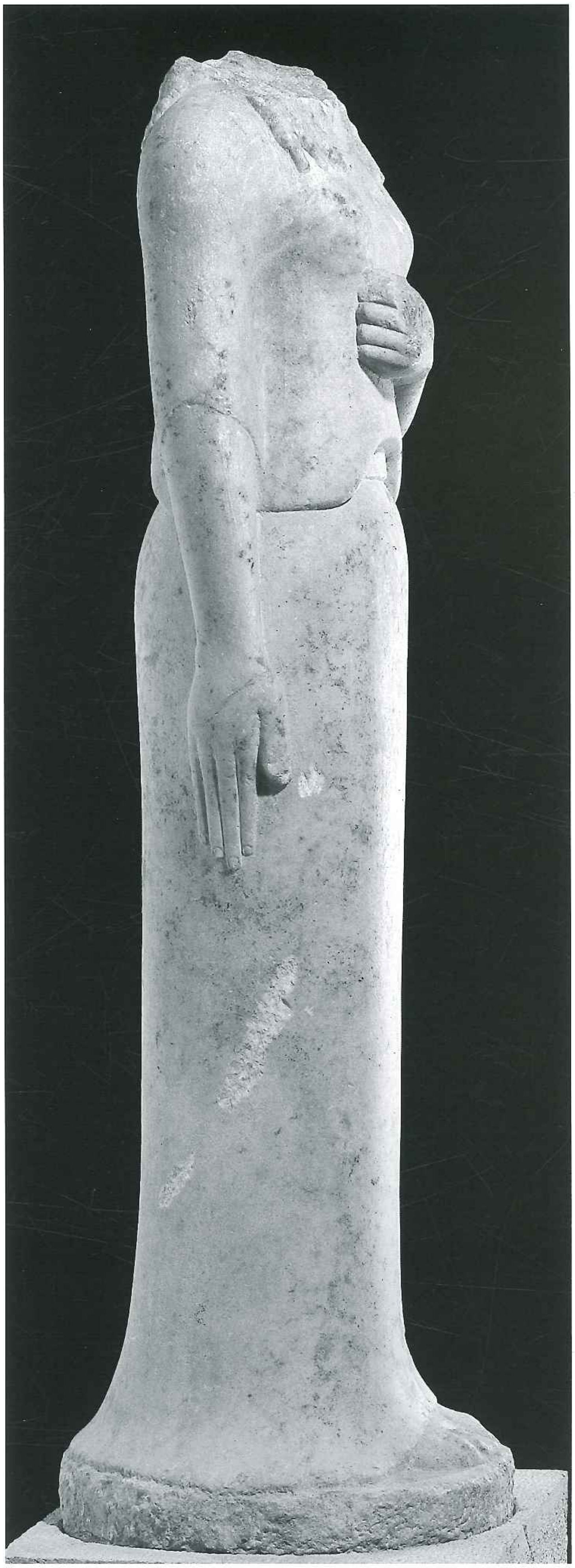
Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 2530



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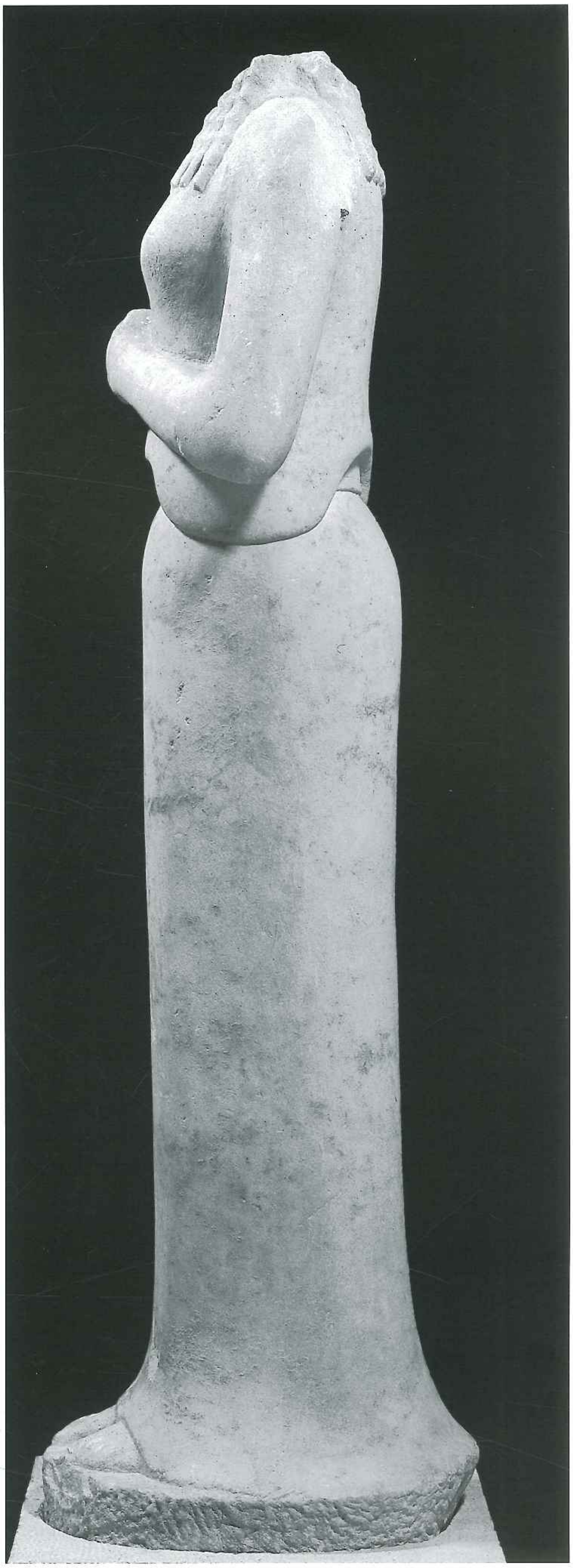

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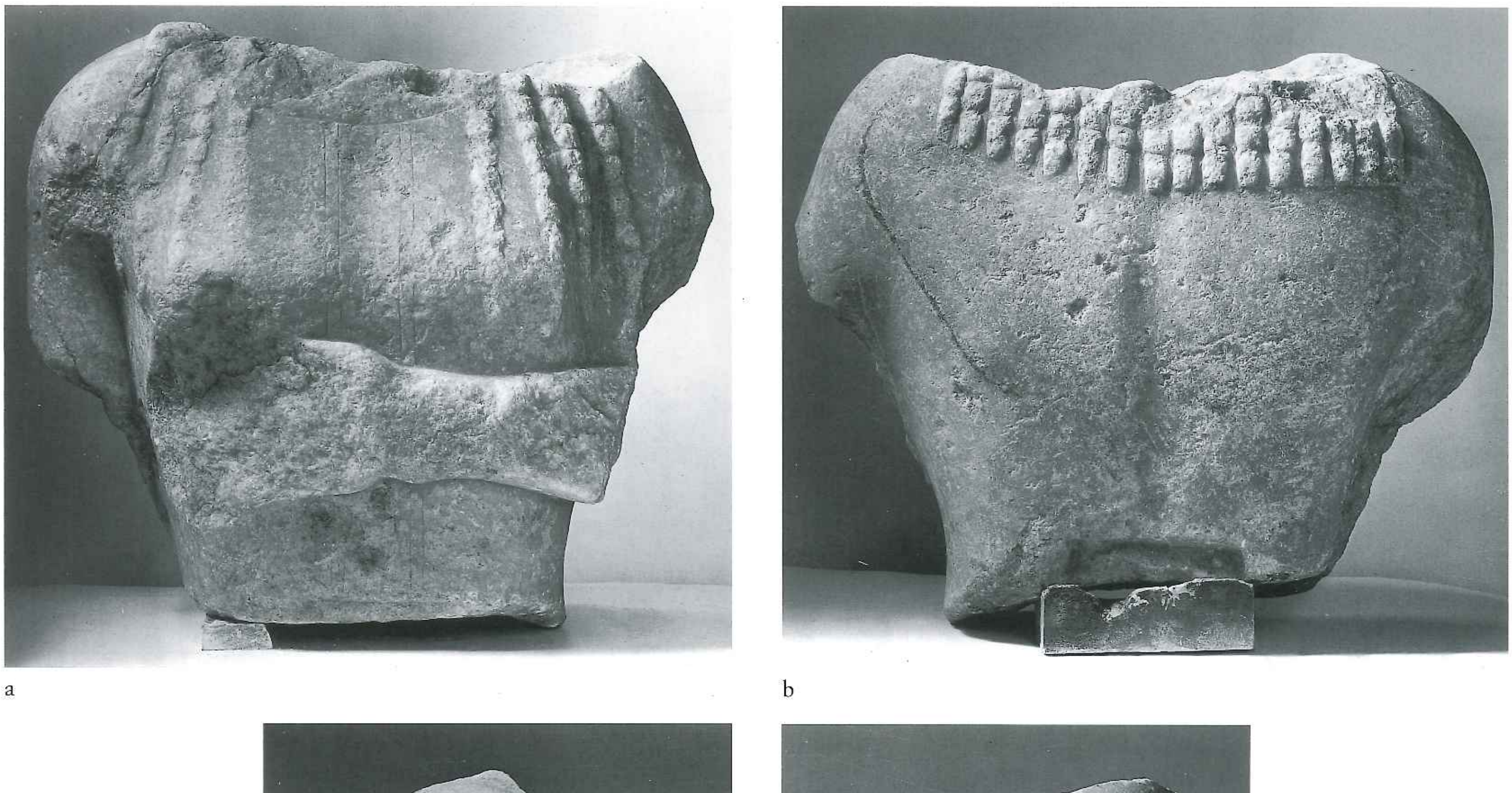
Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 2530



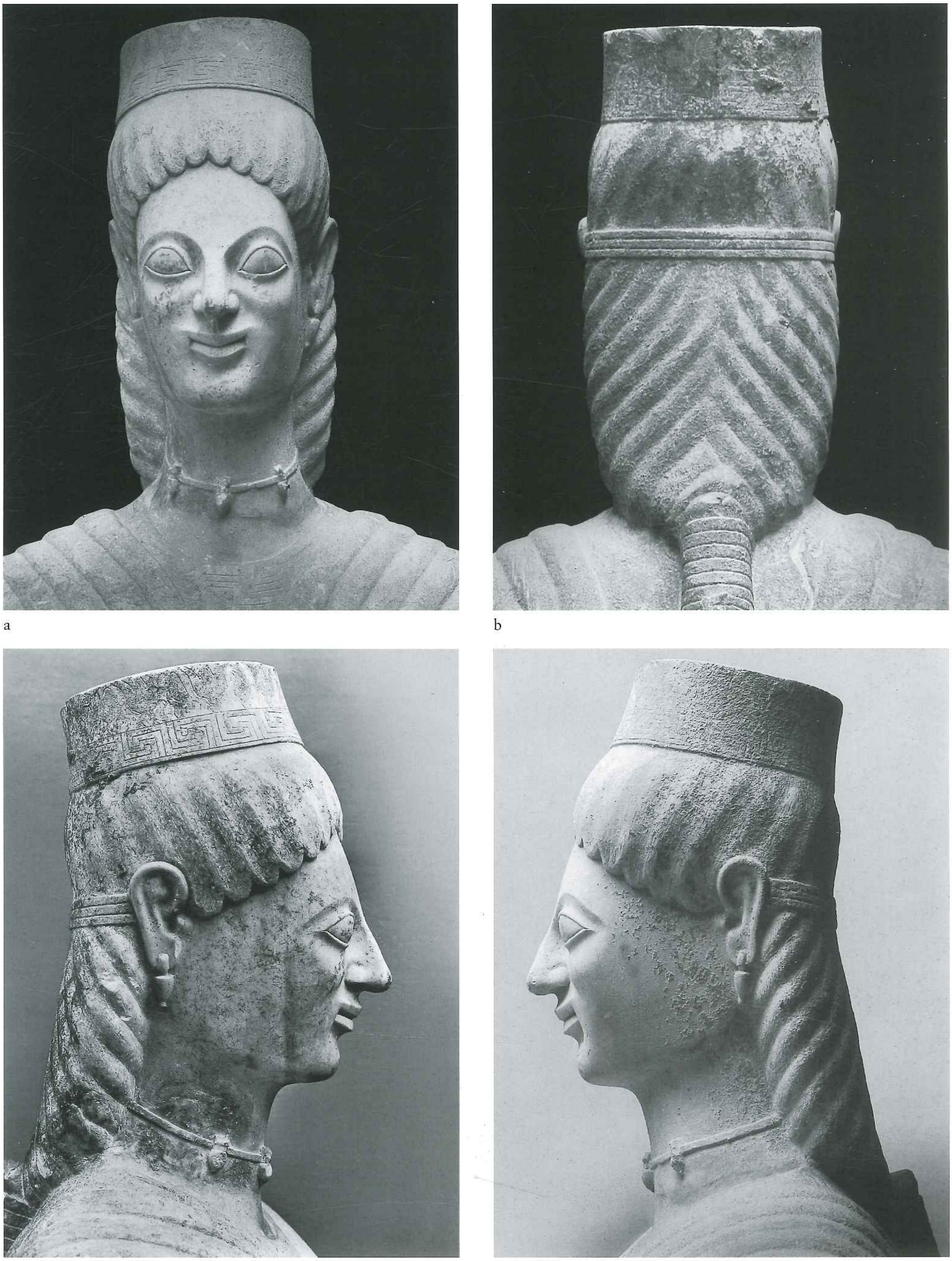
a

b

c

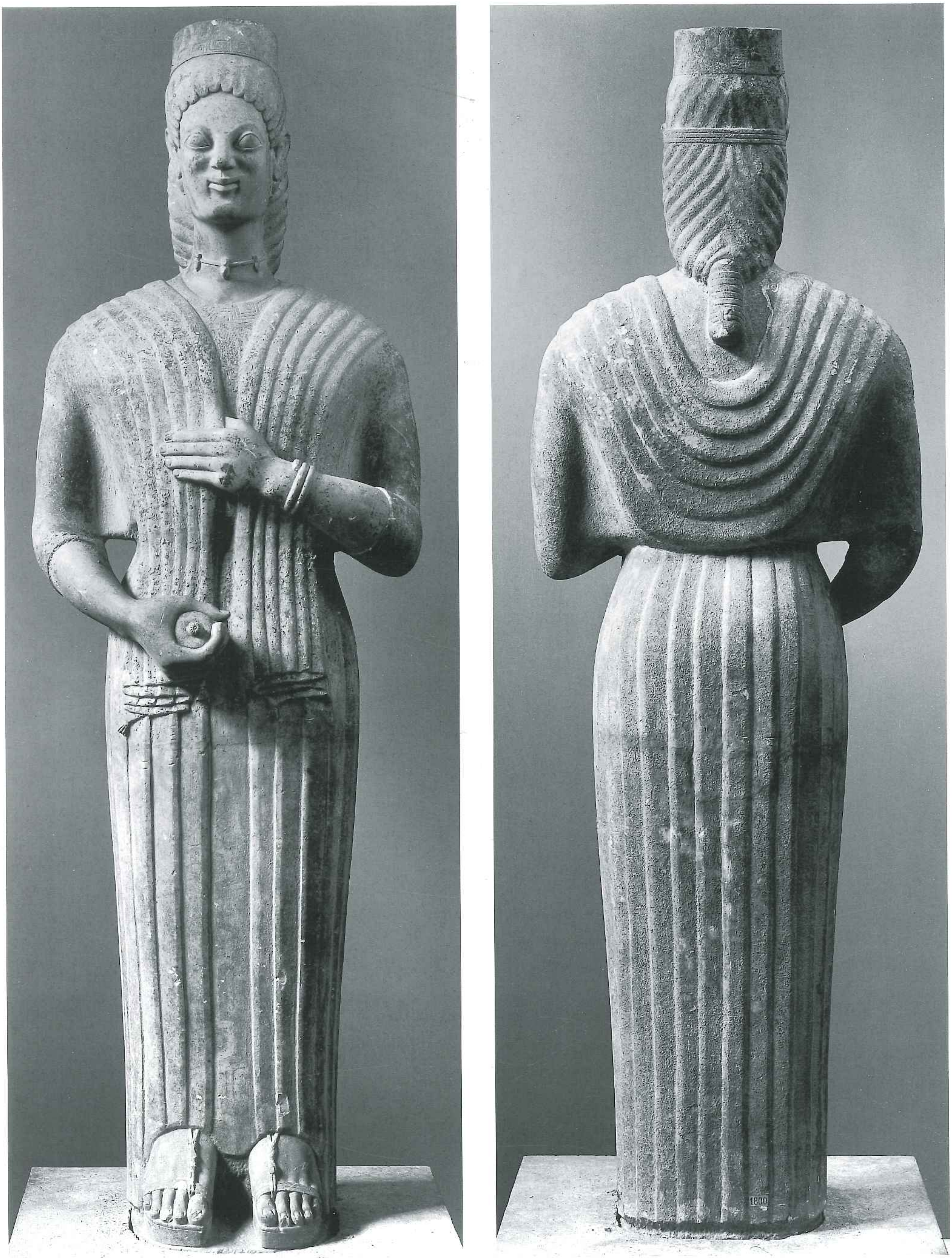
d

Athens, National Museum 3859



a b c d

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 1800



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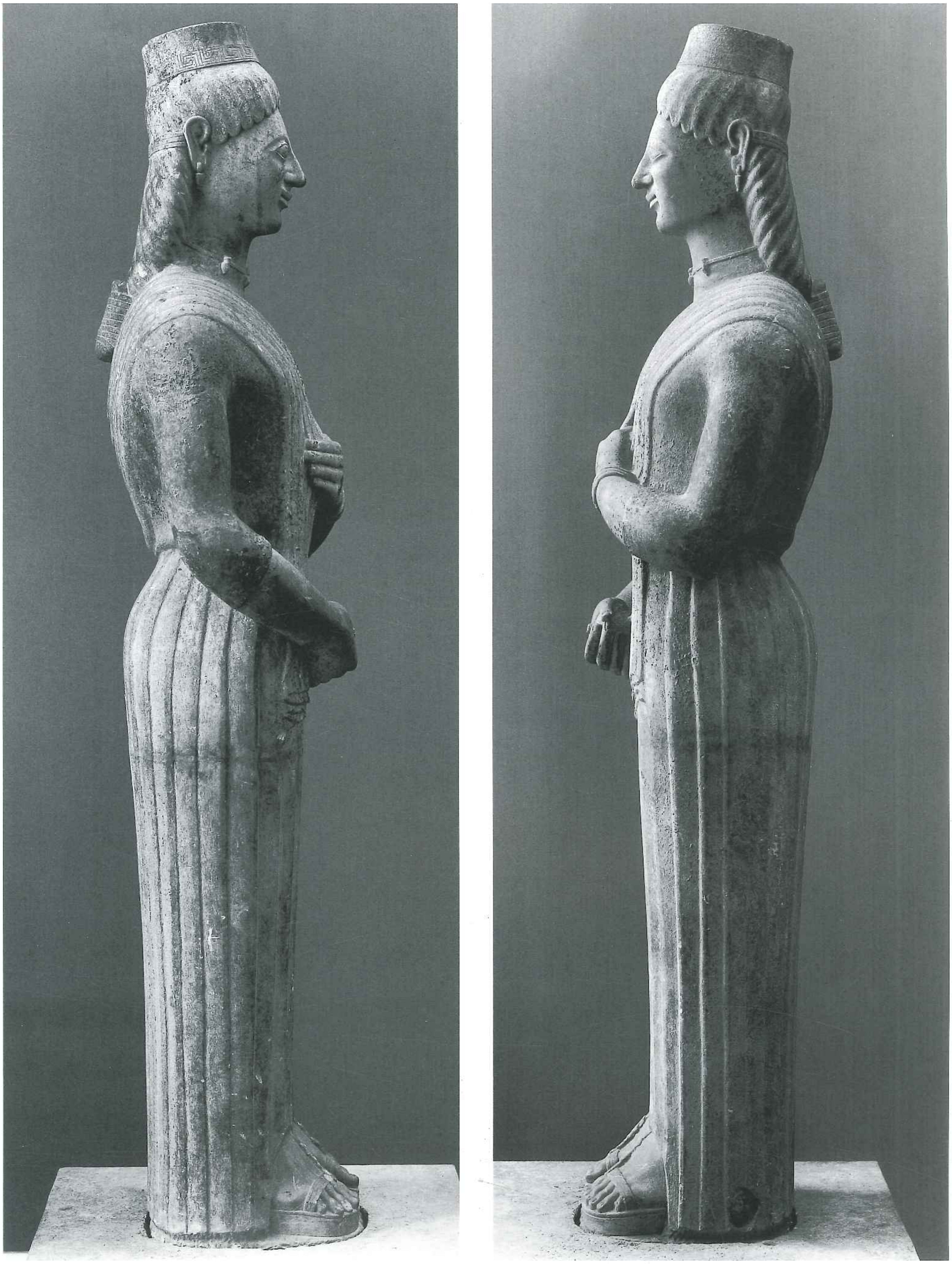
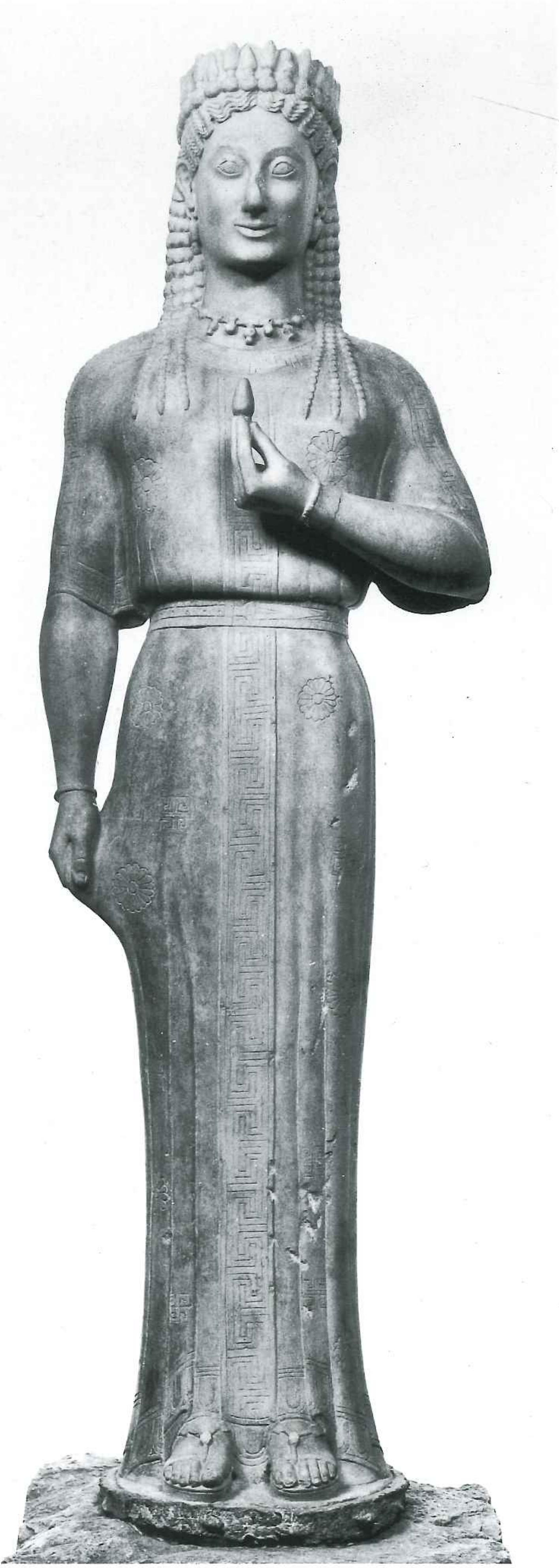
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 1800



g h

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 1800



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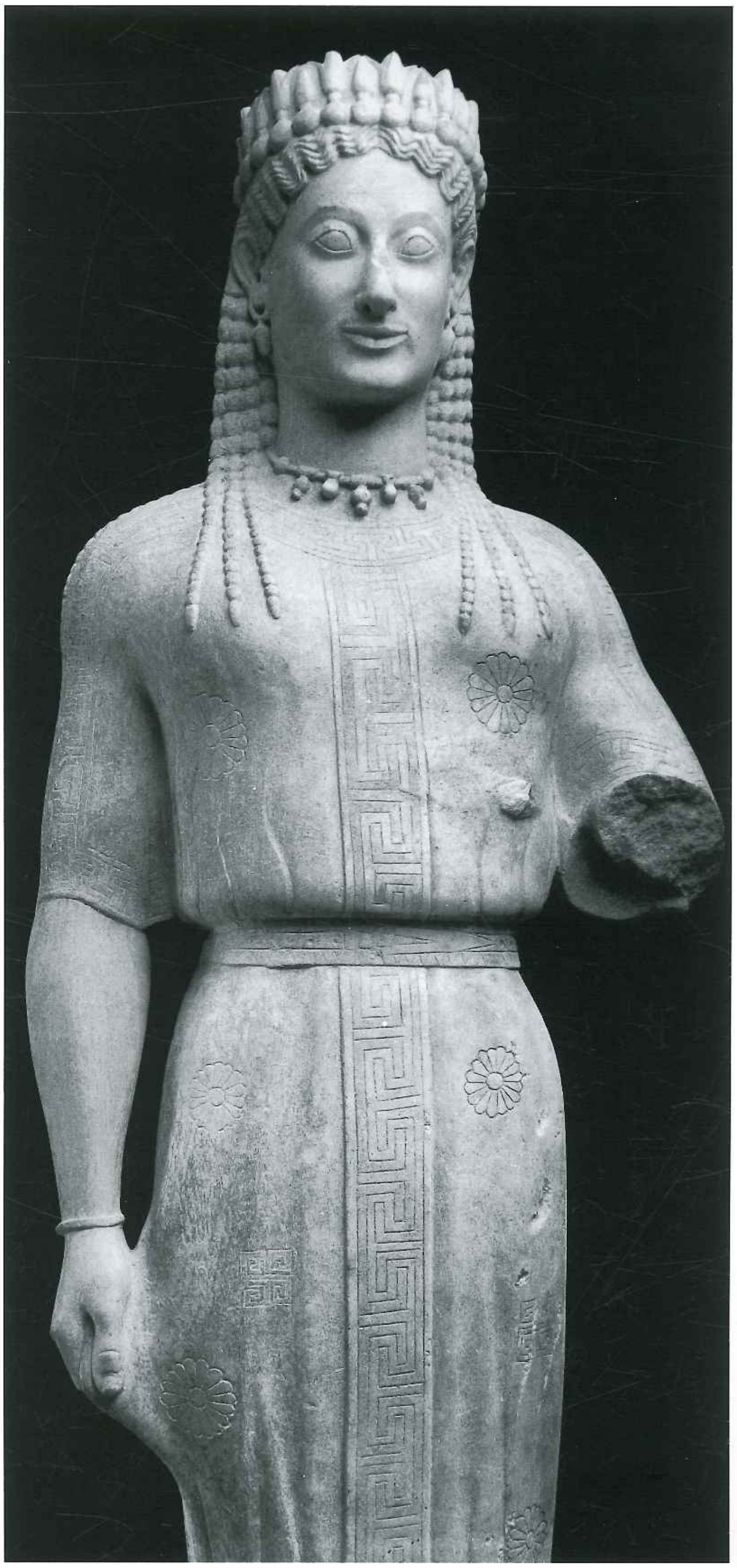

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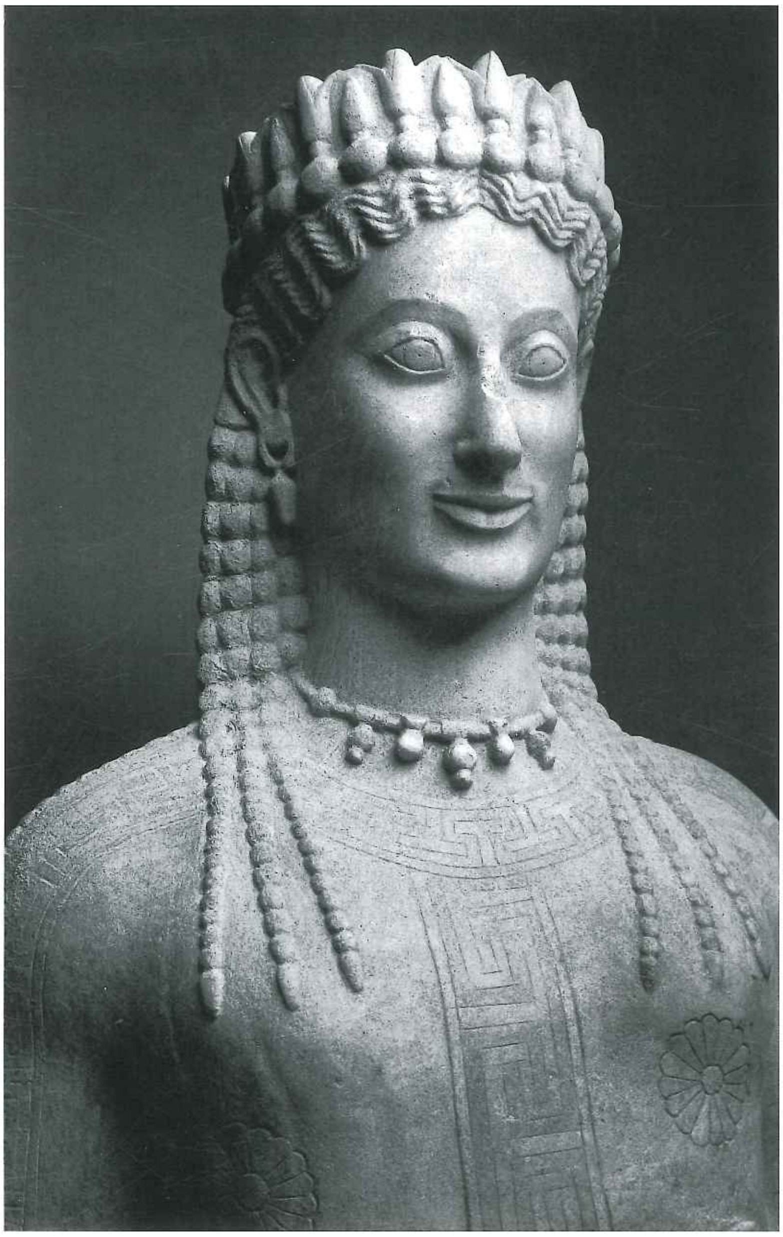
Athens, National Museum 4889



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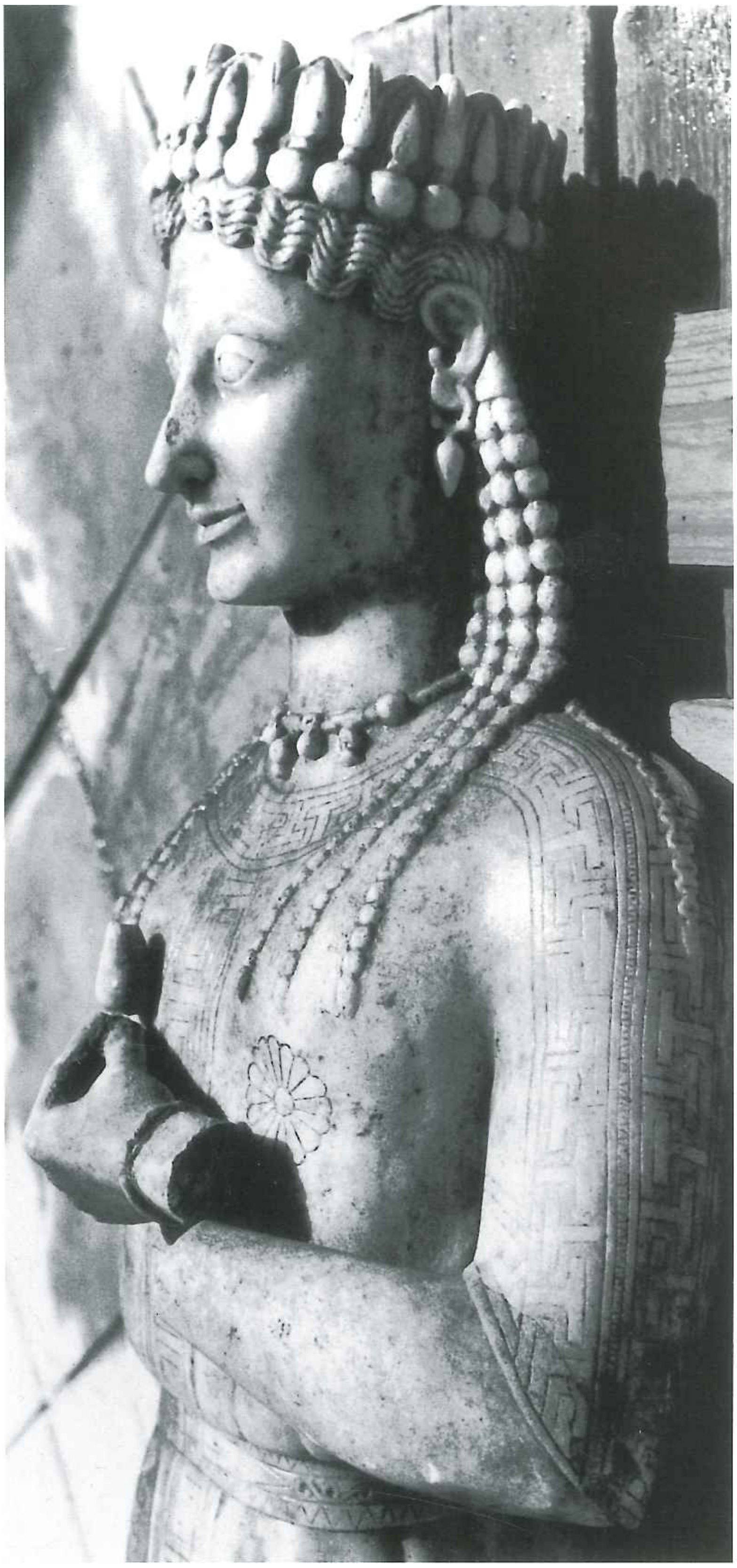

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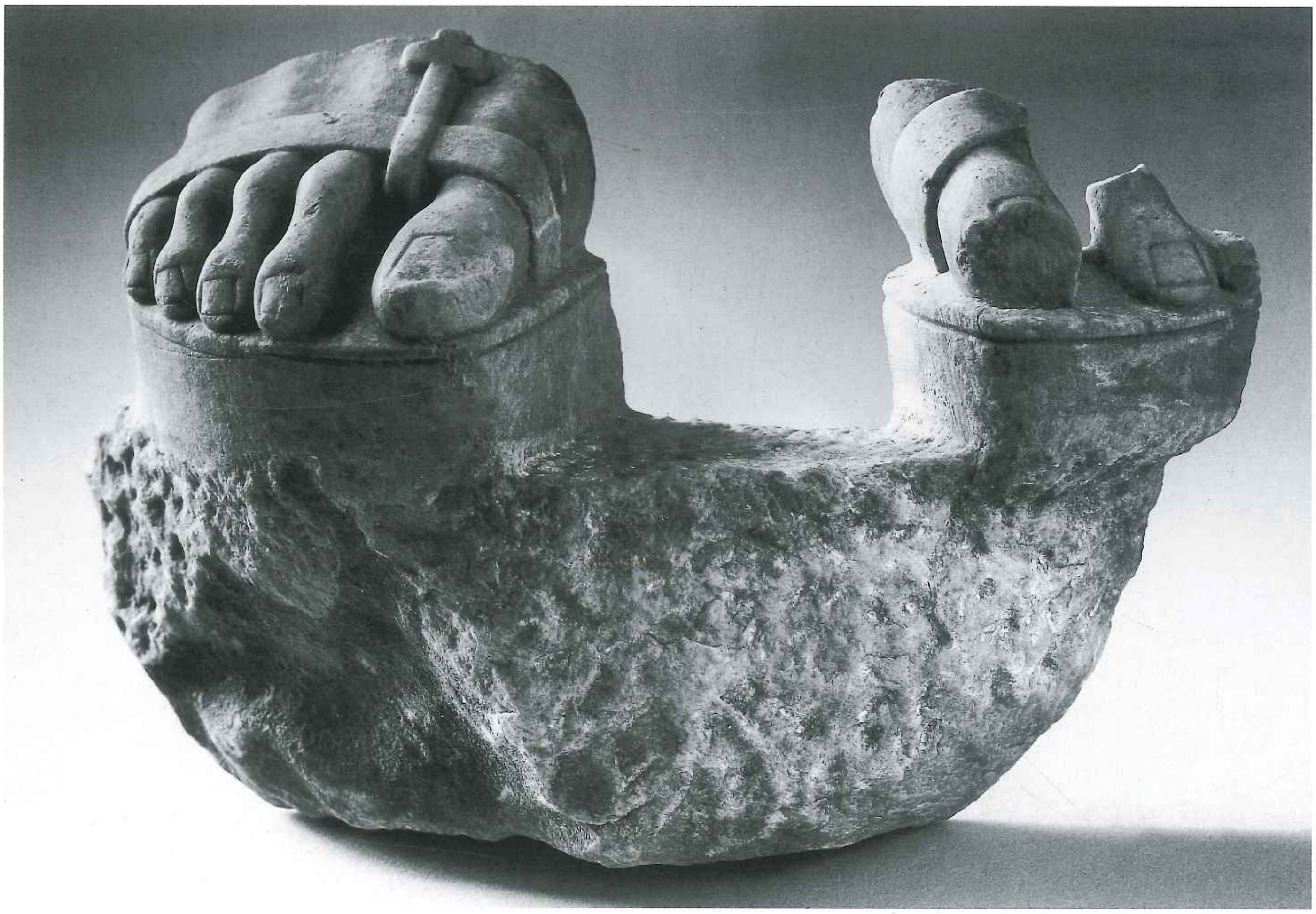
Athens, National Museum 4889



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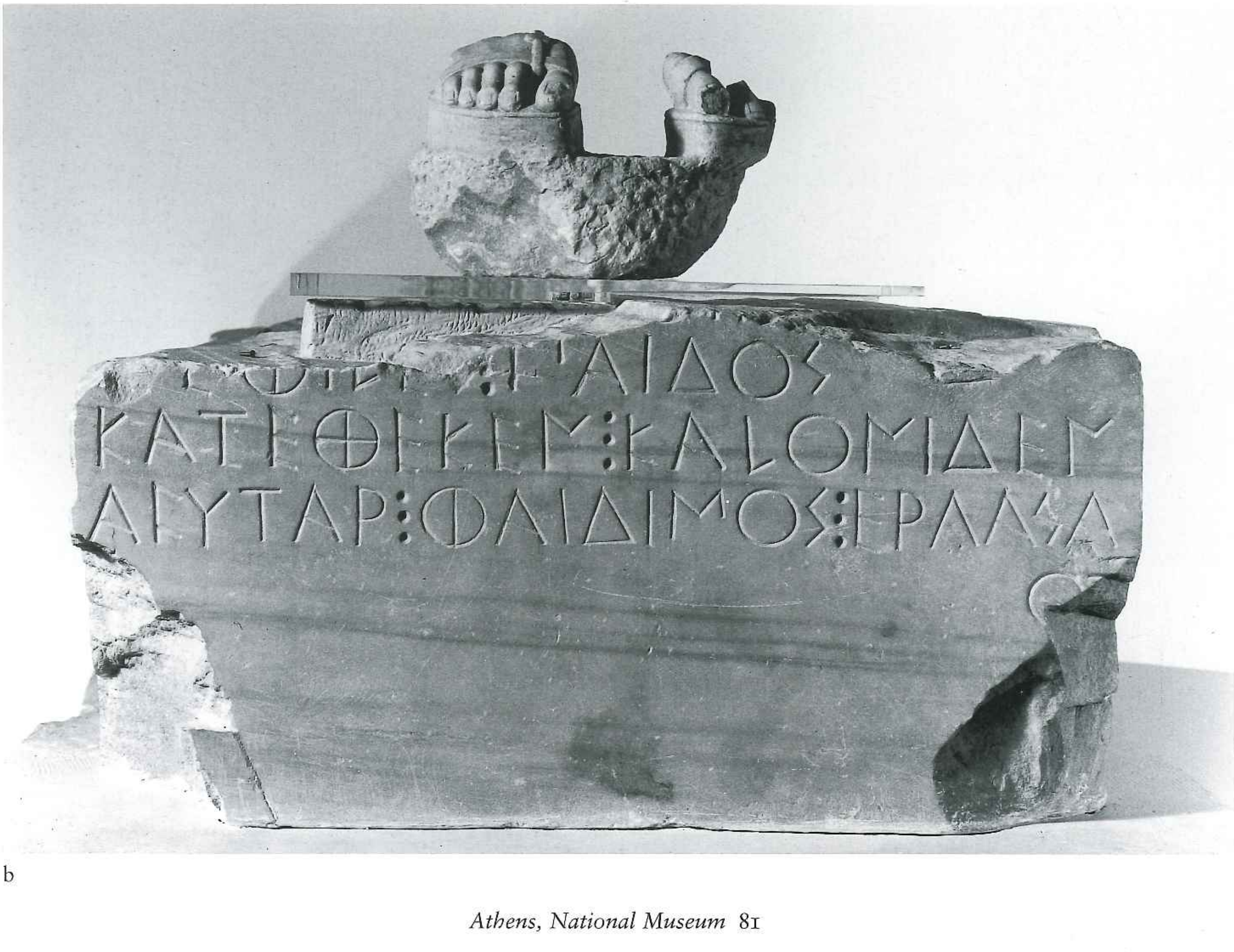
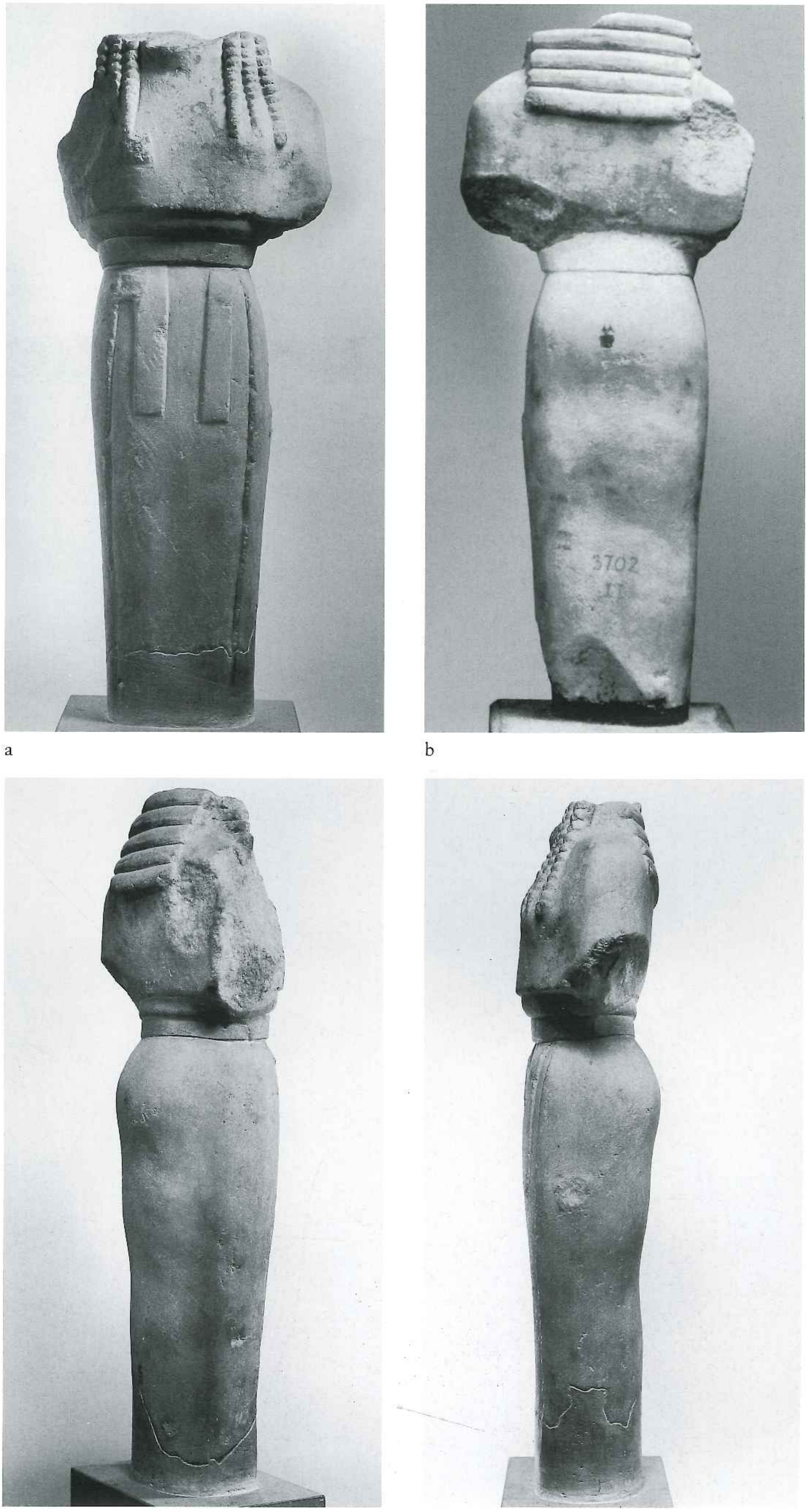

ΑΙΔΟΣ
ΚΑΤΕΘΕΚΕΝ ⁝ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΜΝΕΜ
ΑΝΤΑΡ ⁝ ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ⁝ ΕΡΓΑΣΑ

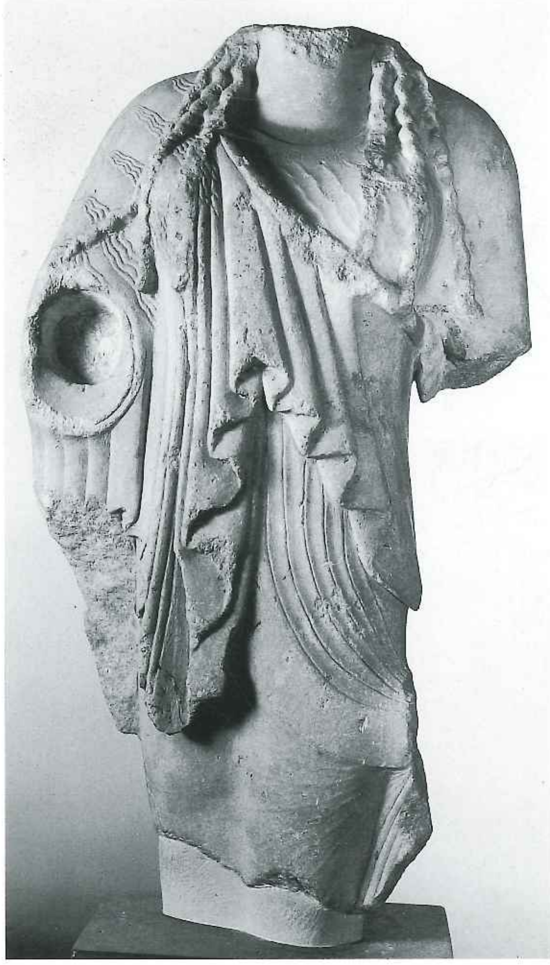
b

Athens, National Museum 81



a b c d

Athens, National Museum 5



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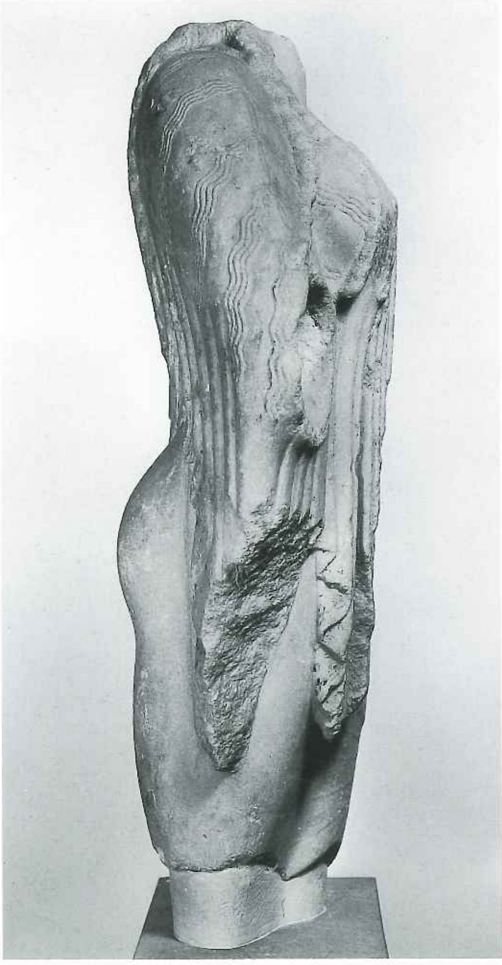

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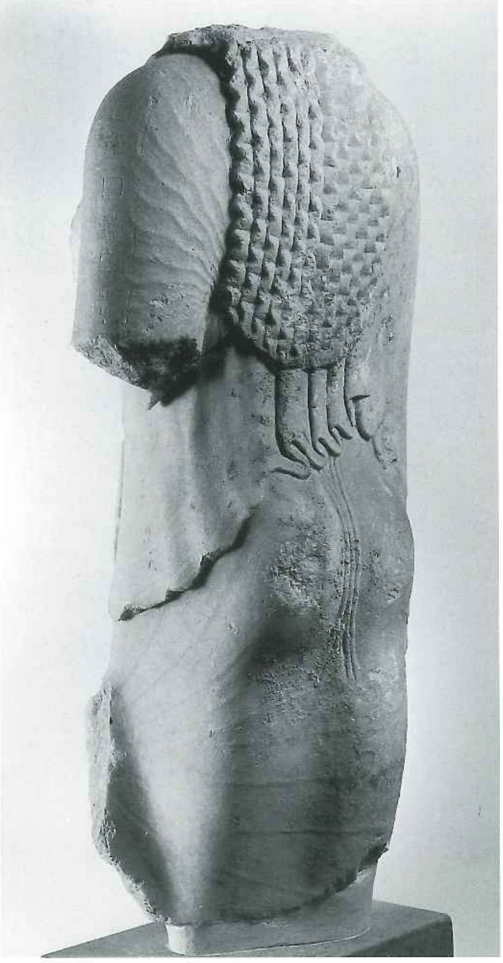

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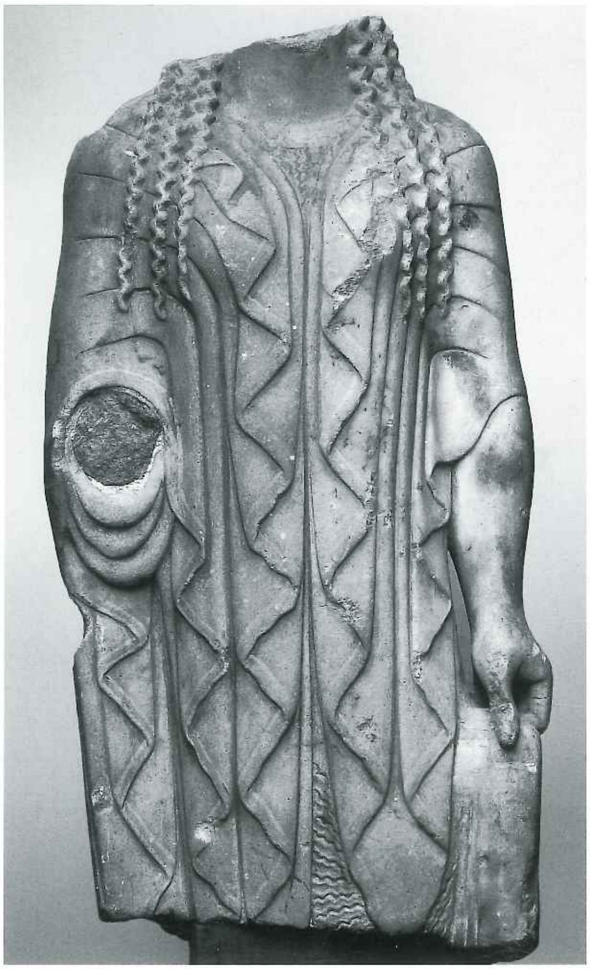
Athens, National Museum 25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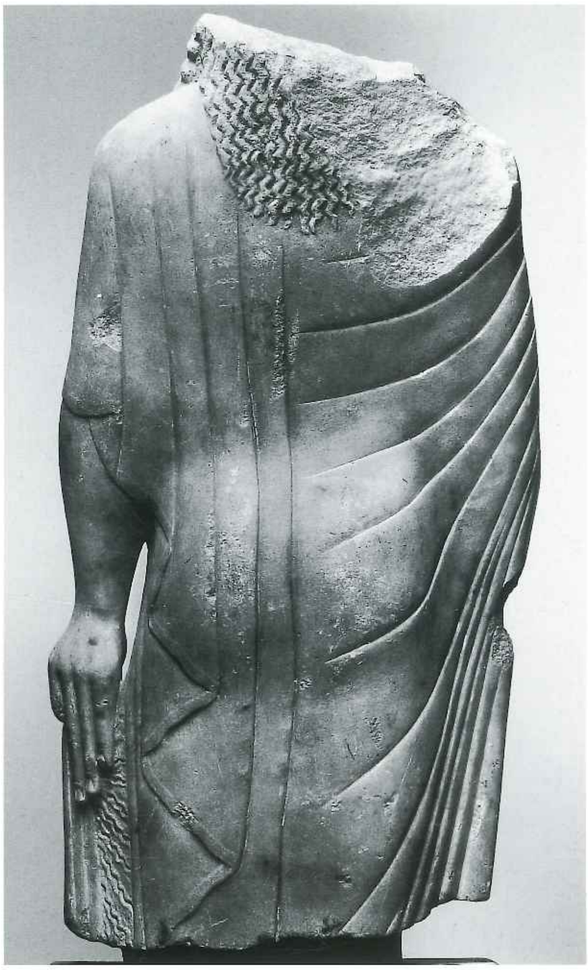
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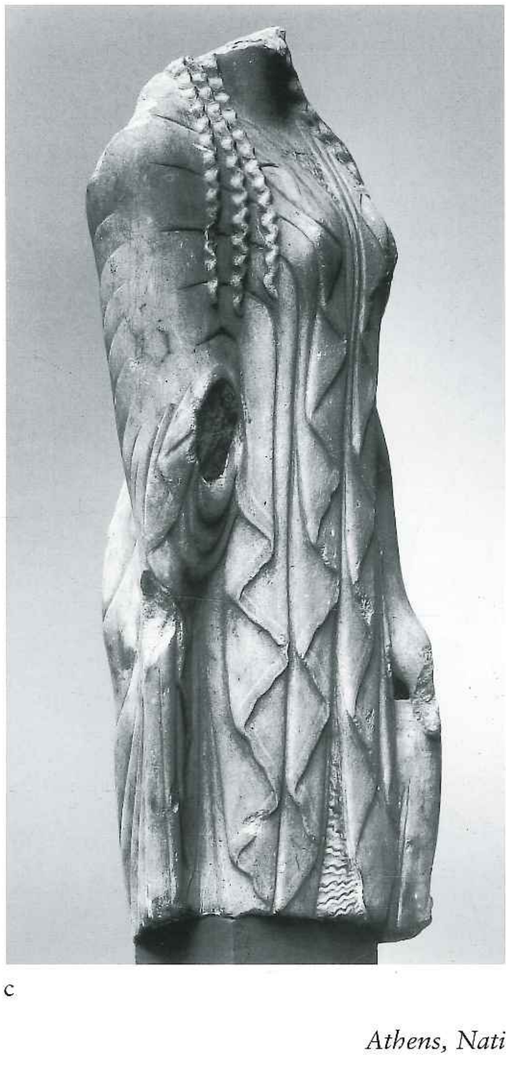
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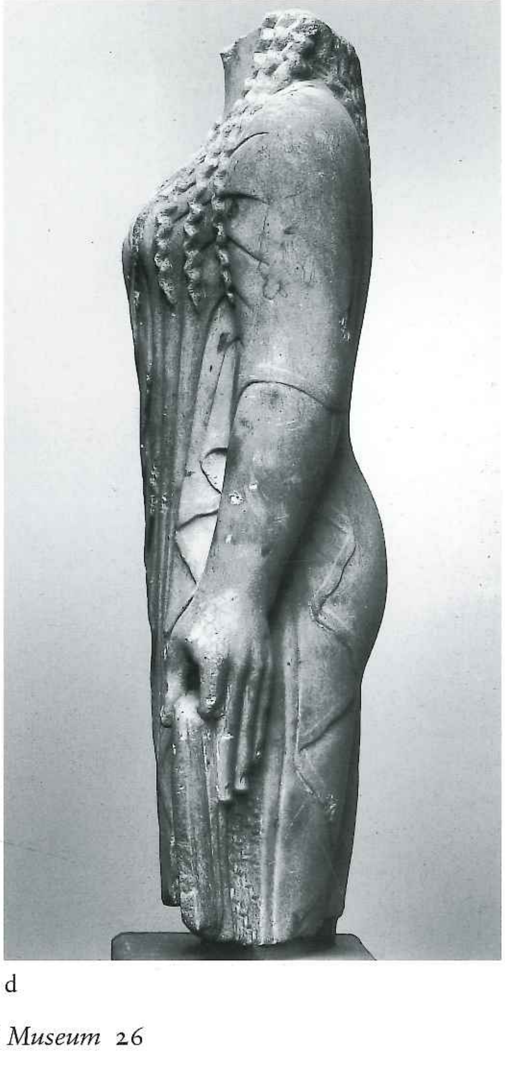
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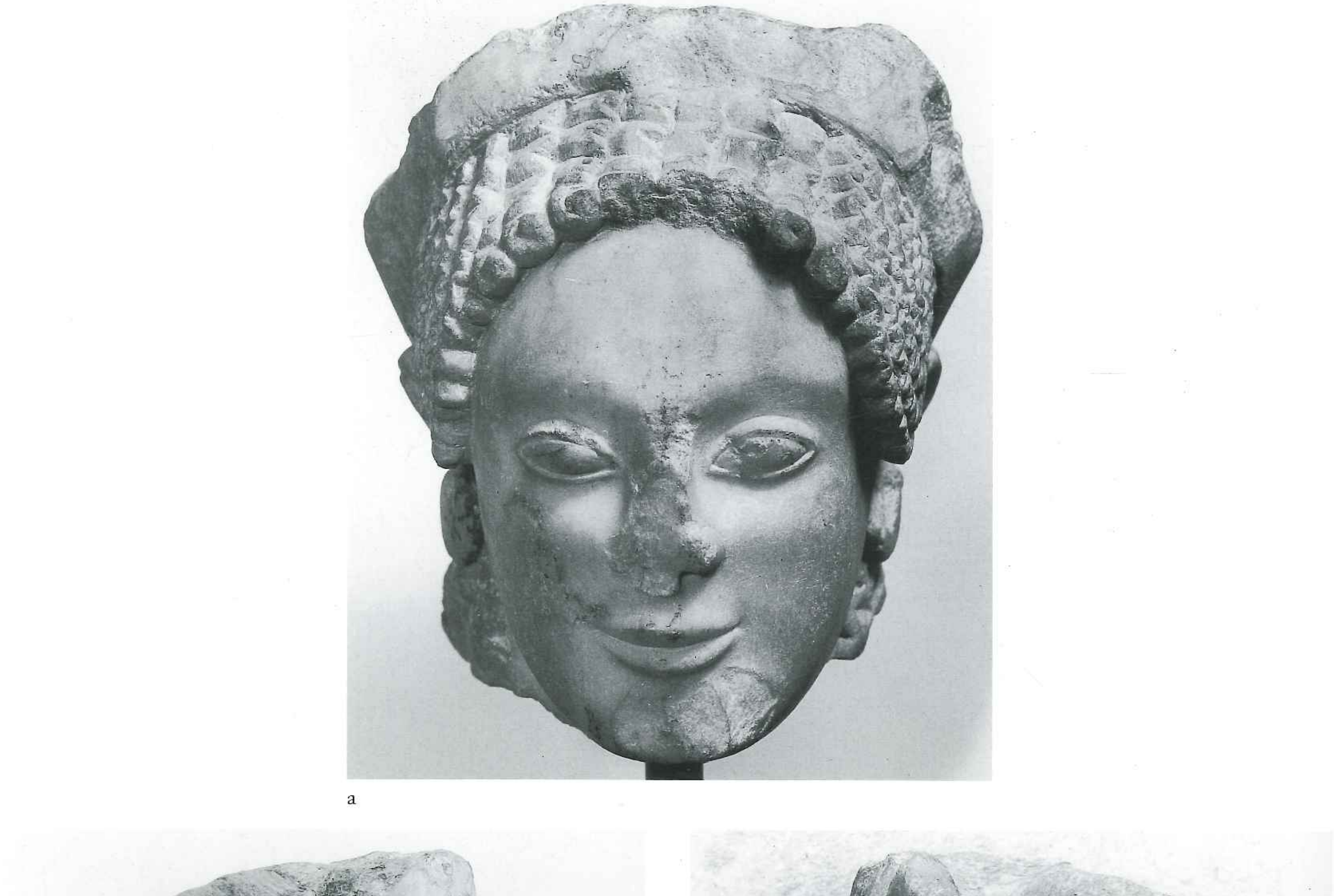
Athens, National Museum 26

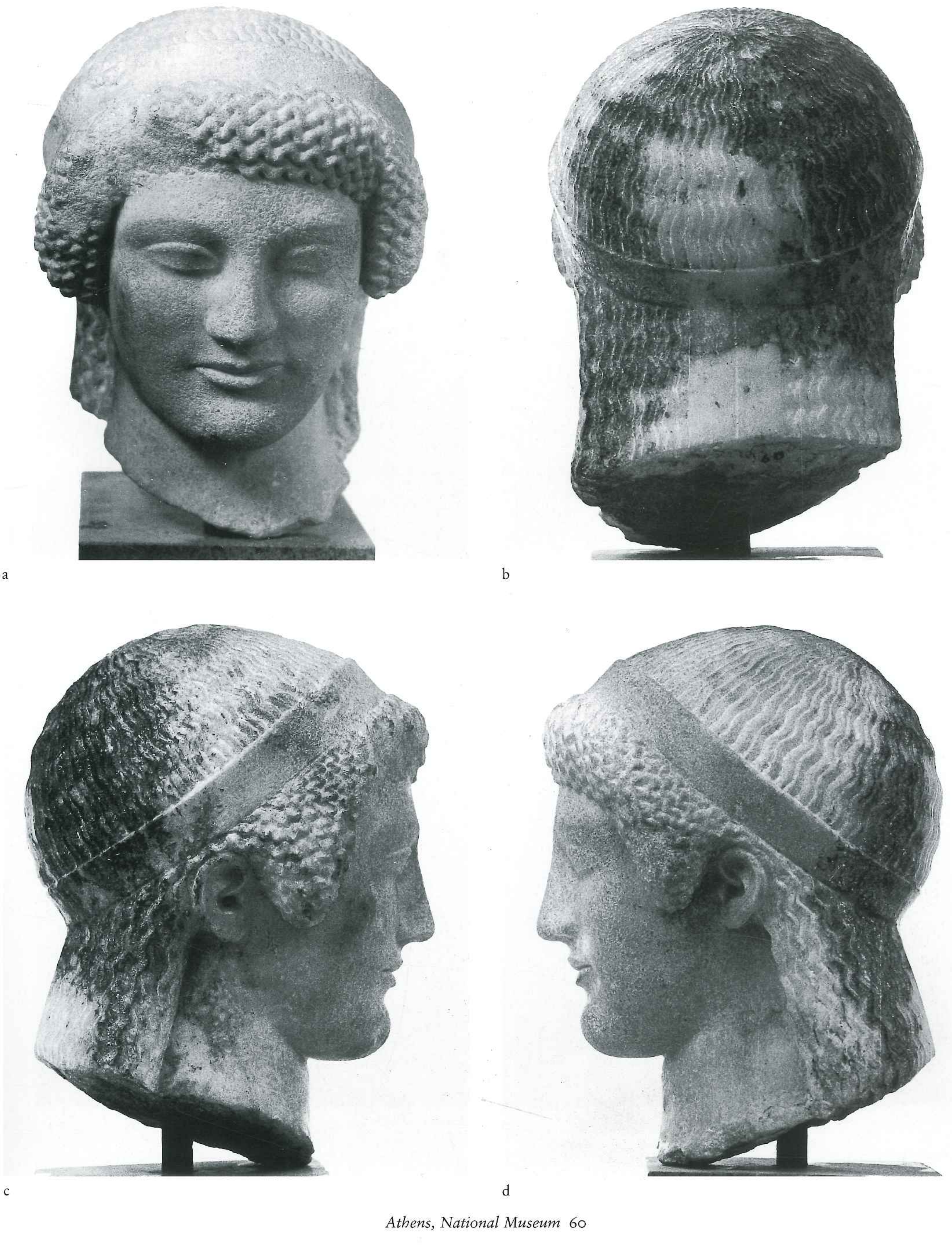


a

b

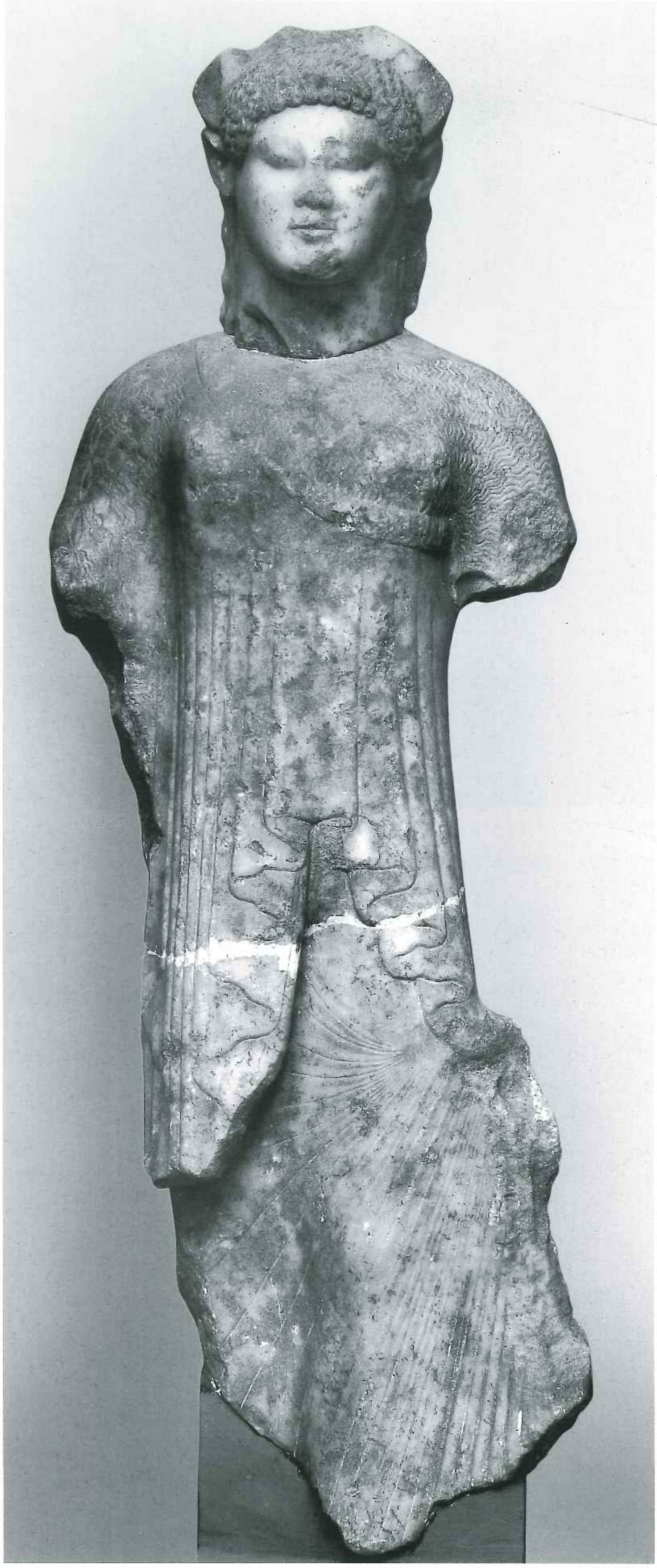
c

Athens, National Museum 27



a b c d

Athens, National Museum 60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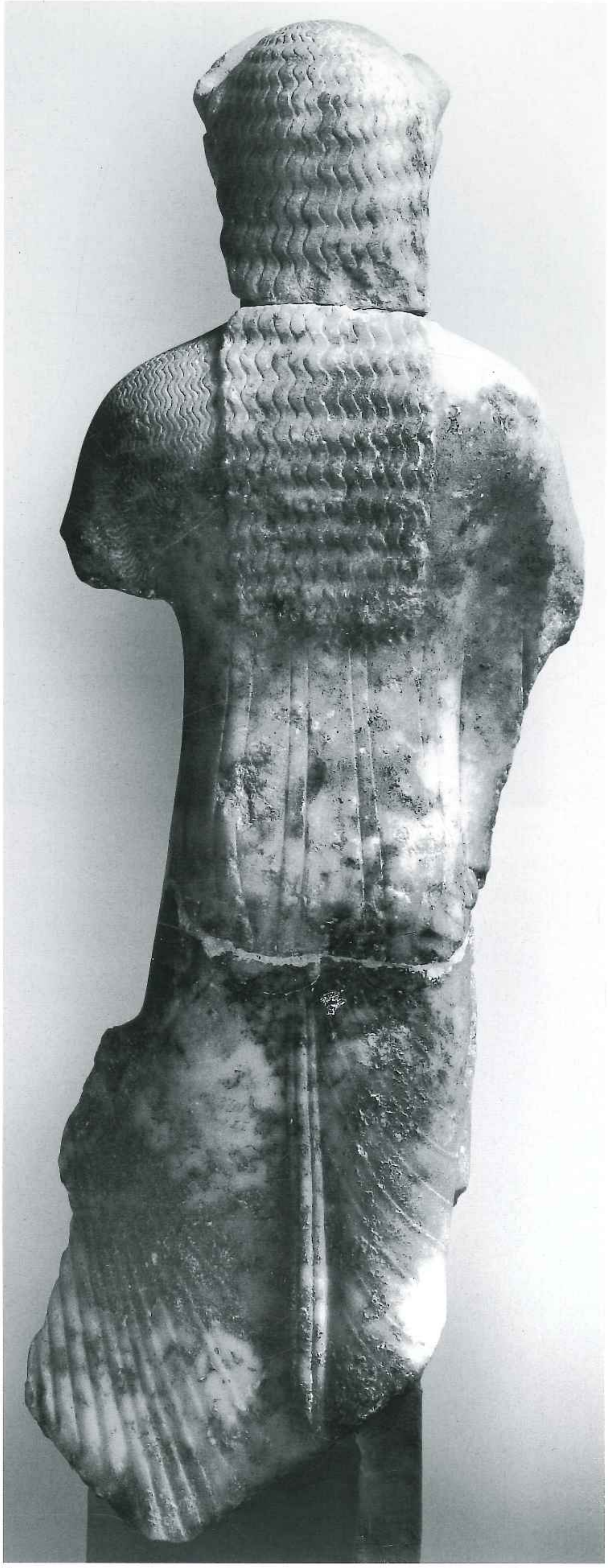
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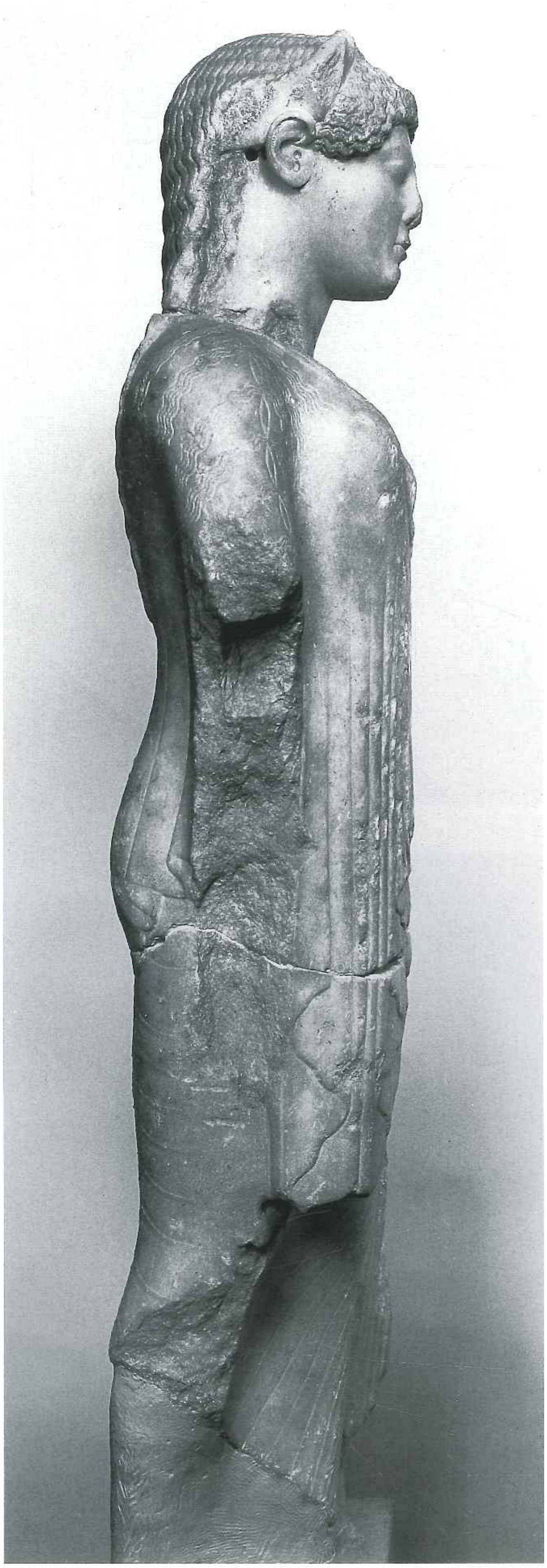
Athens, National Museum 24



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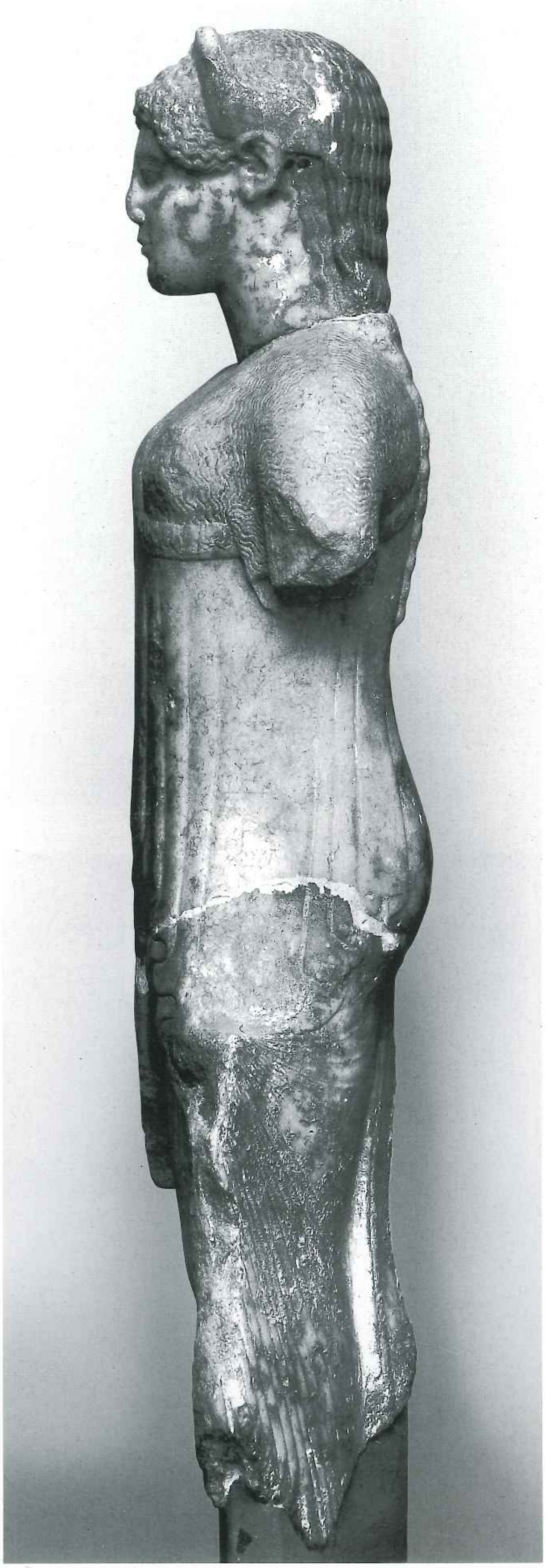

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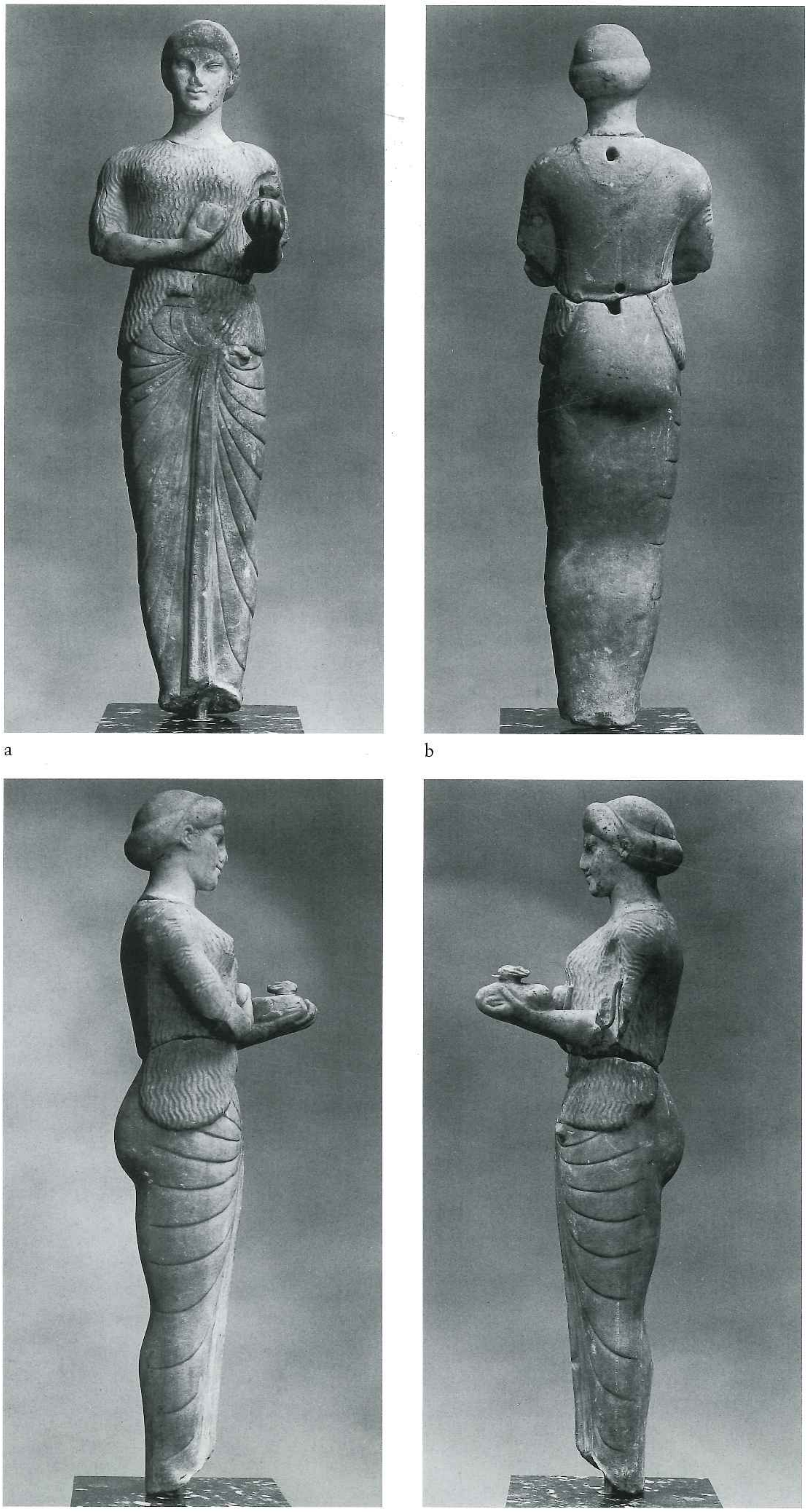
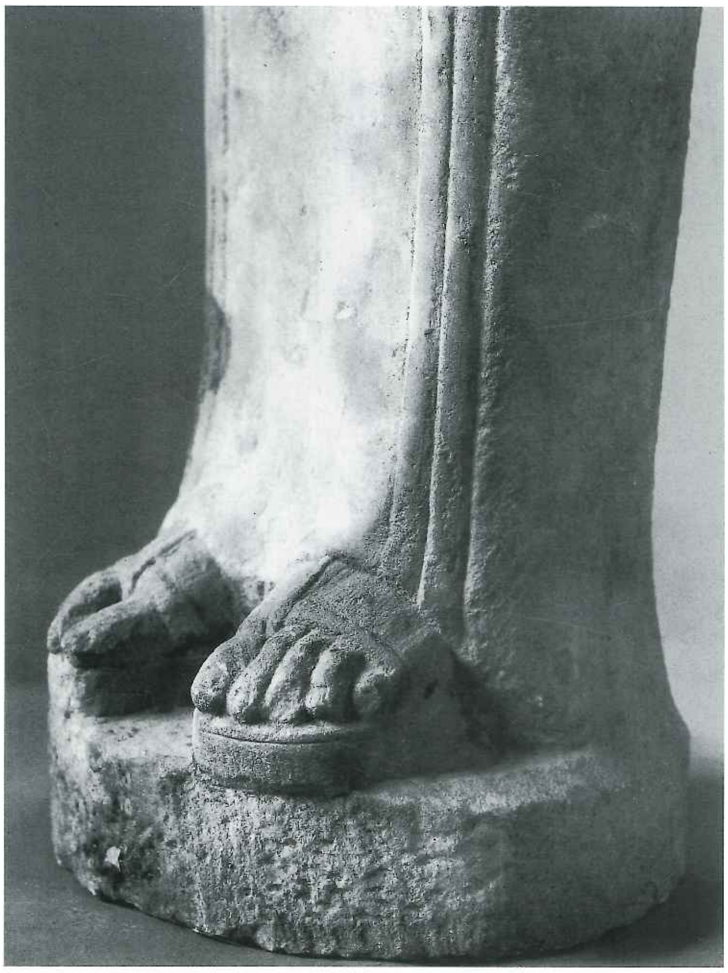
Athens, National Museum 24



a b c d

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.110



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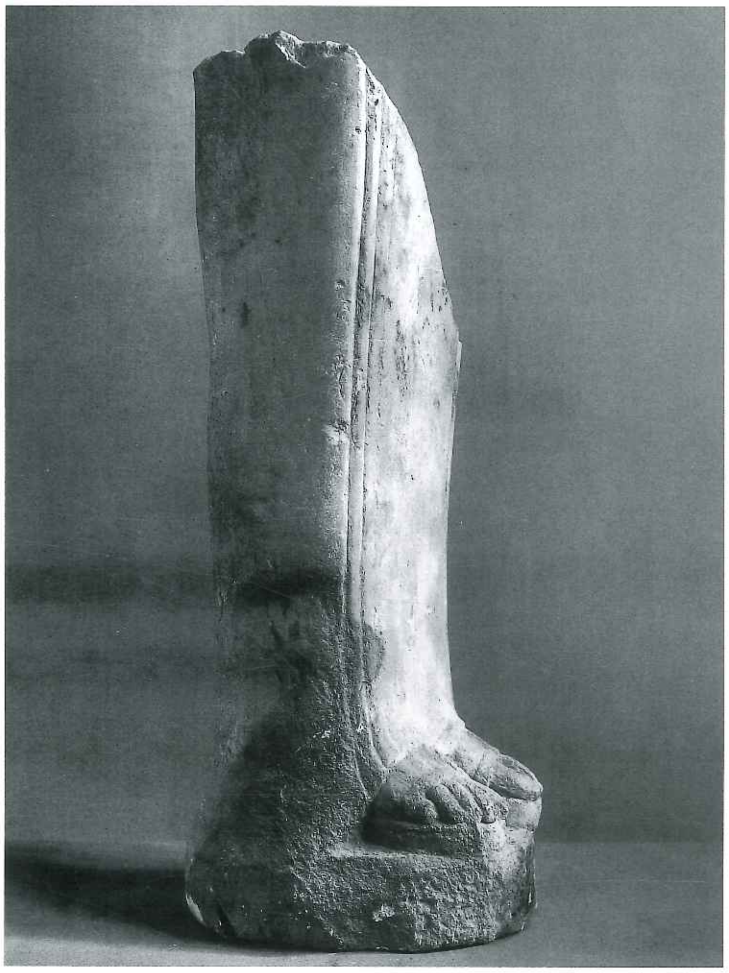

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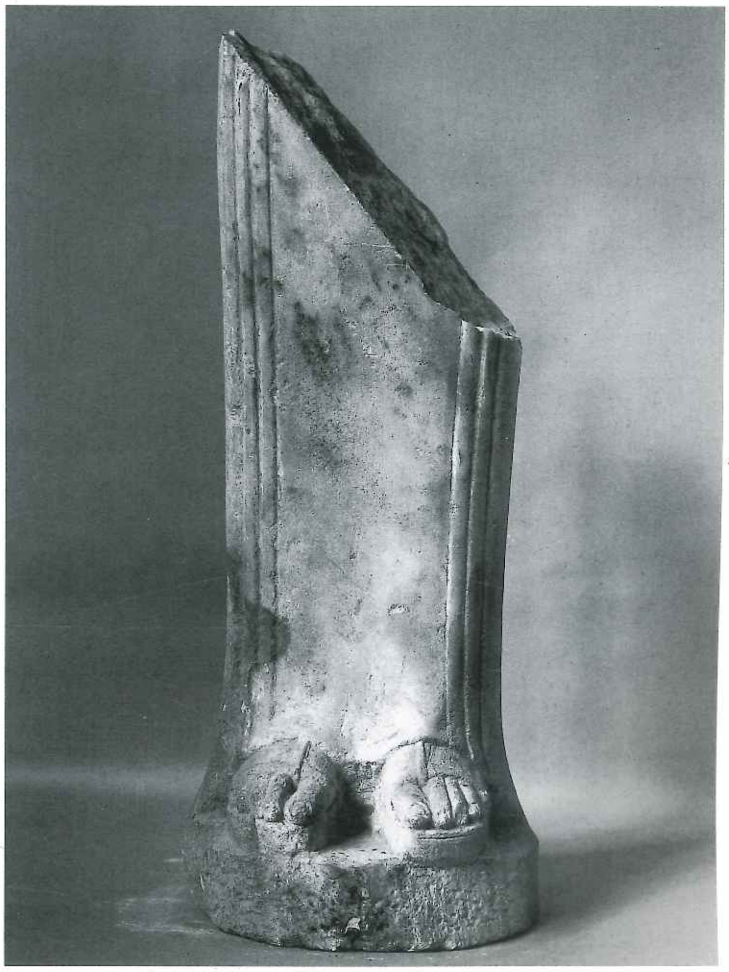
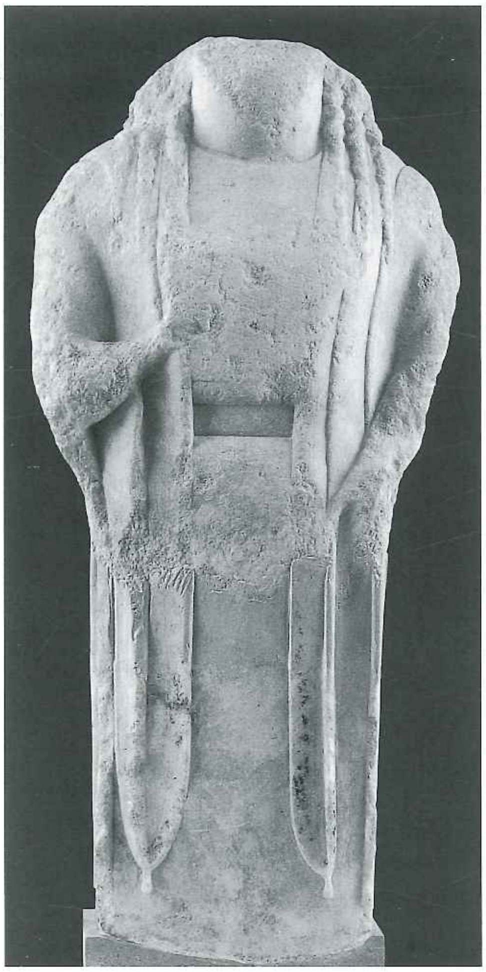


c

Akropolis Museum 582



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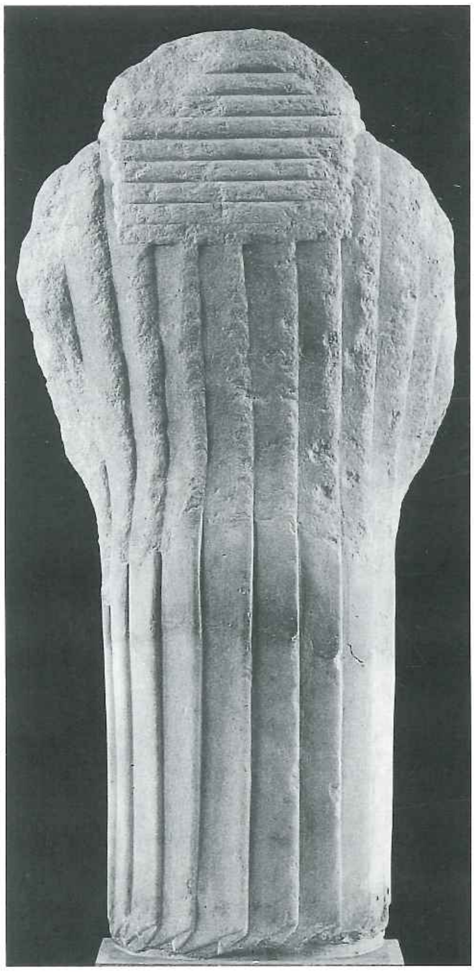

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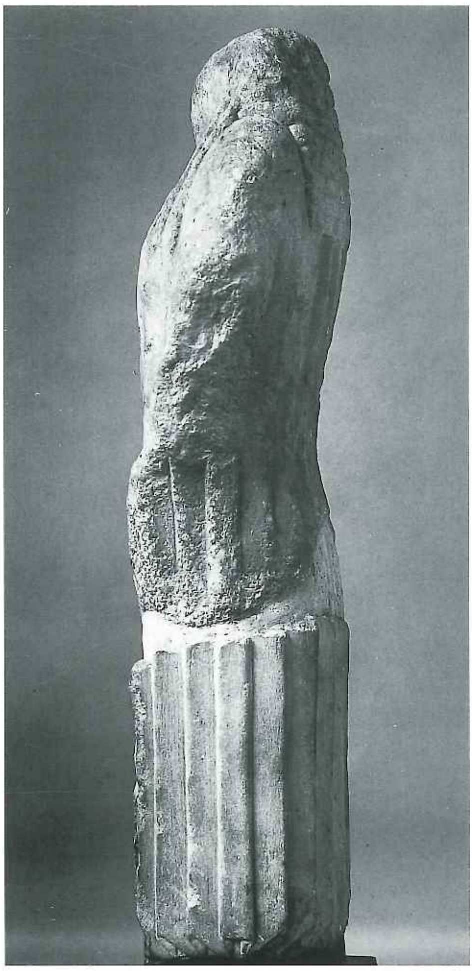

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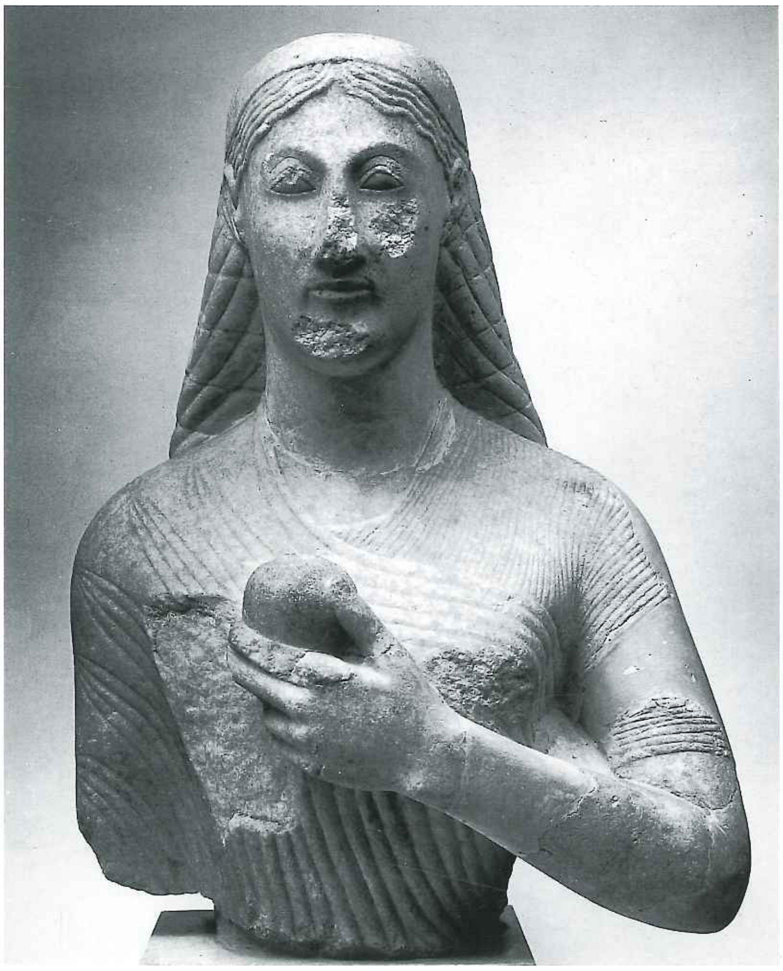
Akropolis Museum 589



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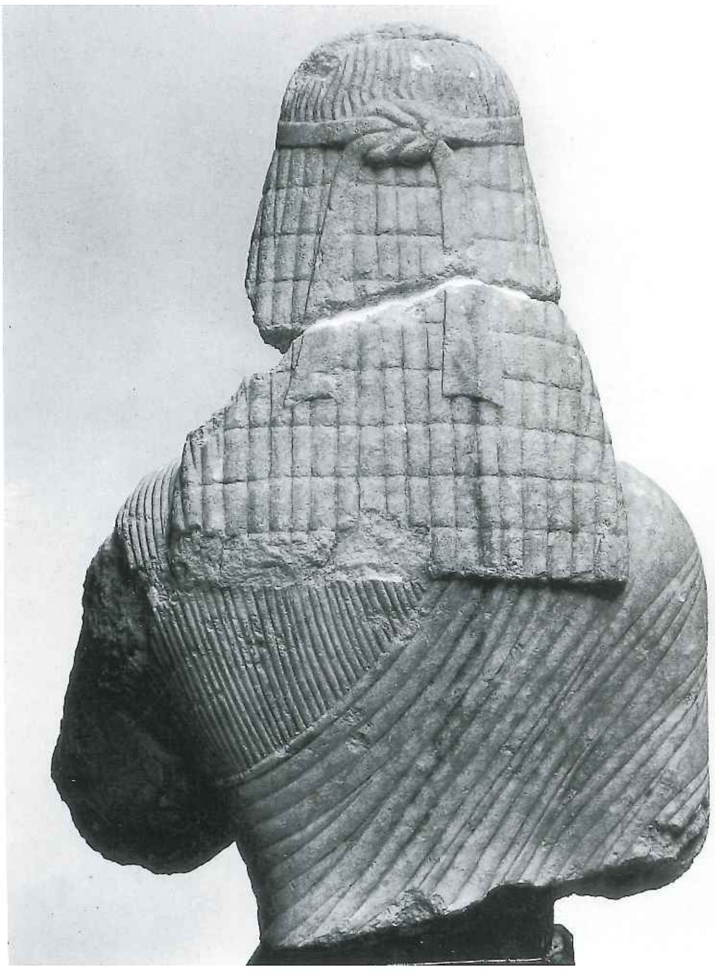

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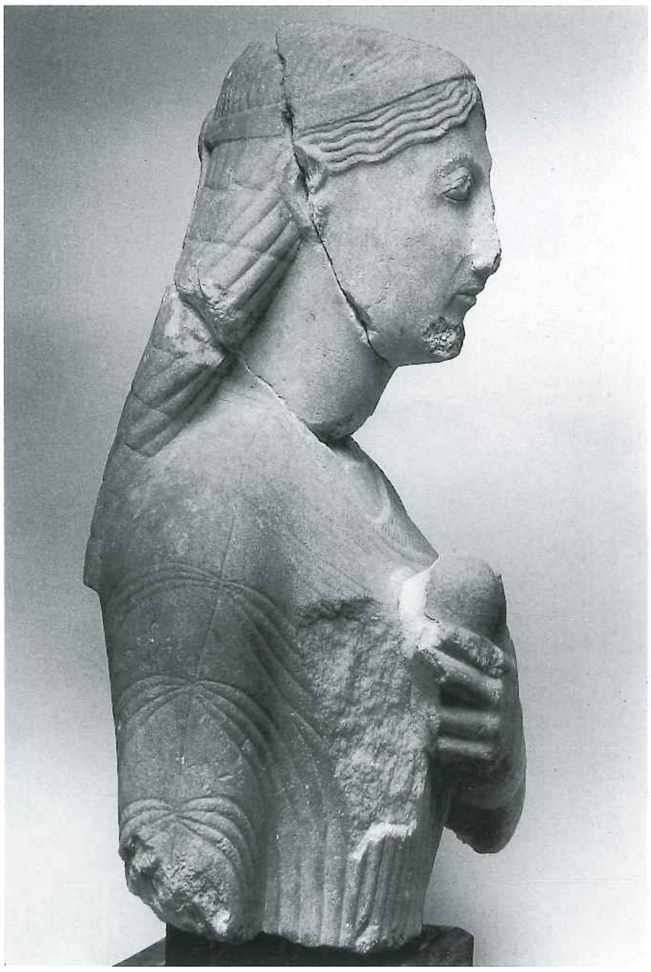

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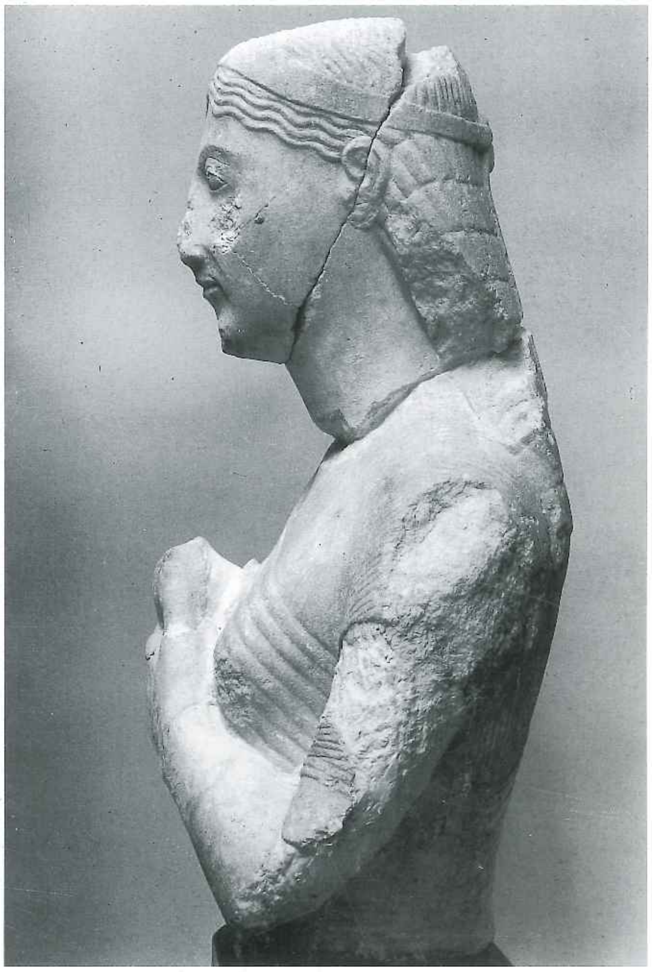

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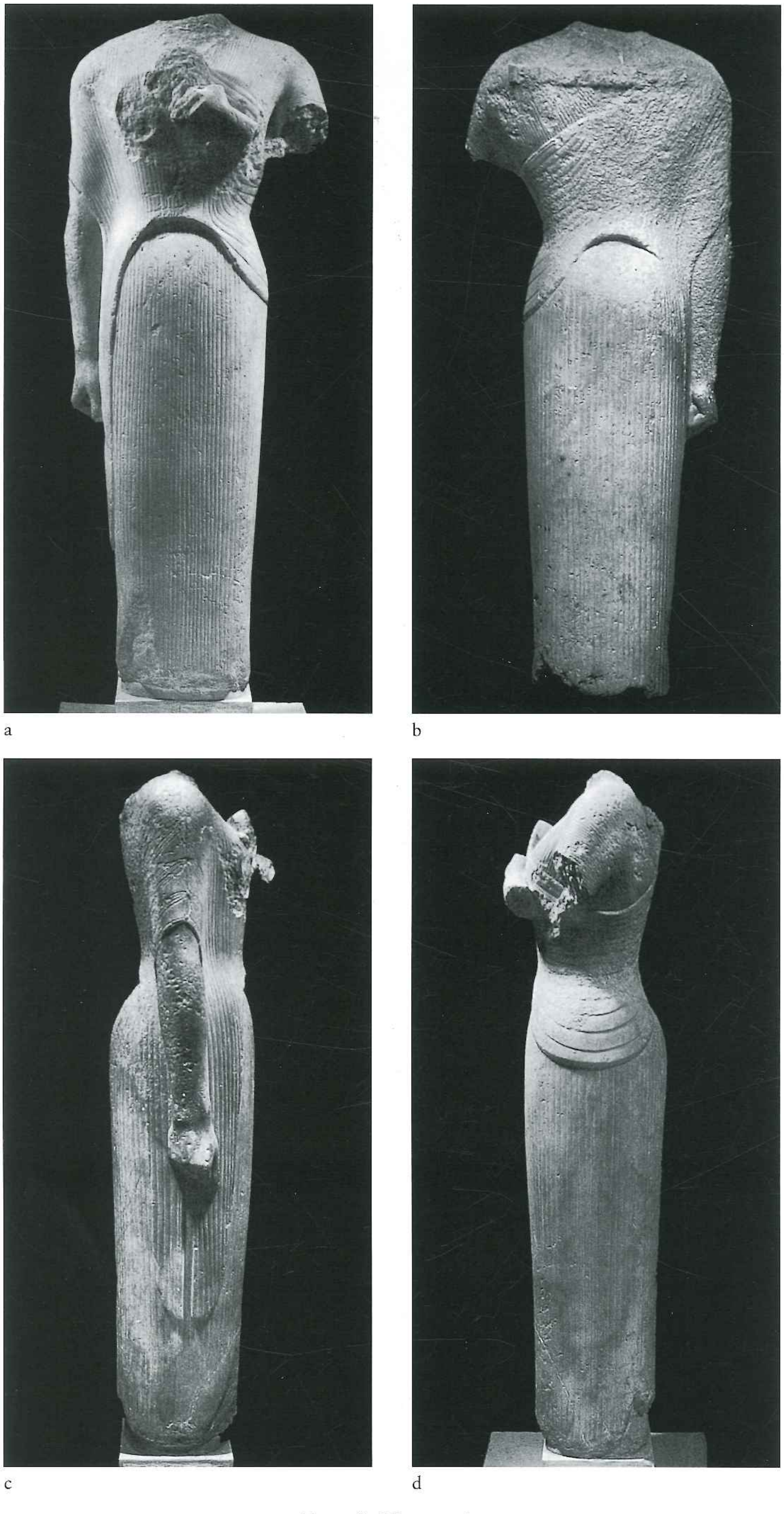
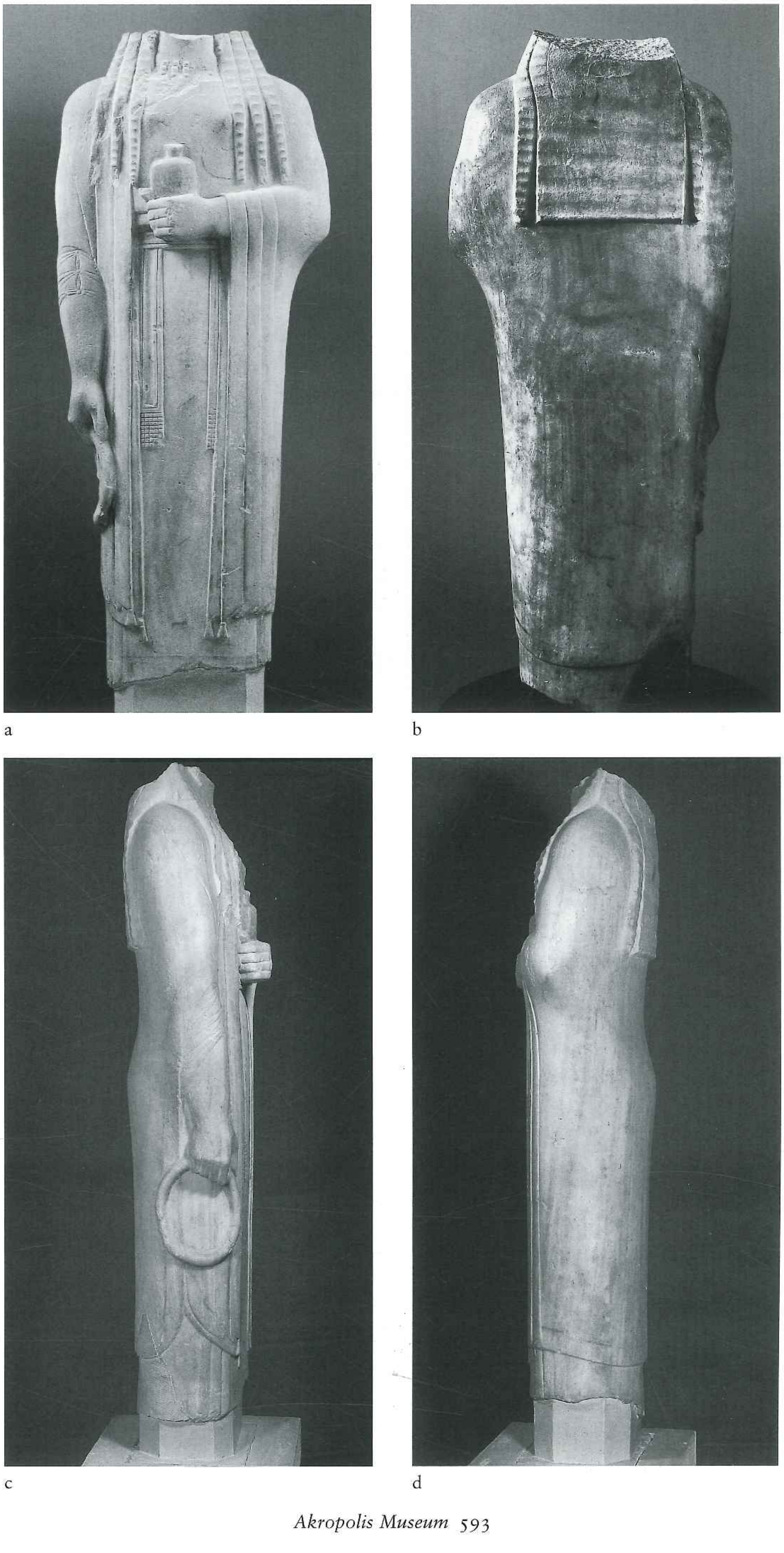
Akropolis Museum 677

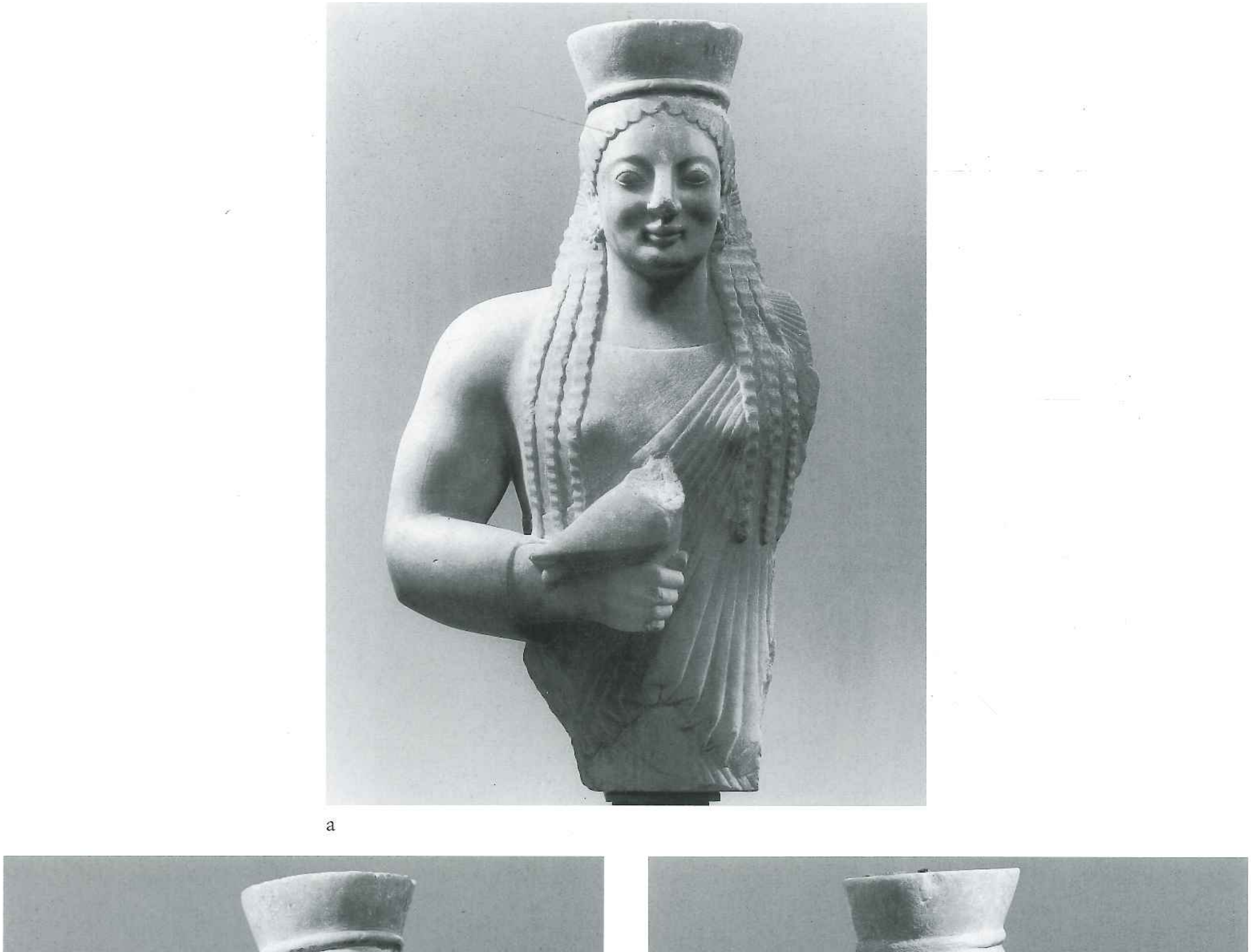


a b c d

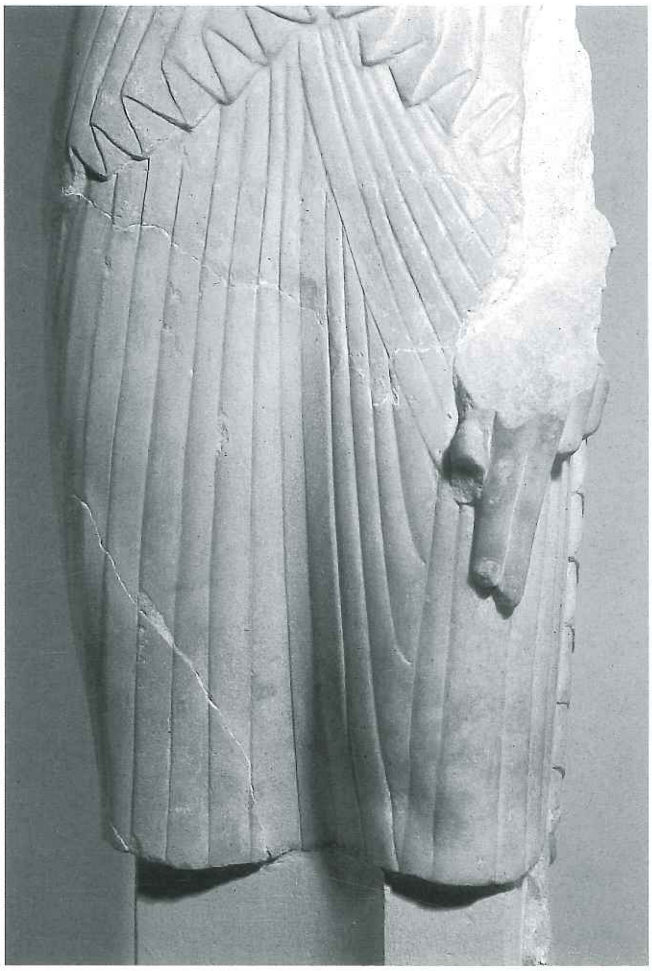
Akropolis Museum 619



Akropolis Museum 593



Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts 269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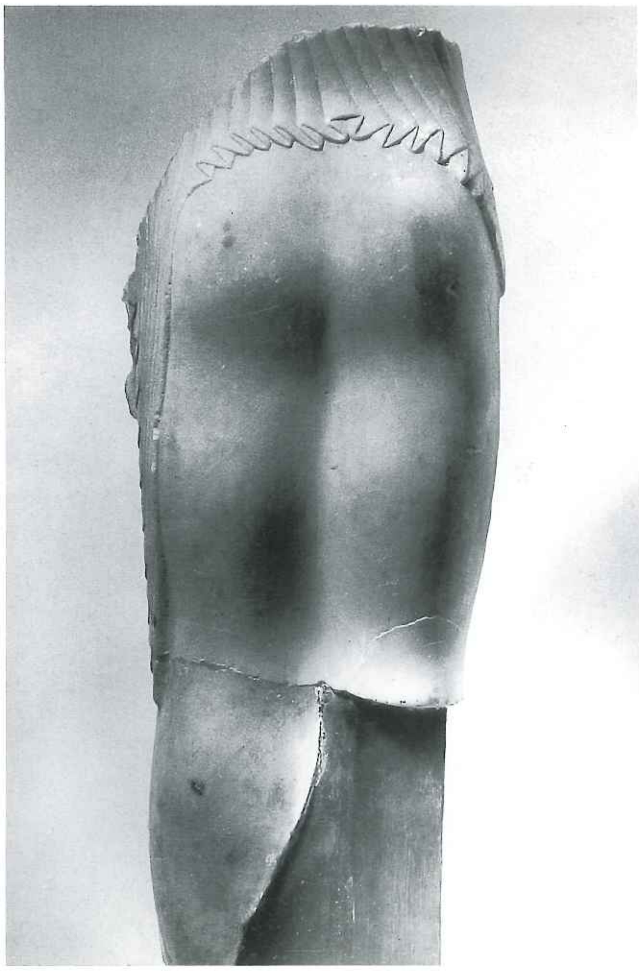
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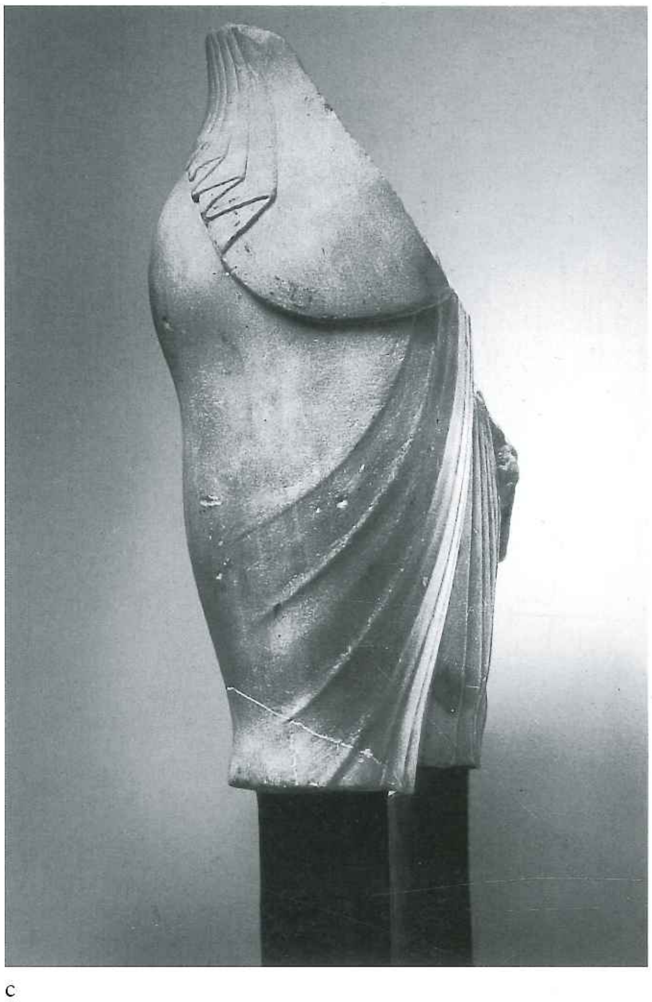
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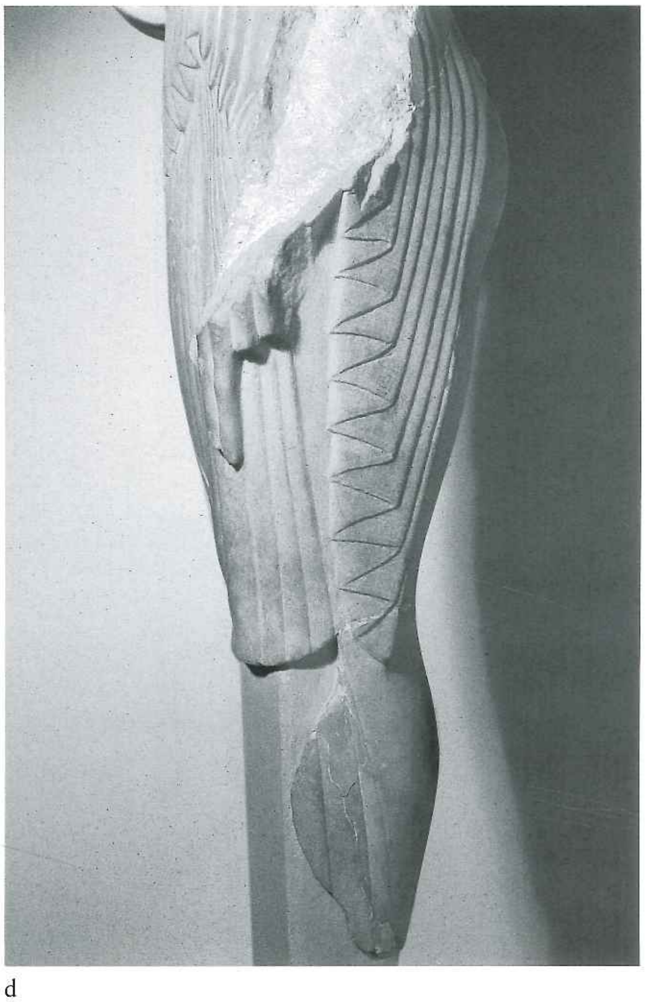
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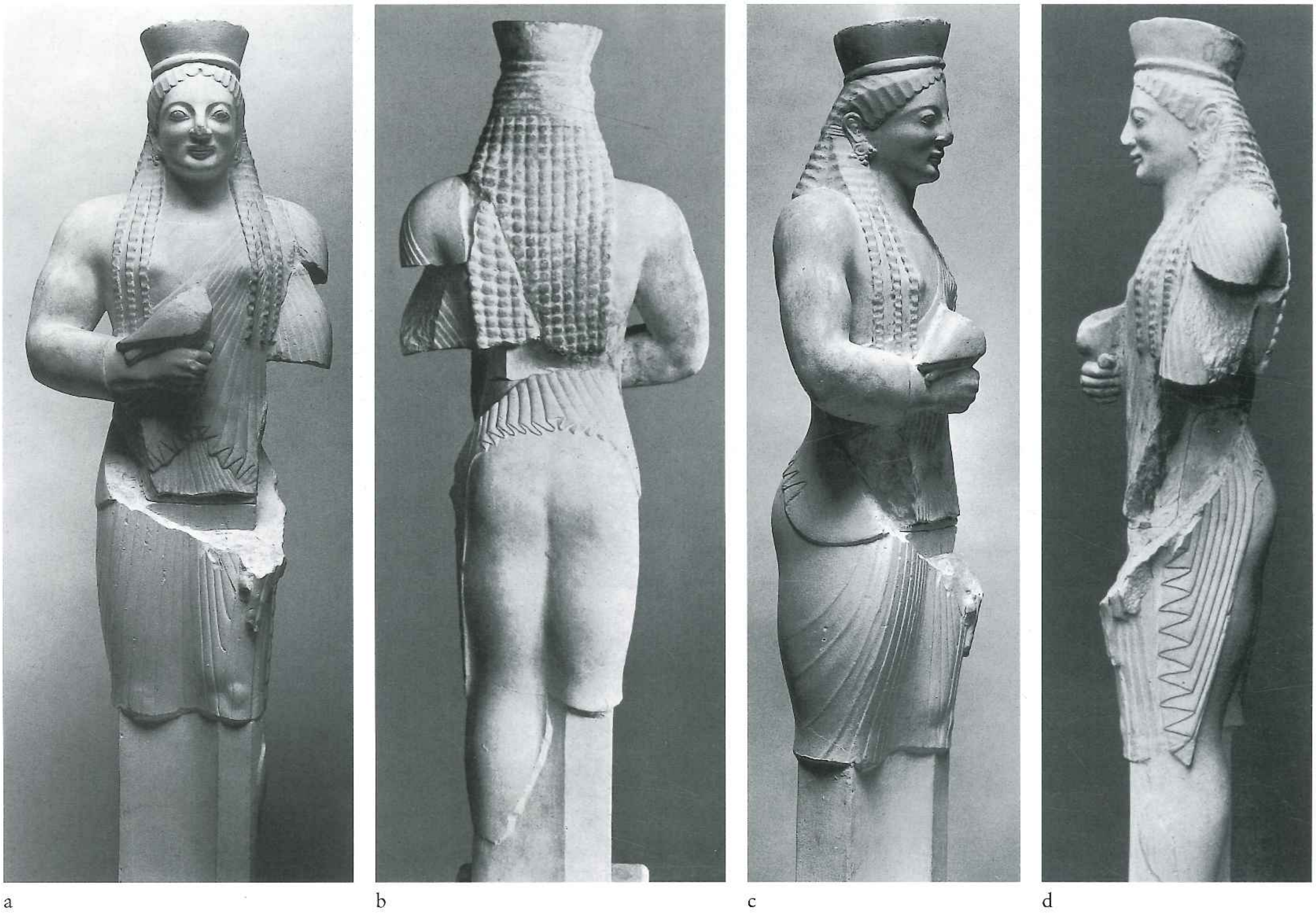
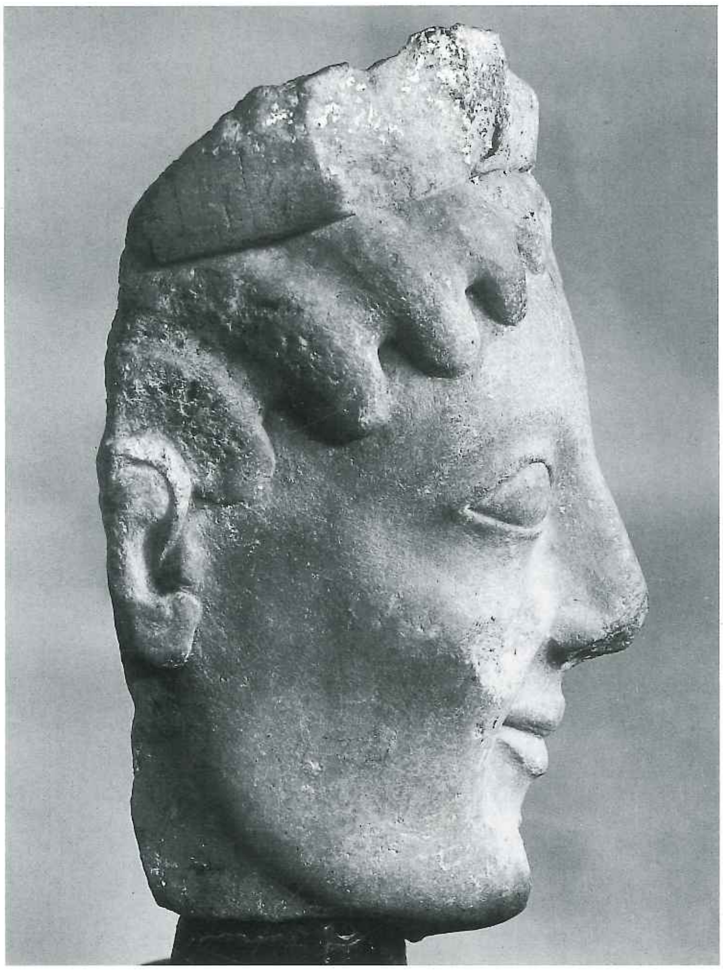
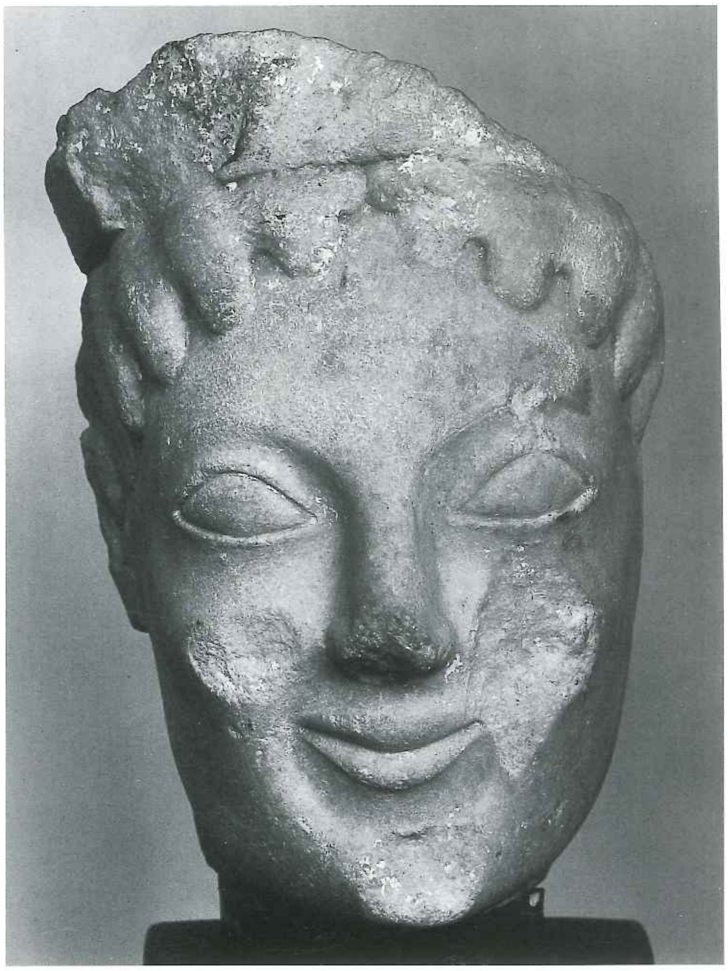
Akropolis Museum 164



Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts · *Akropolis Museum* 269; 163–164



654 a



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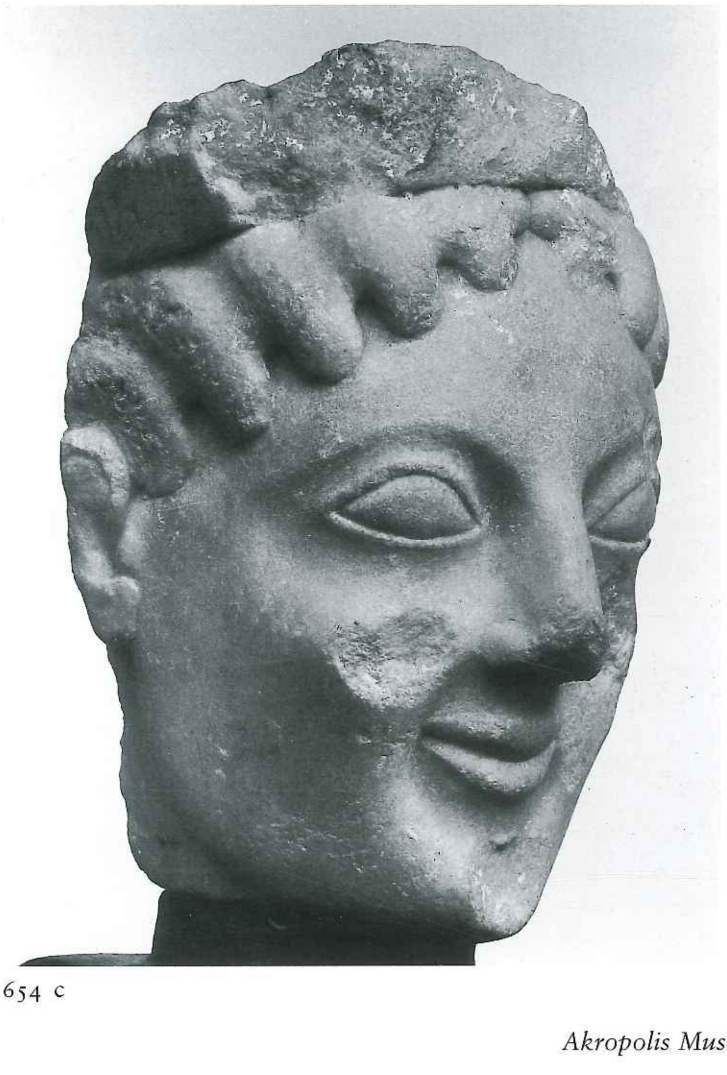

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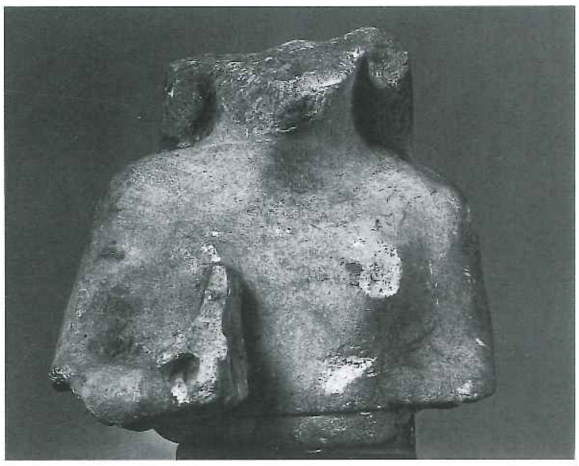
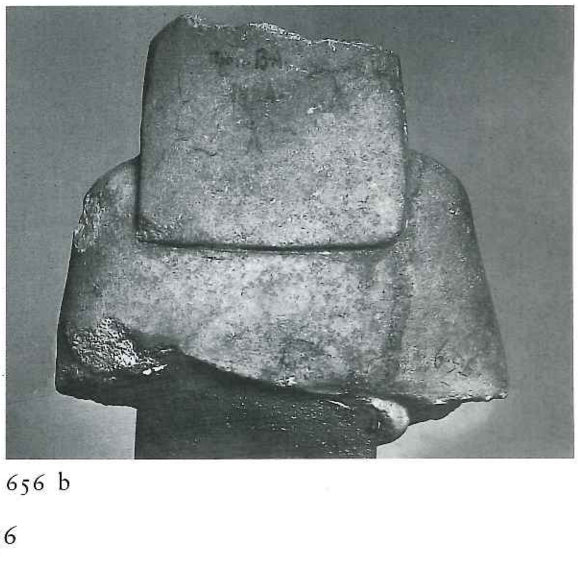
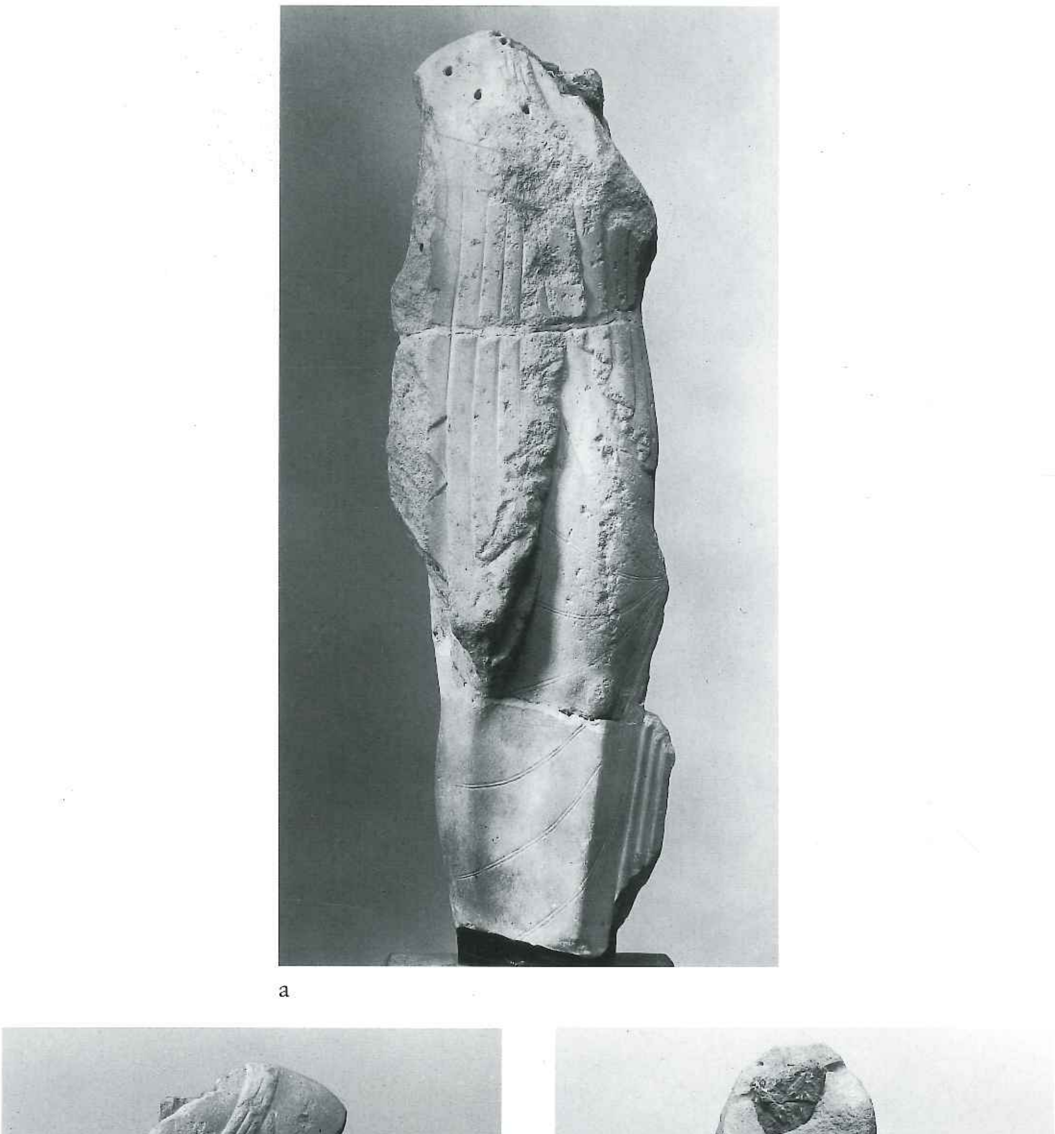


656 a



656 b

Akropolis Museum 654 and 656

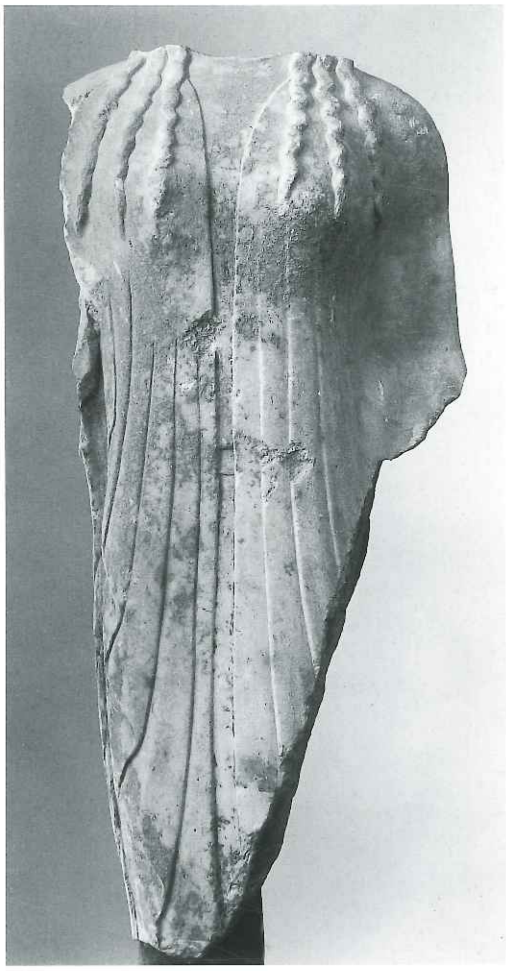


a

b

c

Akropolis Museum 626



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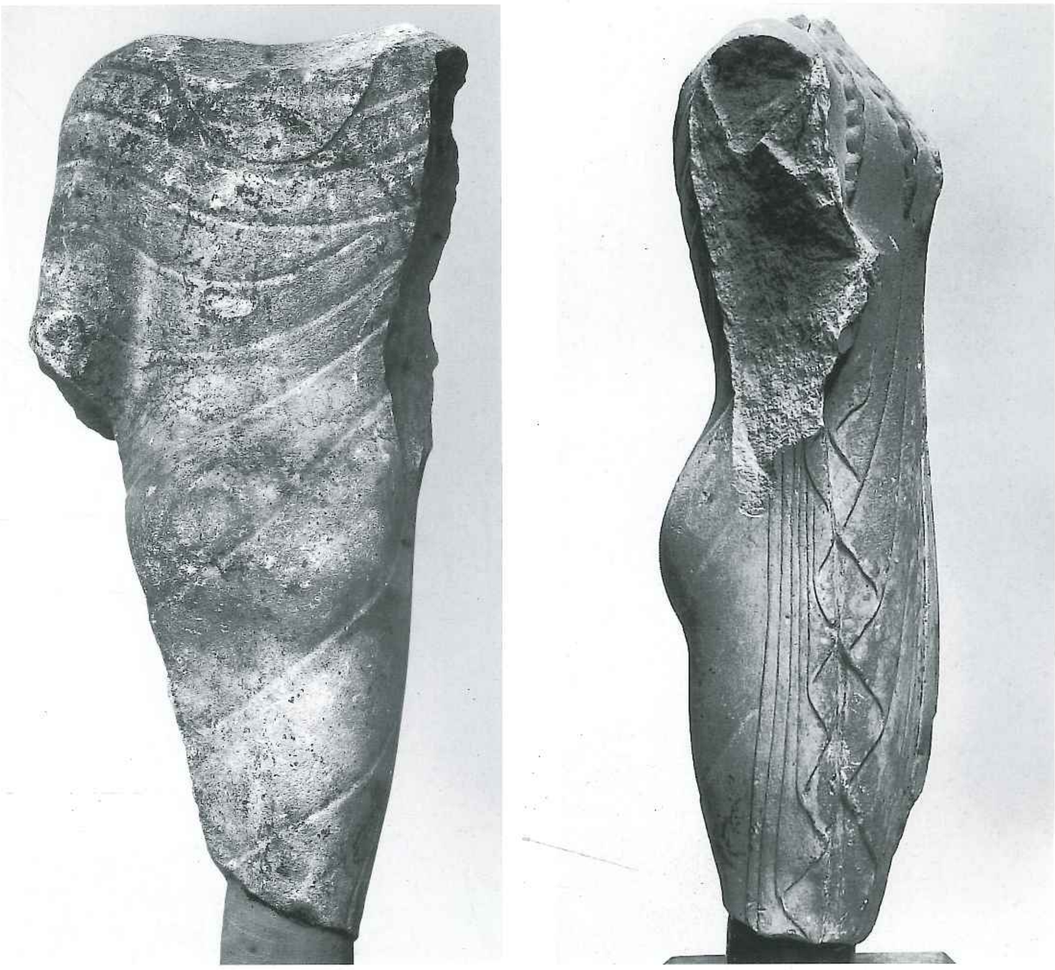
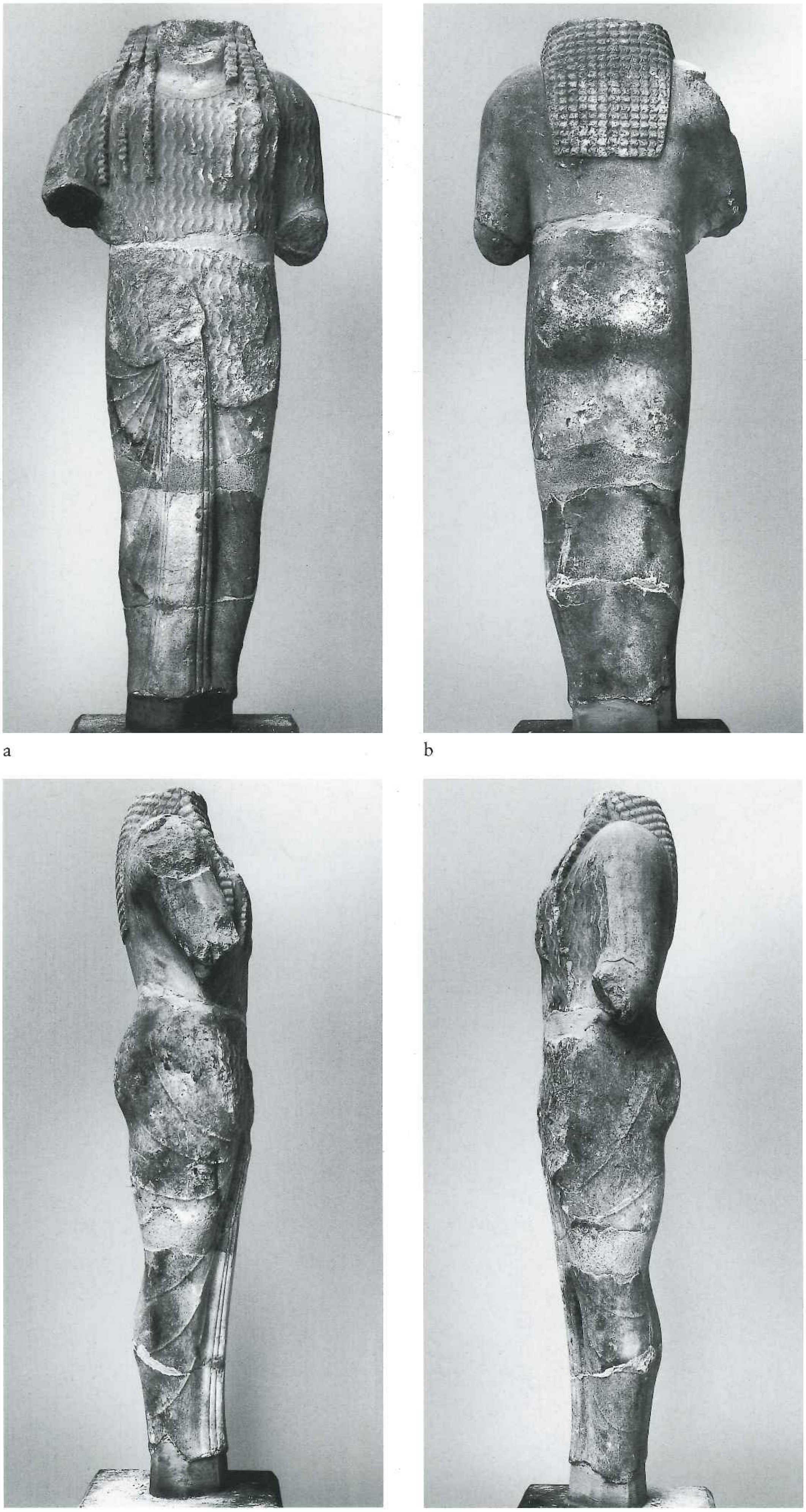


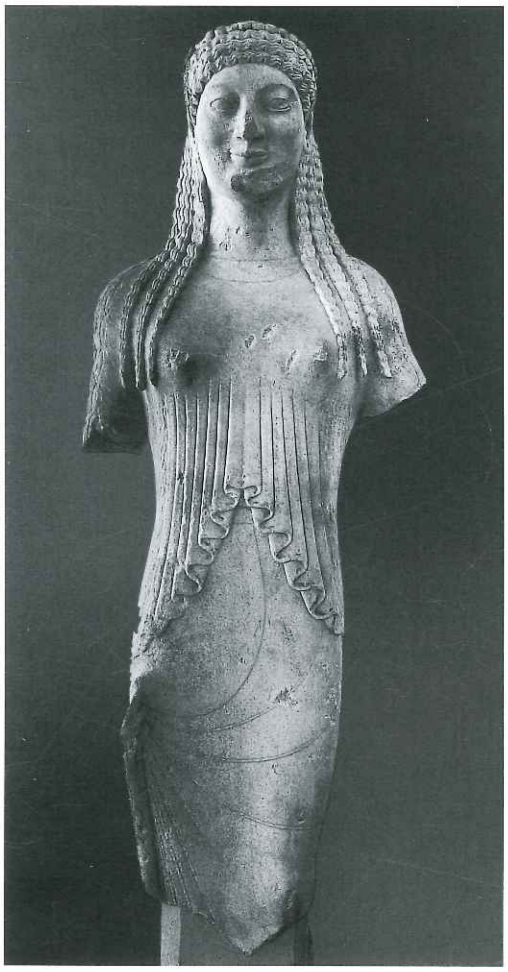
b c

Akropolis Museum 585



a b c d

Akropolis Museum 602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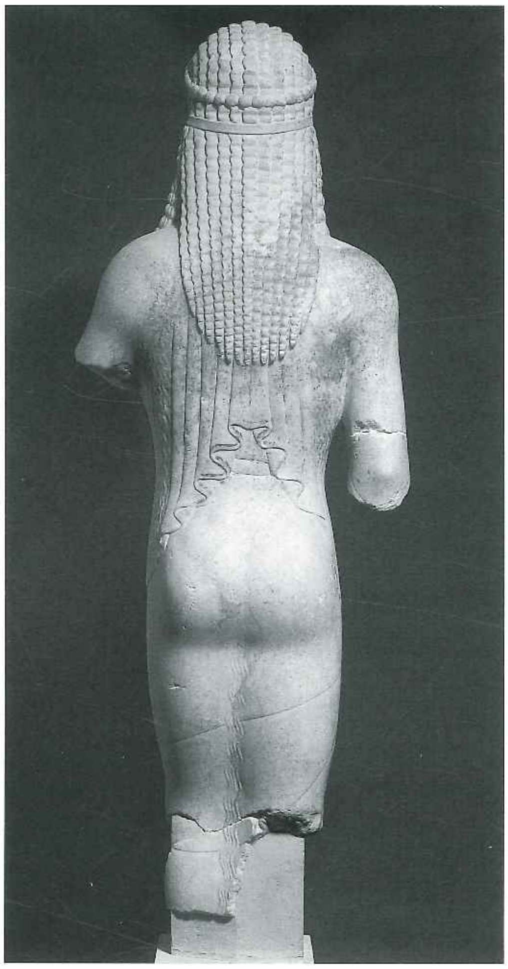
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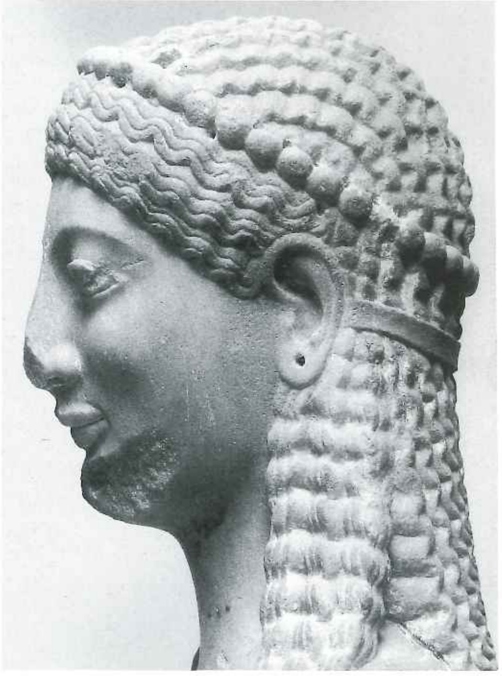
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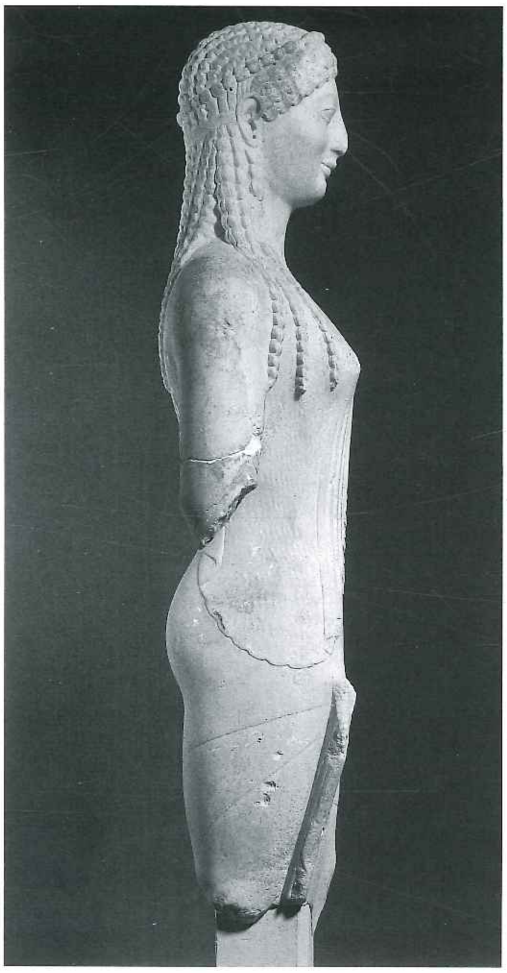
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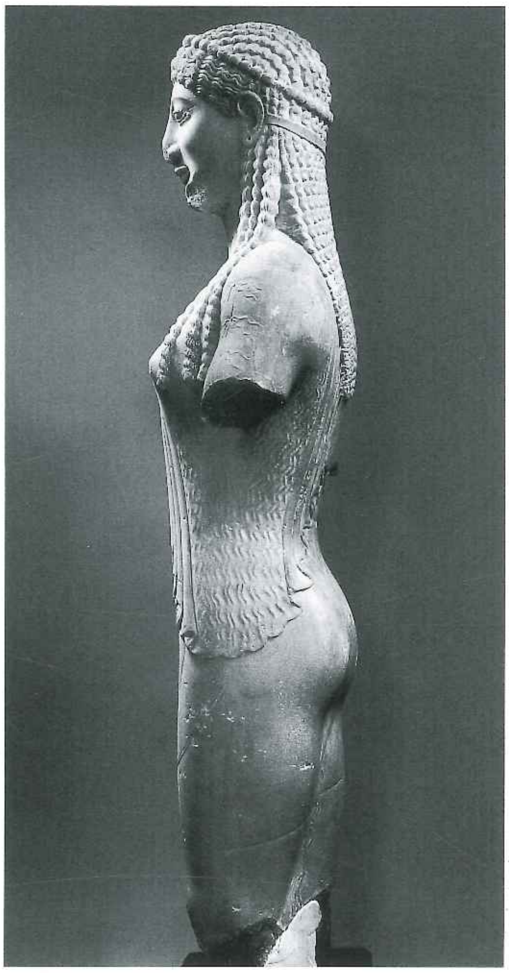
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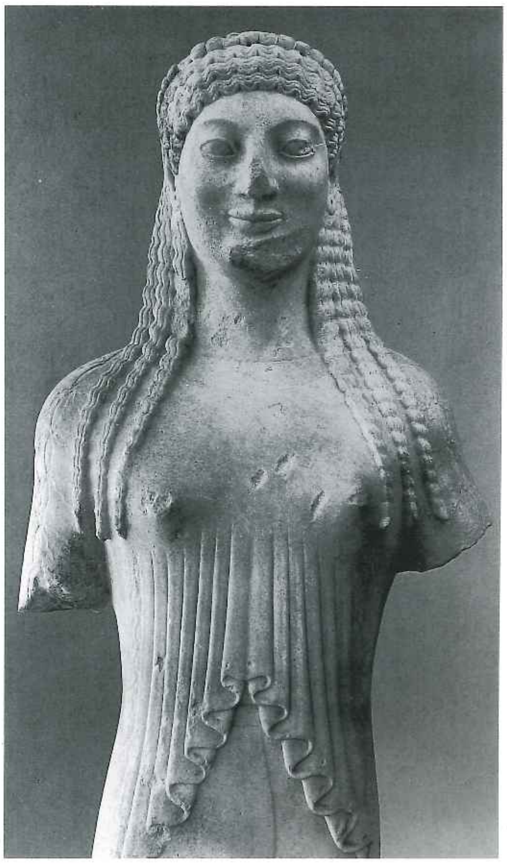
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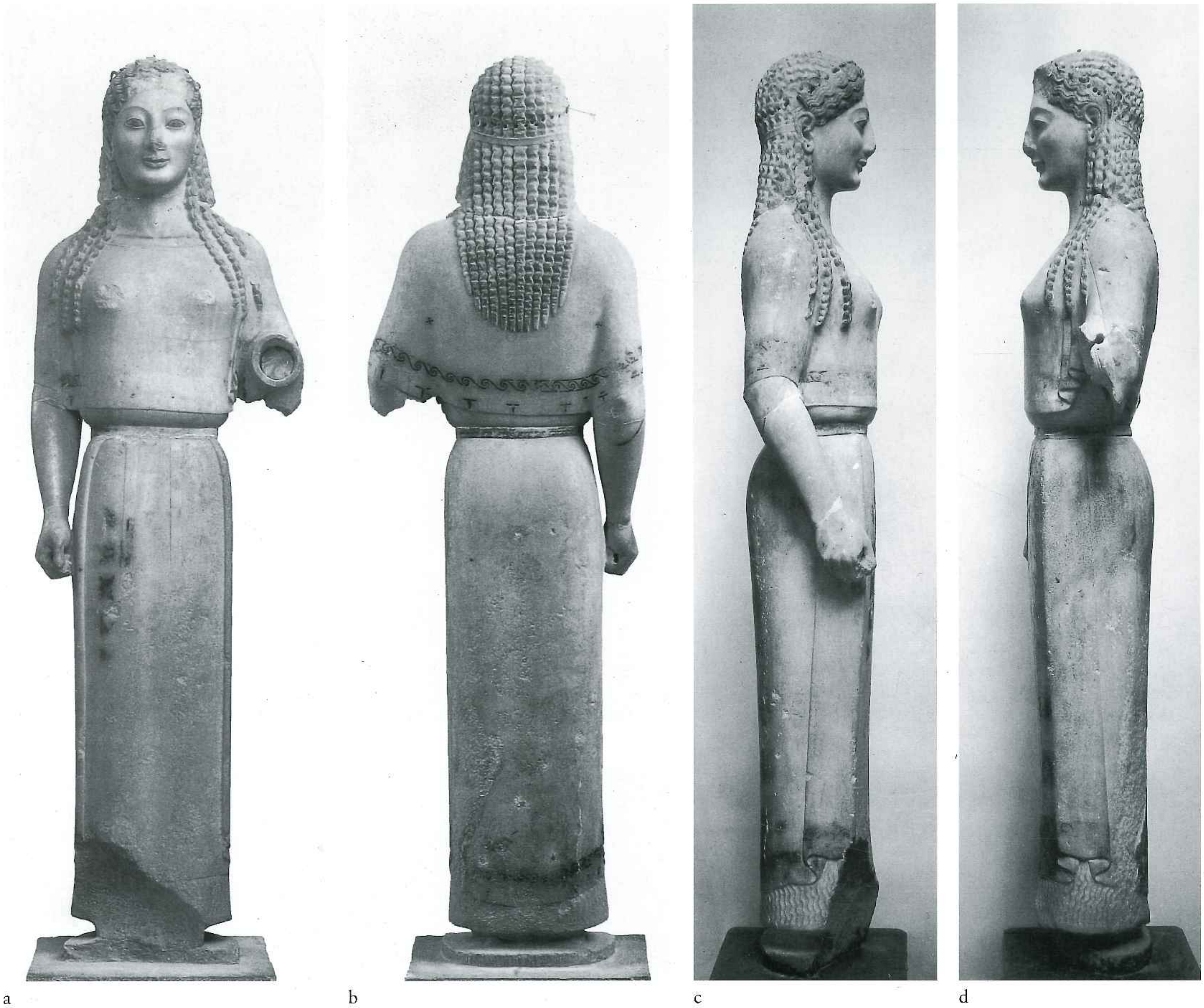
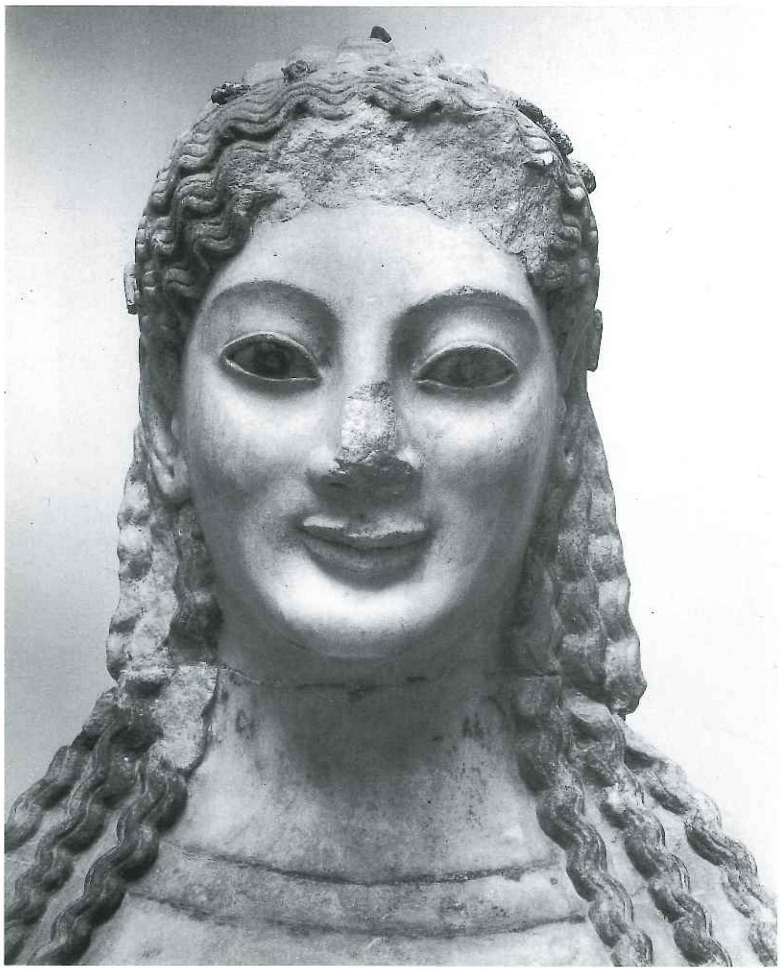
Akropolis Museum 678



Akropolis Museum 679



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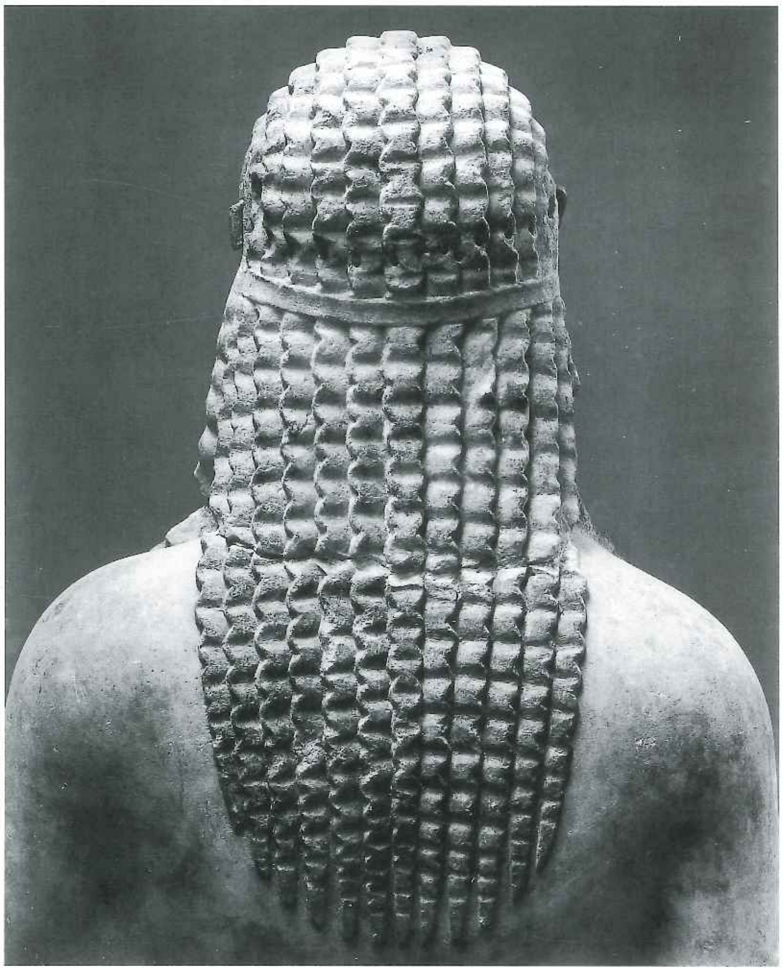

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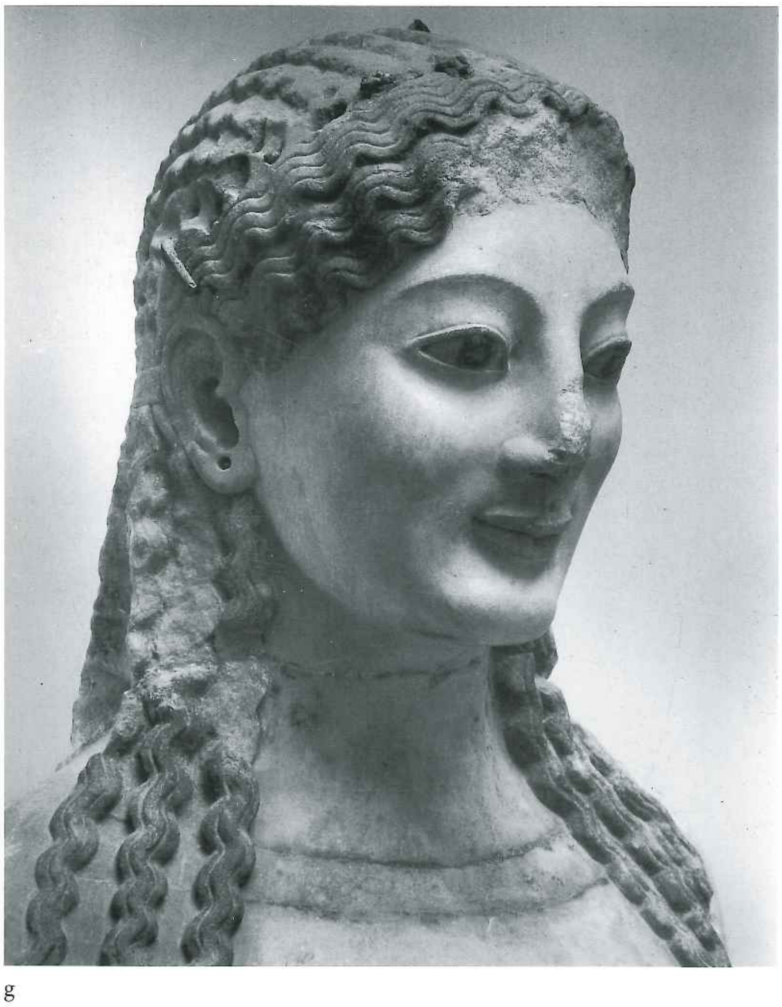

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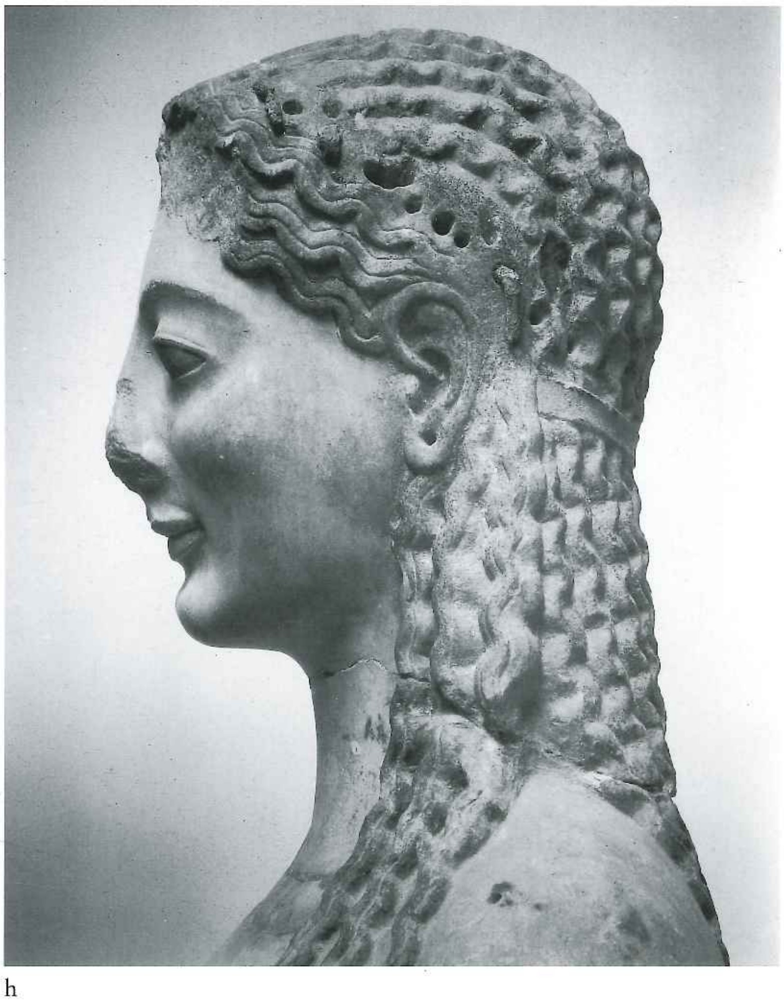

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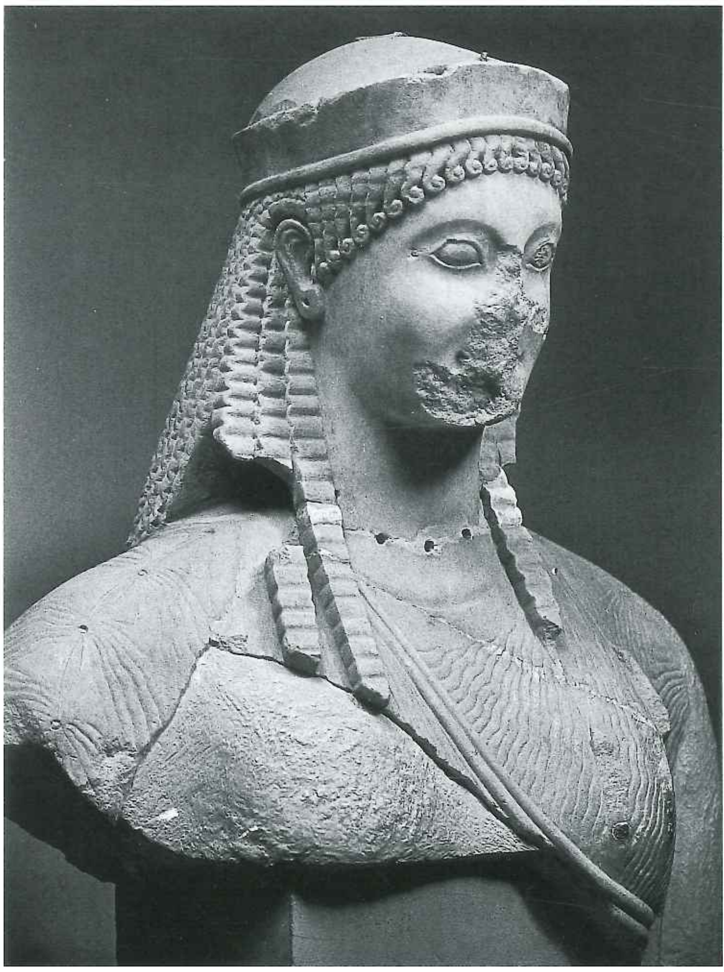
Akropolis Museum 679



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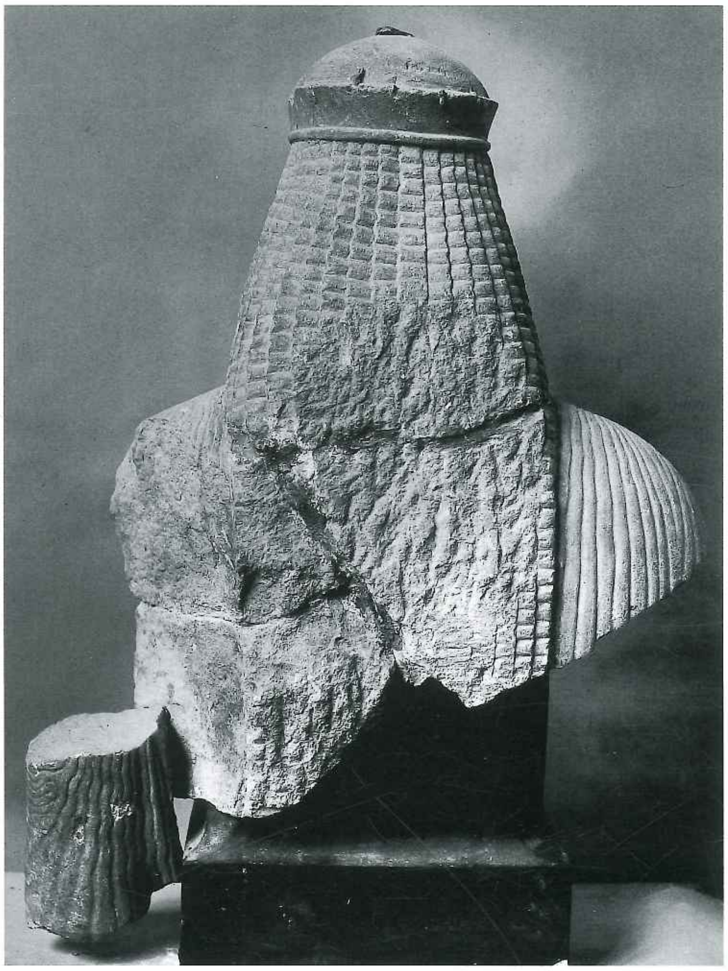

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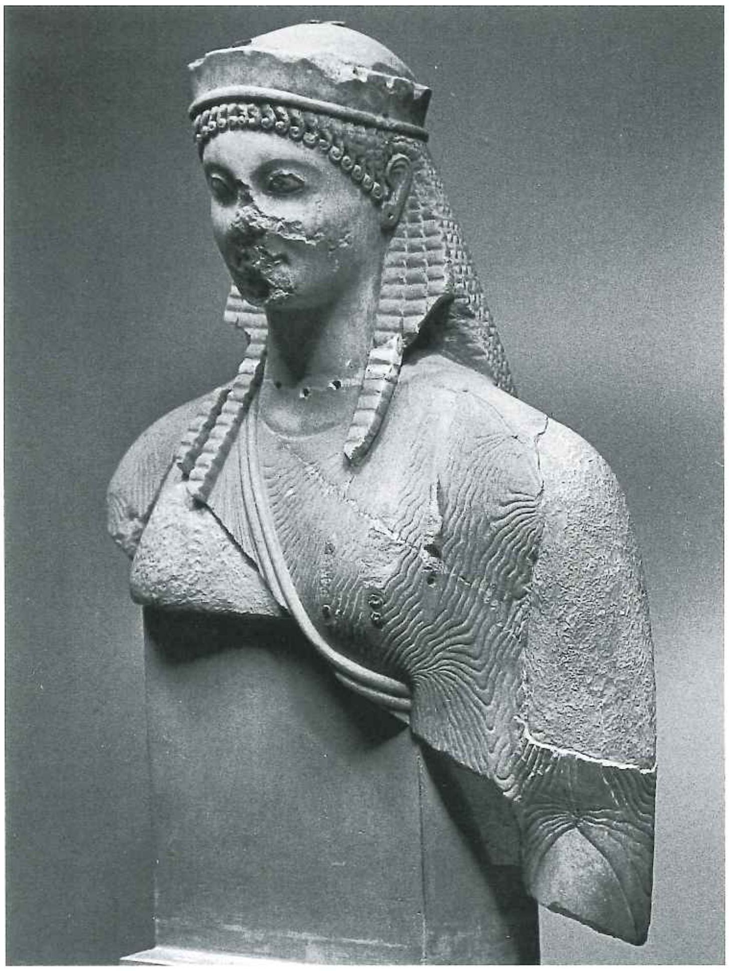

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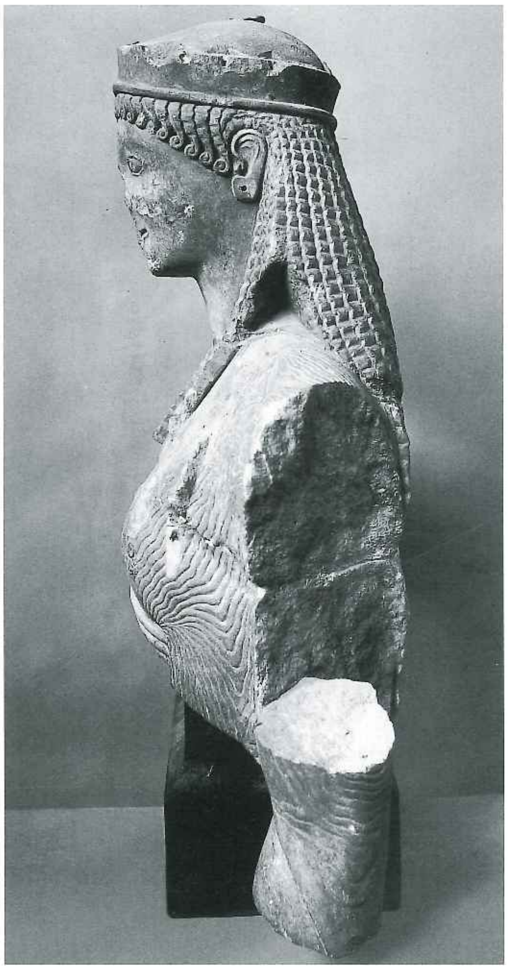

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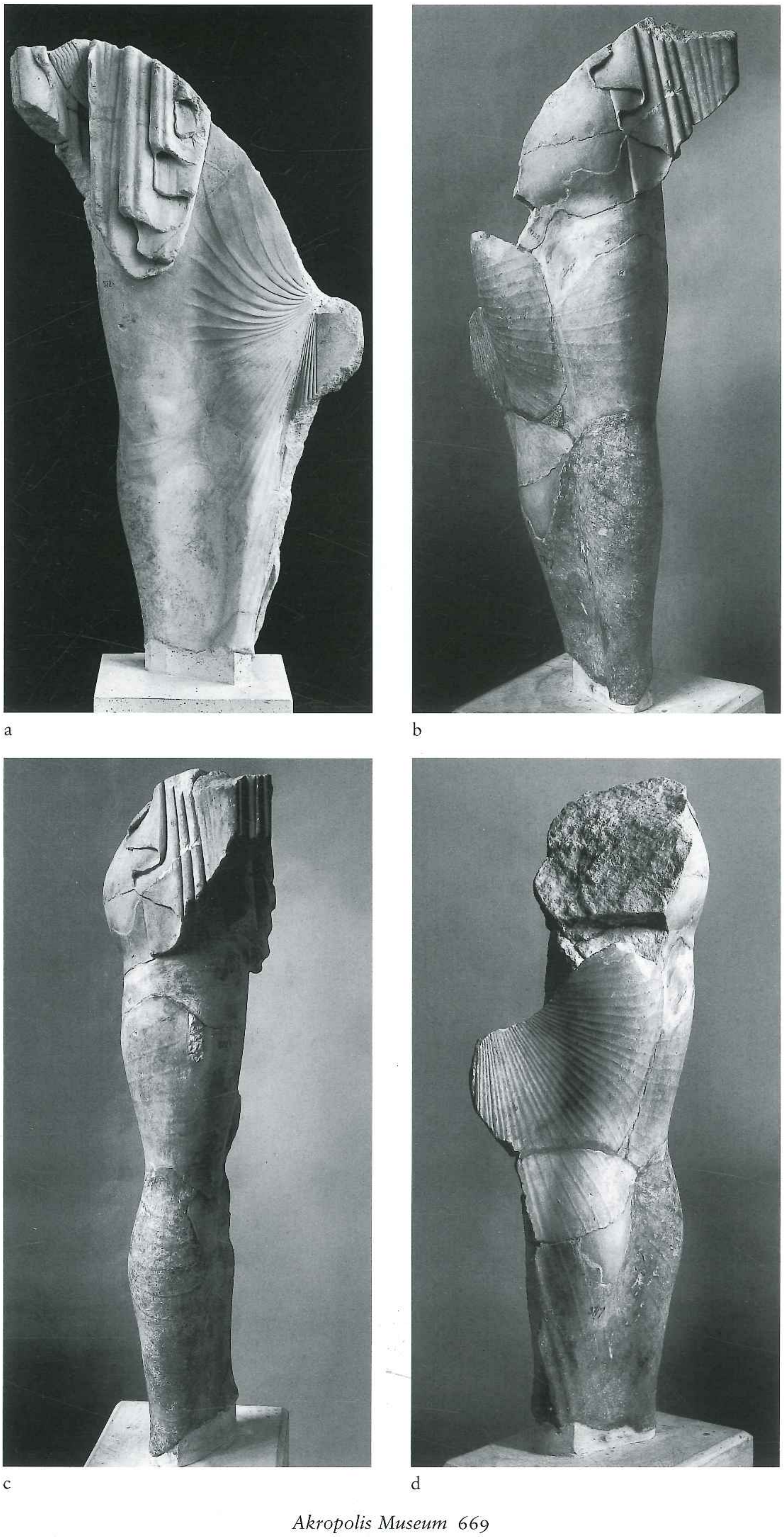
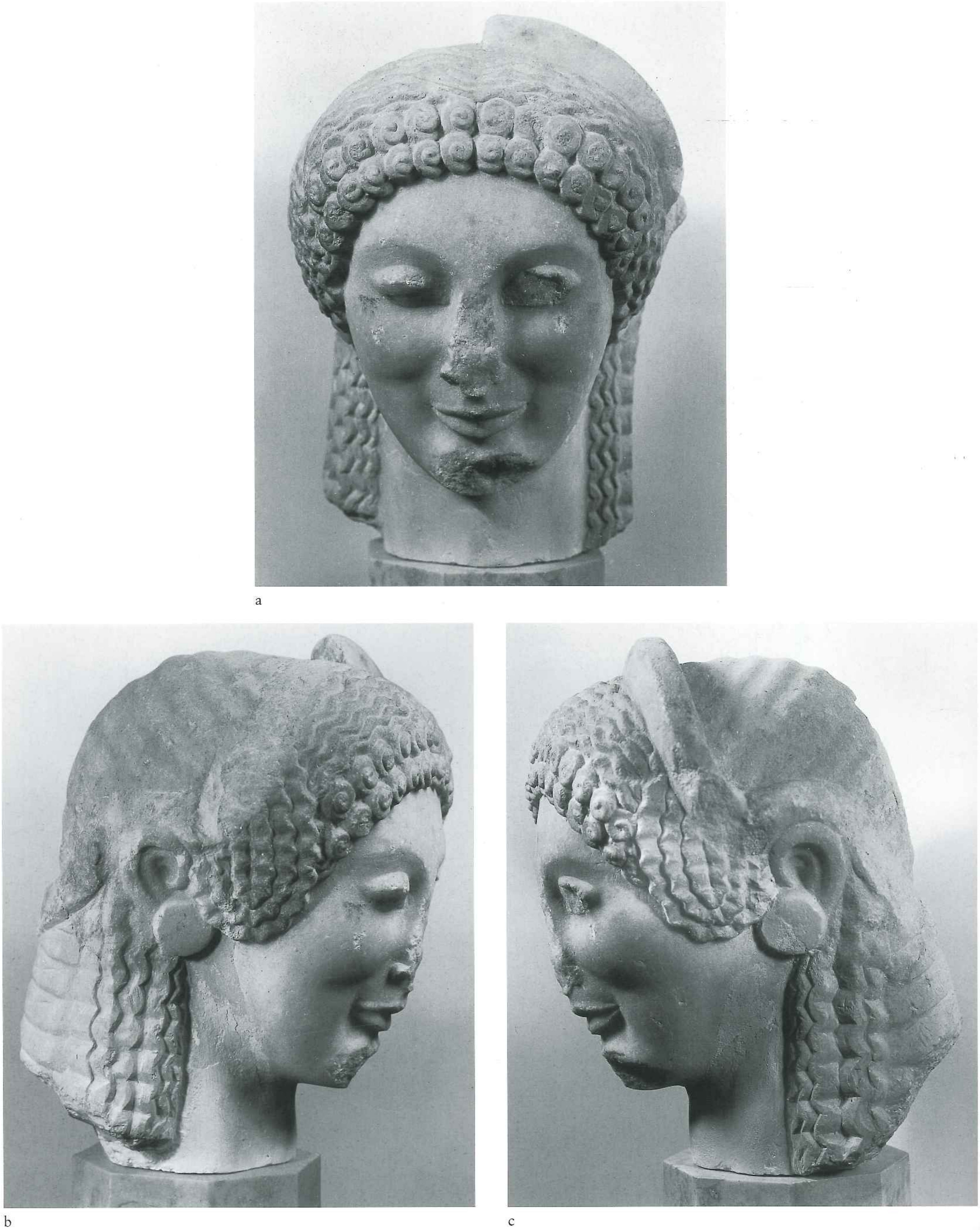
Akropolis Museum 669



a b c d

Akropolis Museum 669

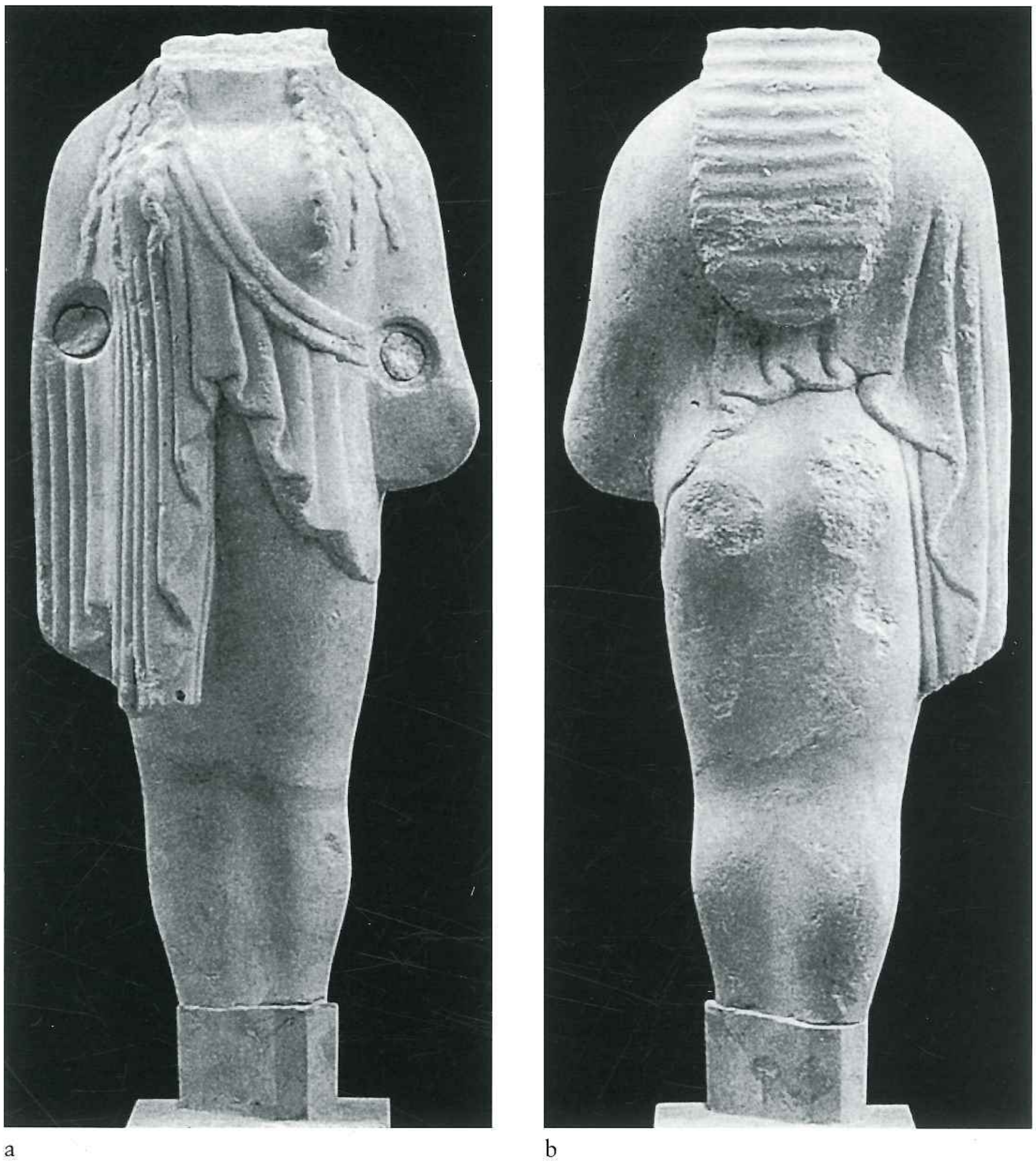


a

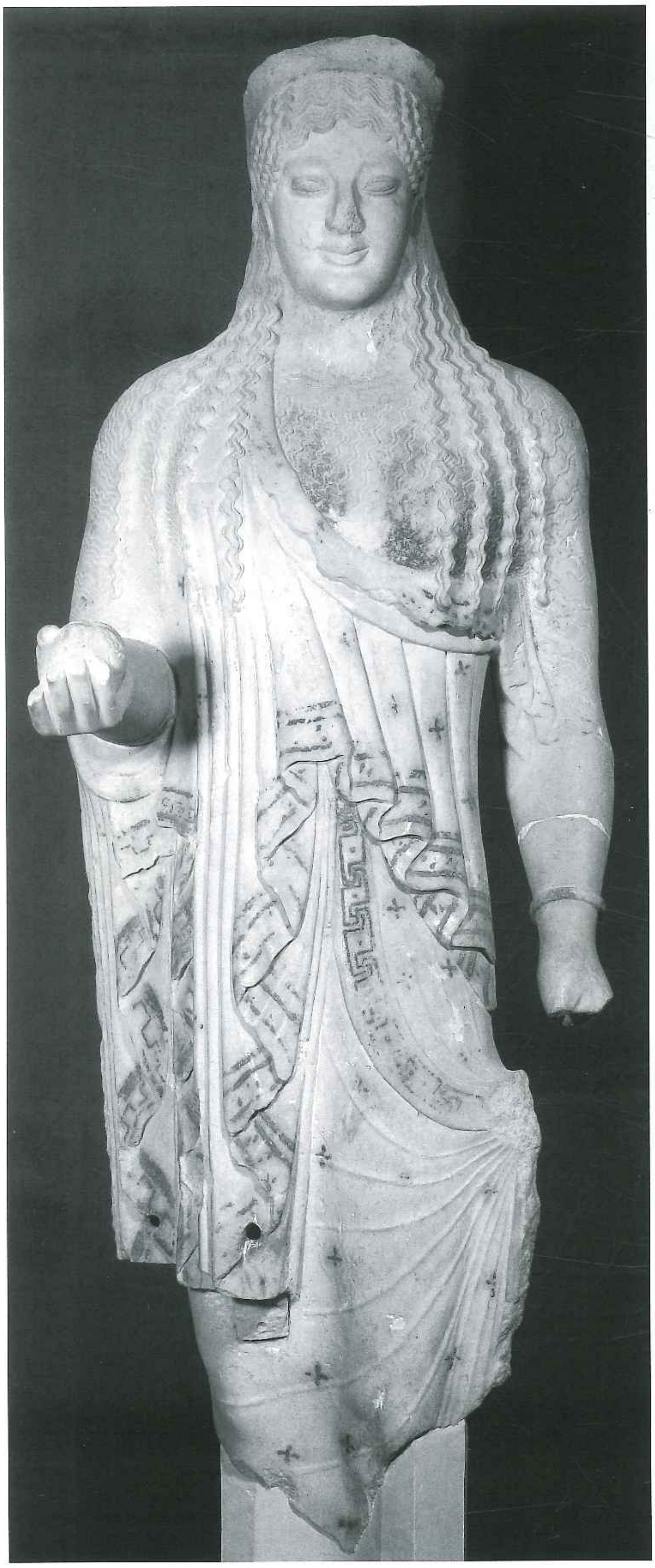
b

c

Akropolis Museum 660



Akropolis Museum 614



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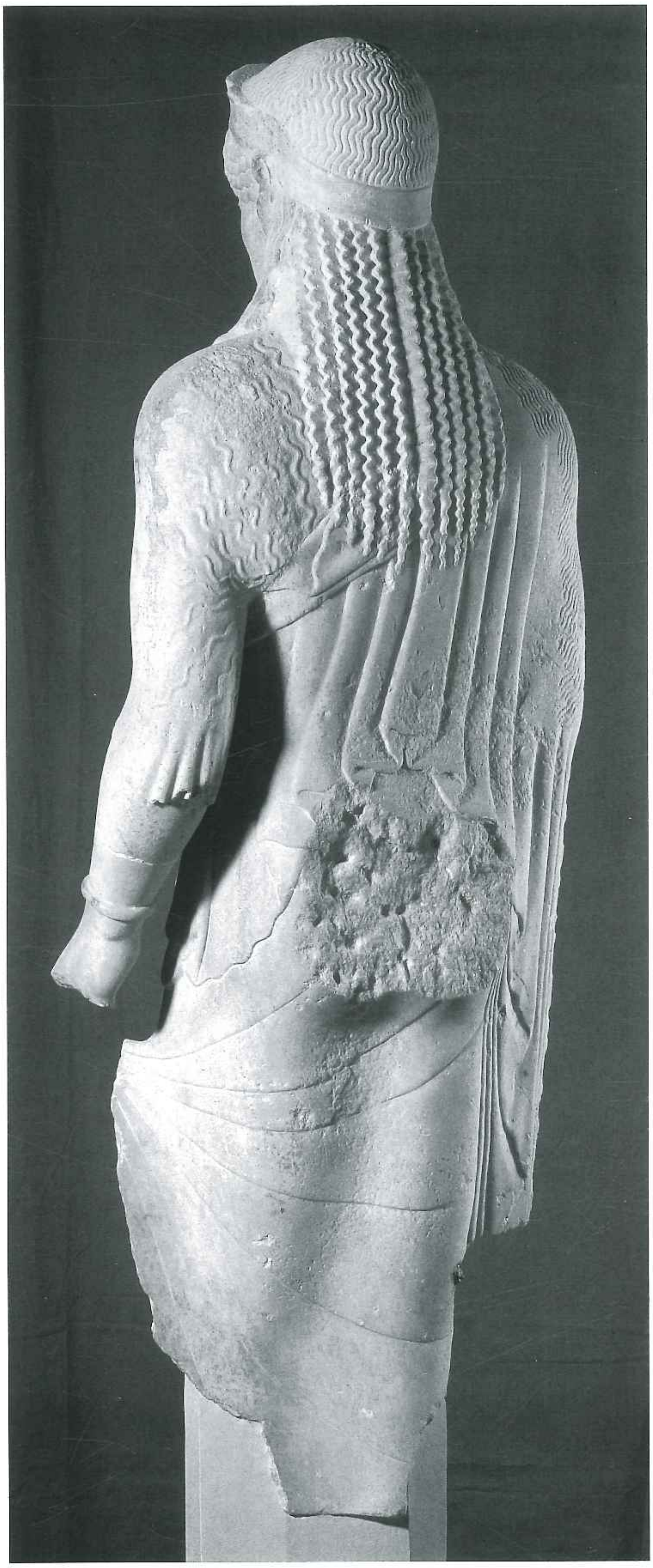
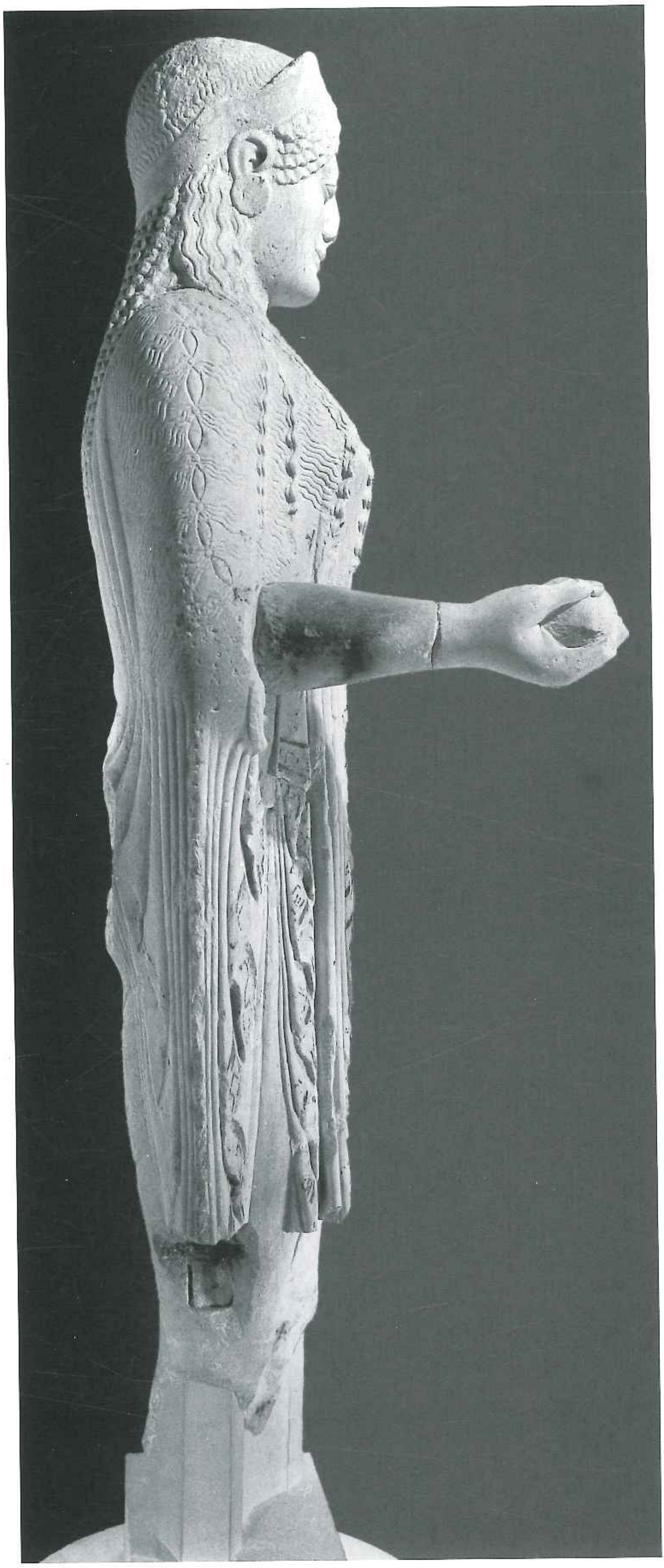


b

Akropolis Museum 680



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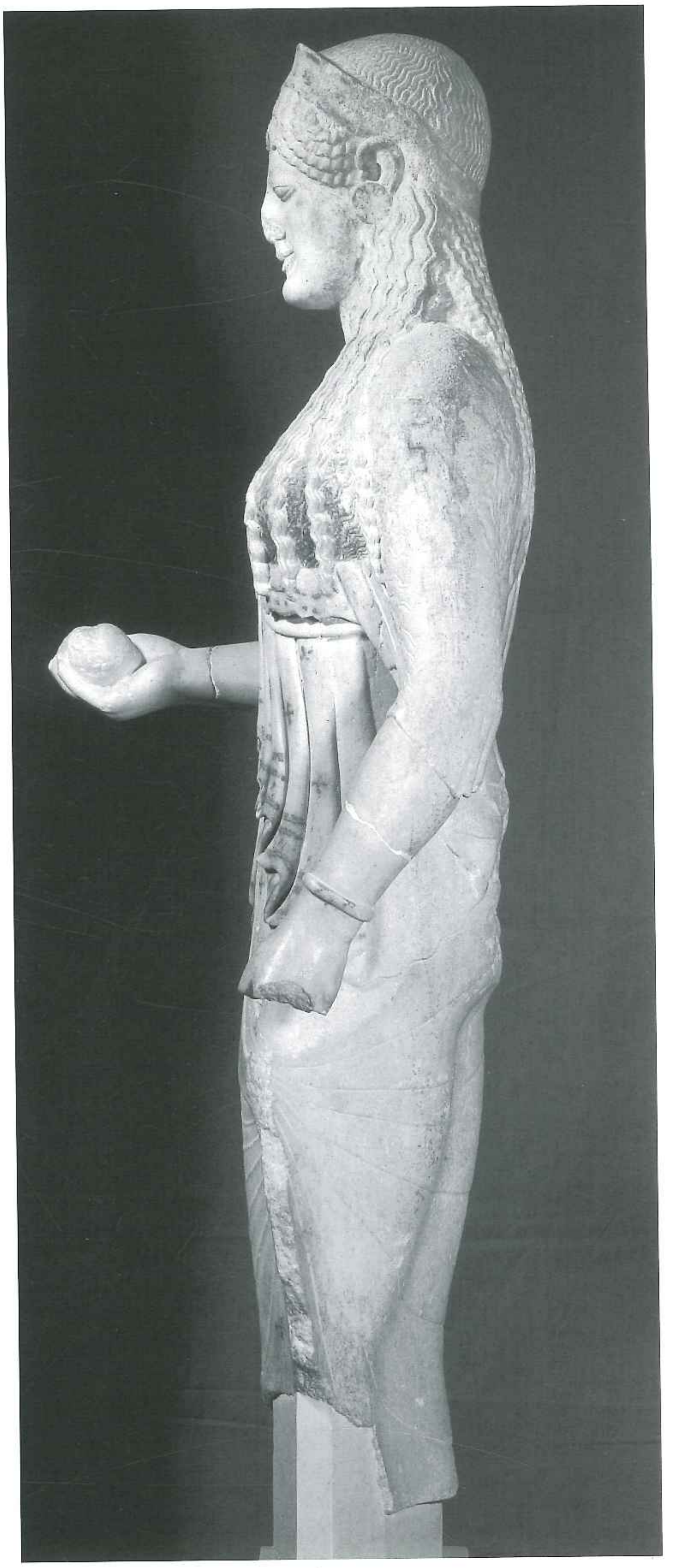

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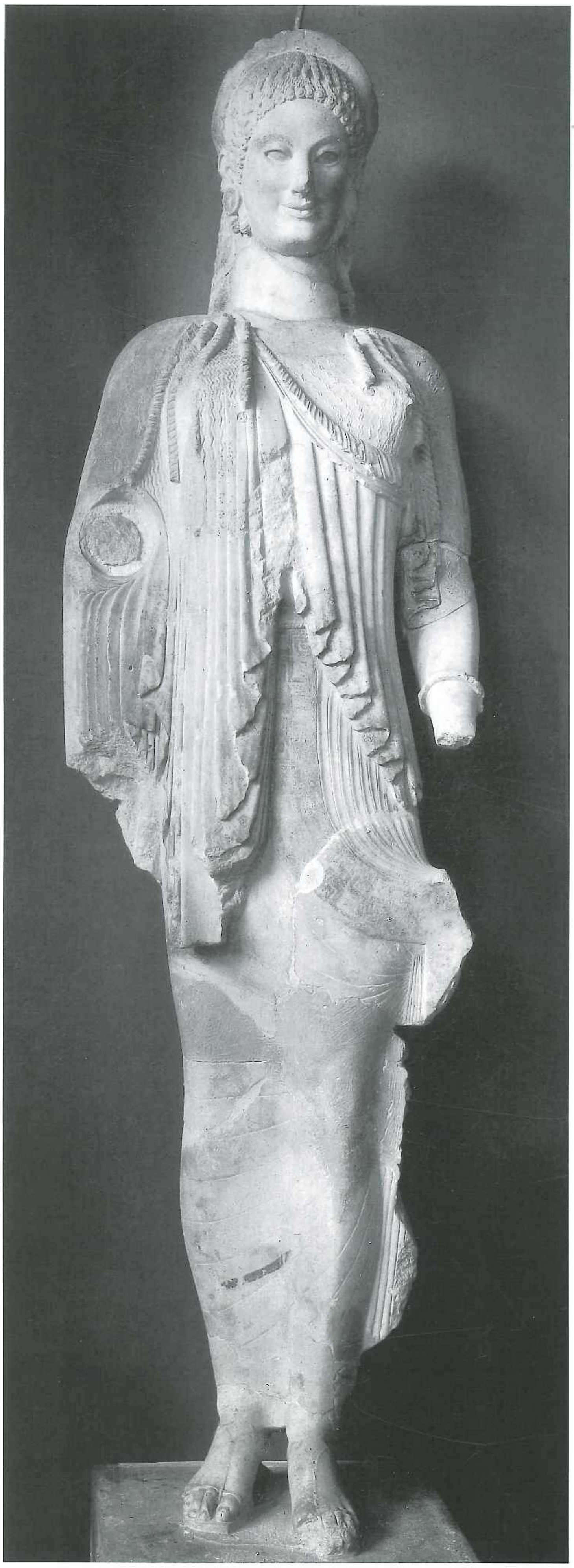
Akropolis Museum 680



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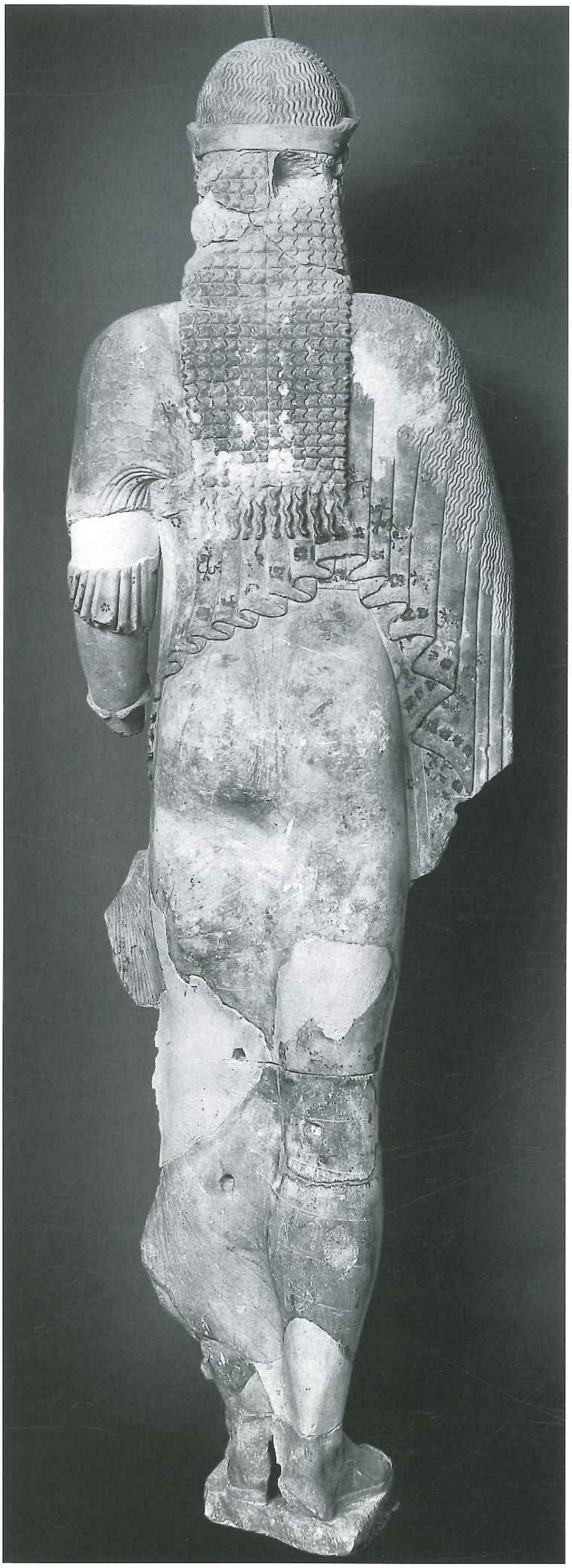
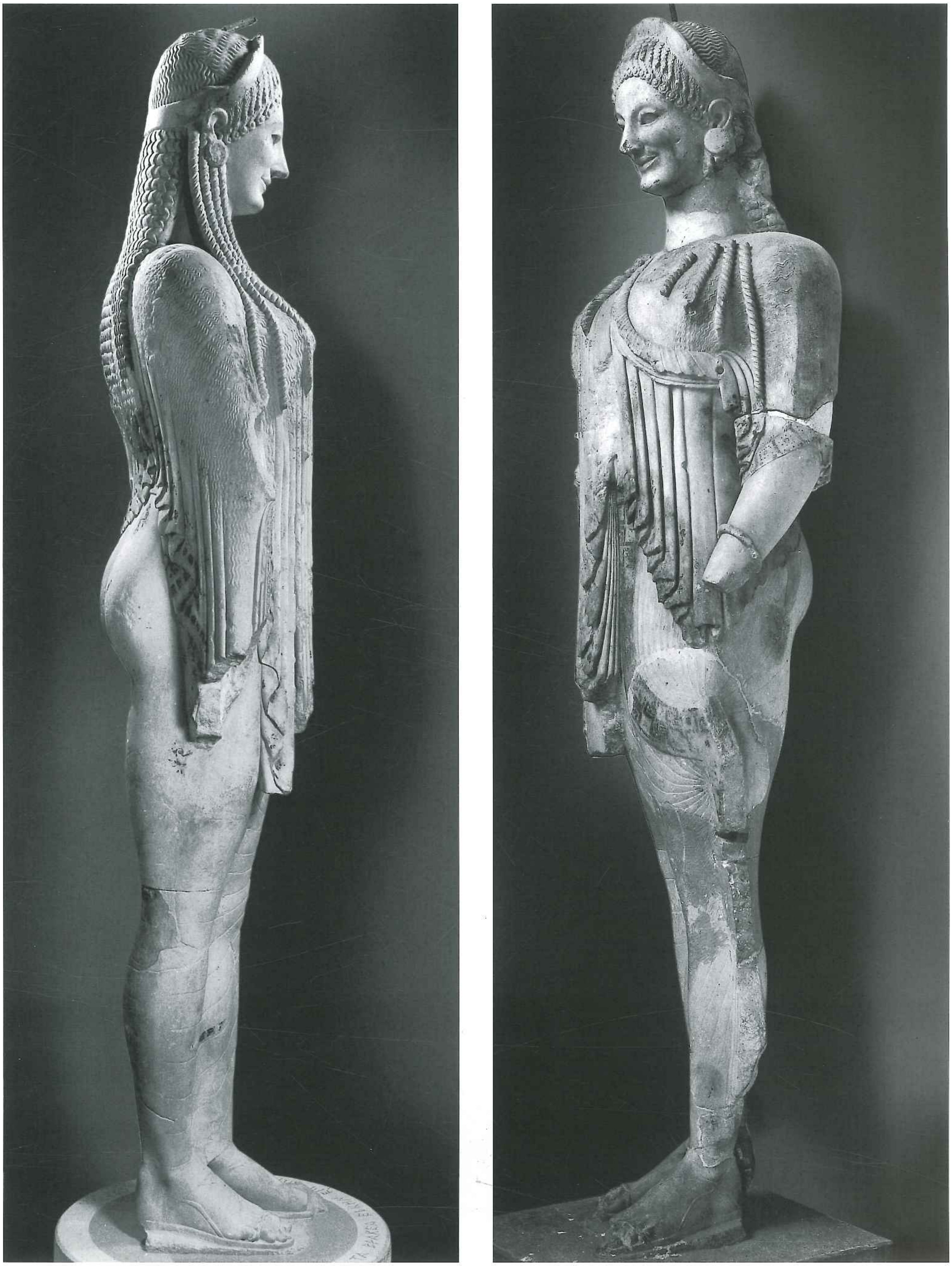
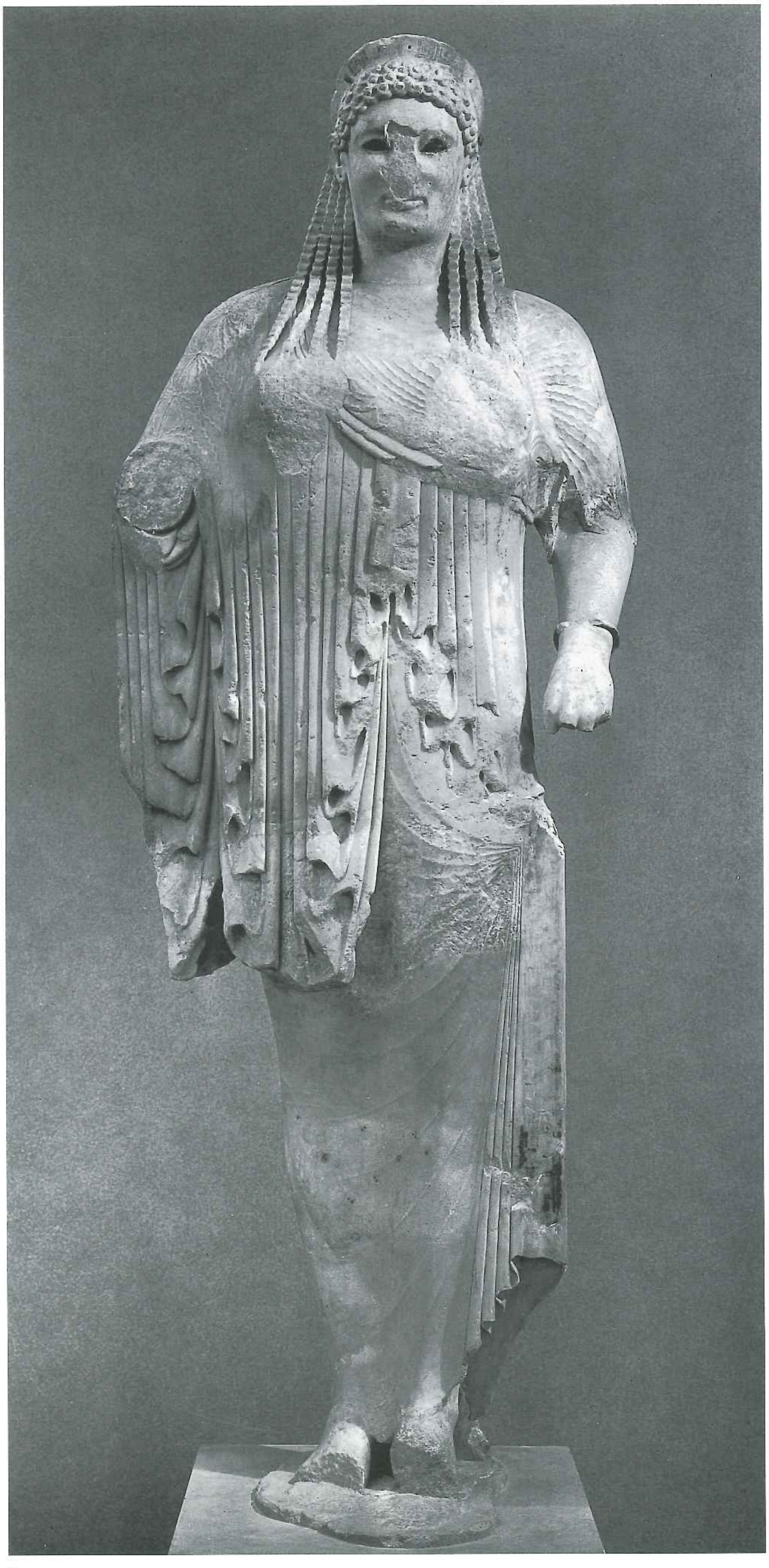


b

Akropolis Museum 682


c d

Akropolis Museum 682



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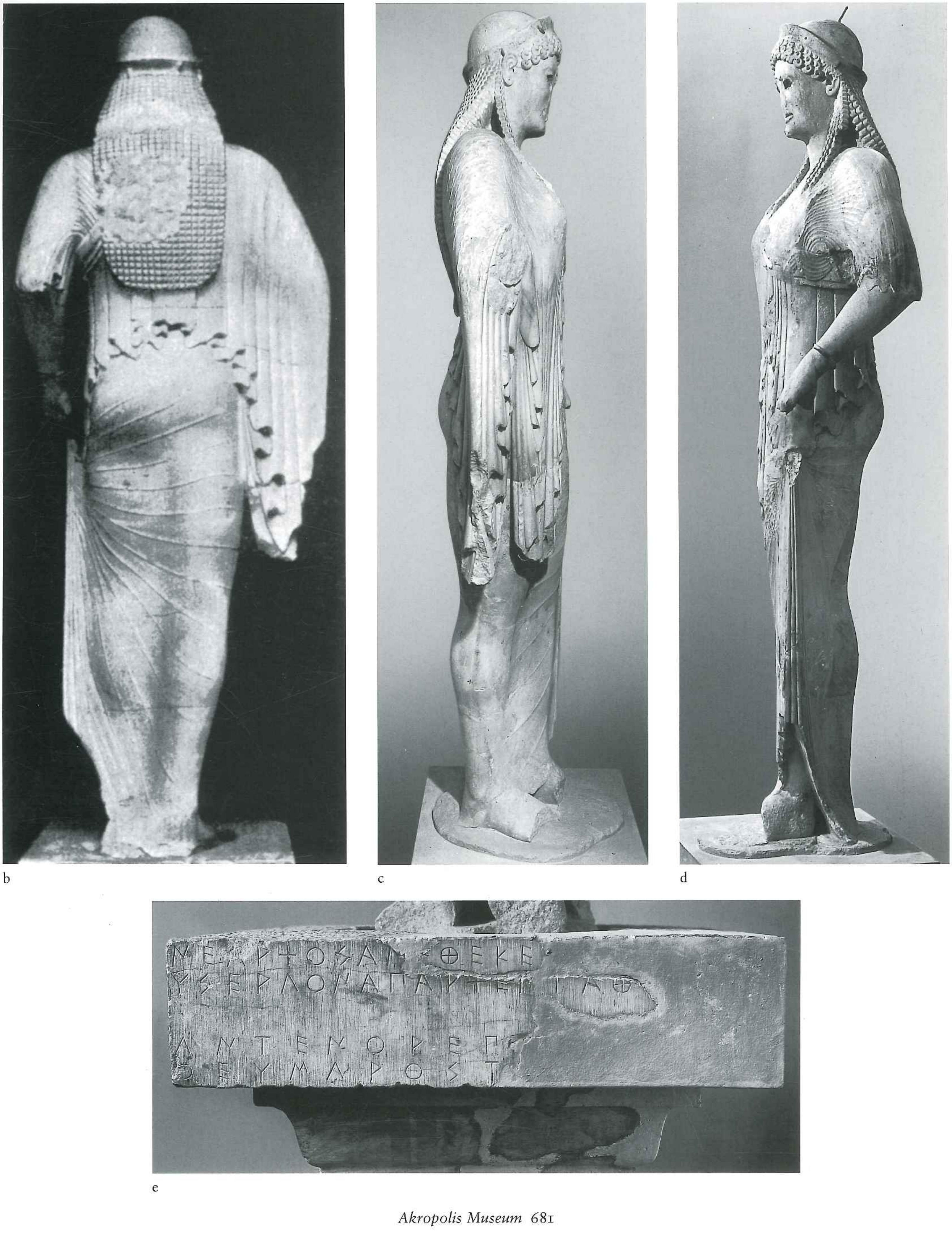
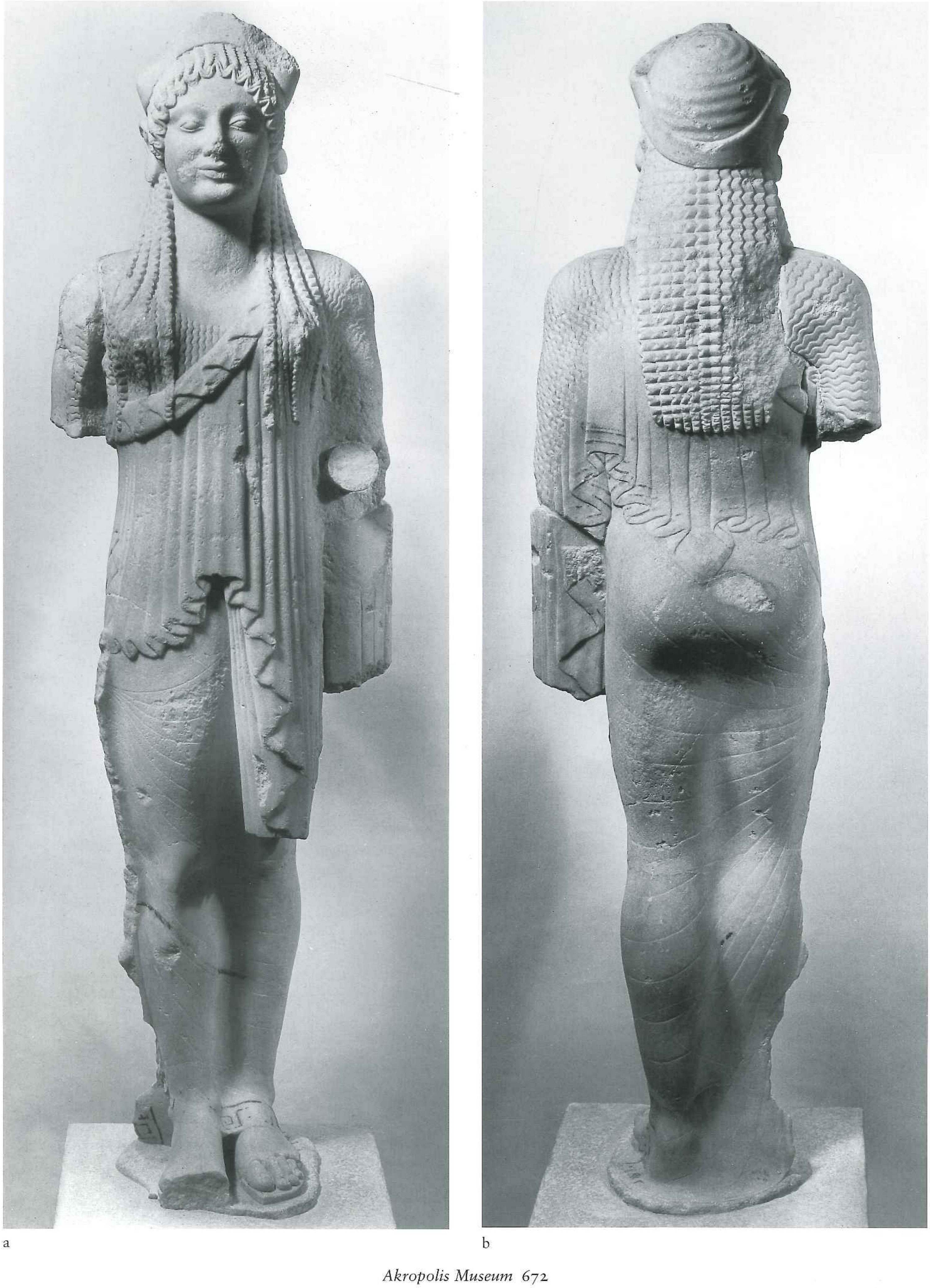
Akropolis Museum 681

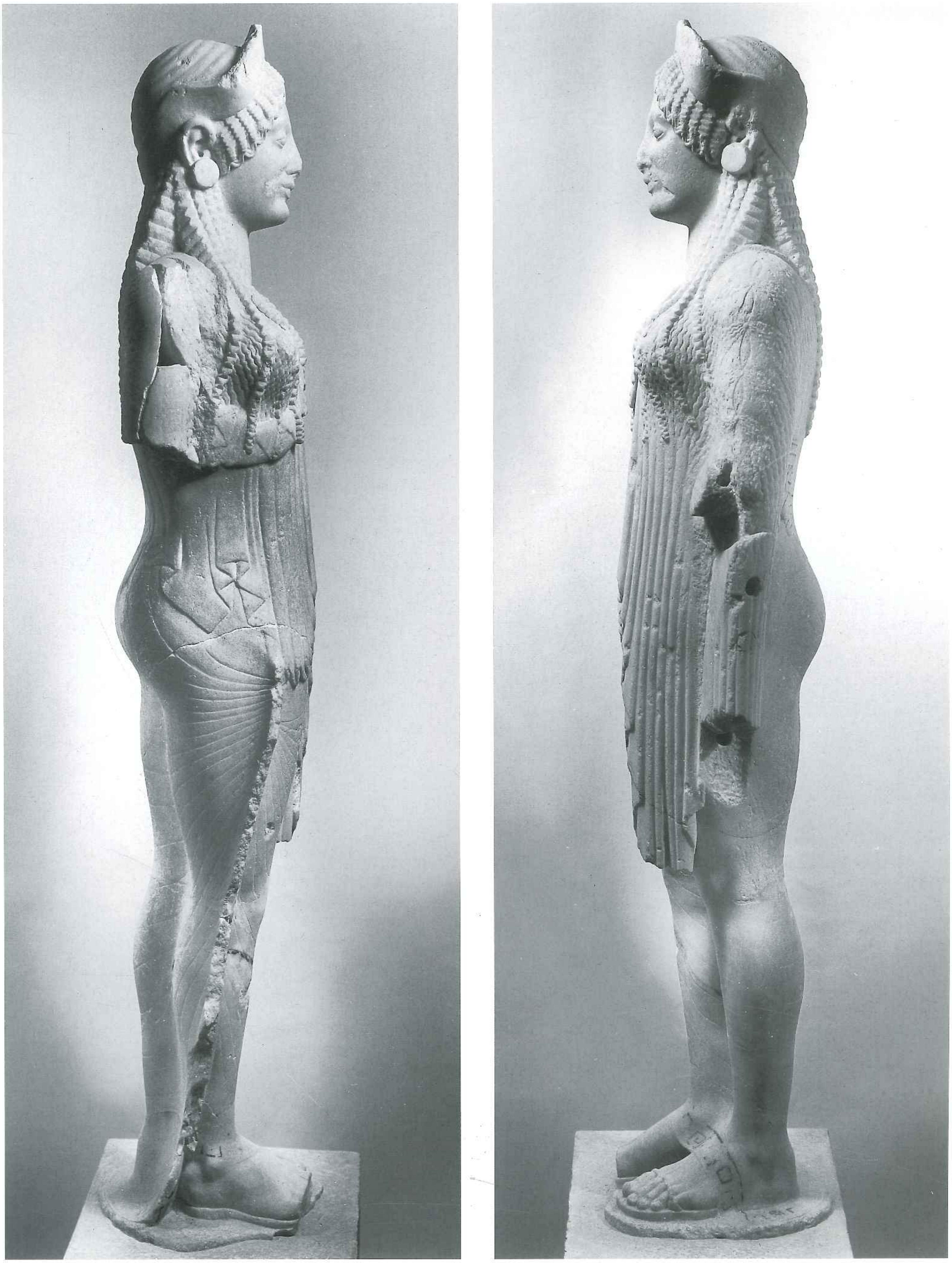


Akropolis Museum 681



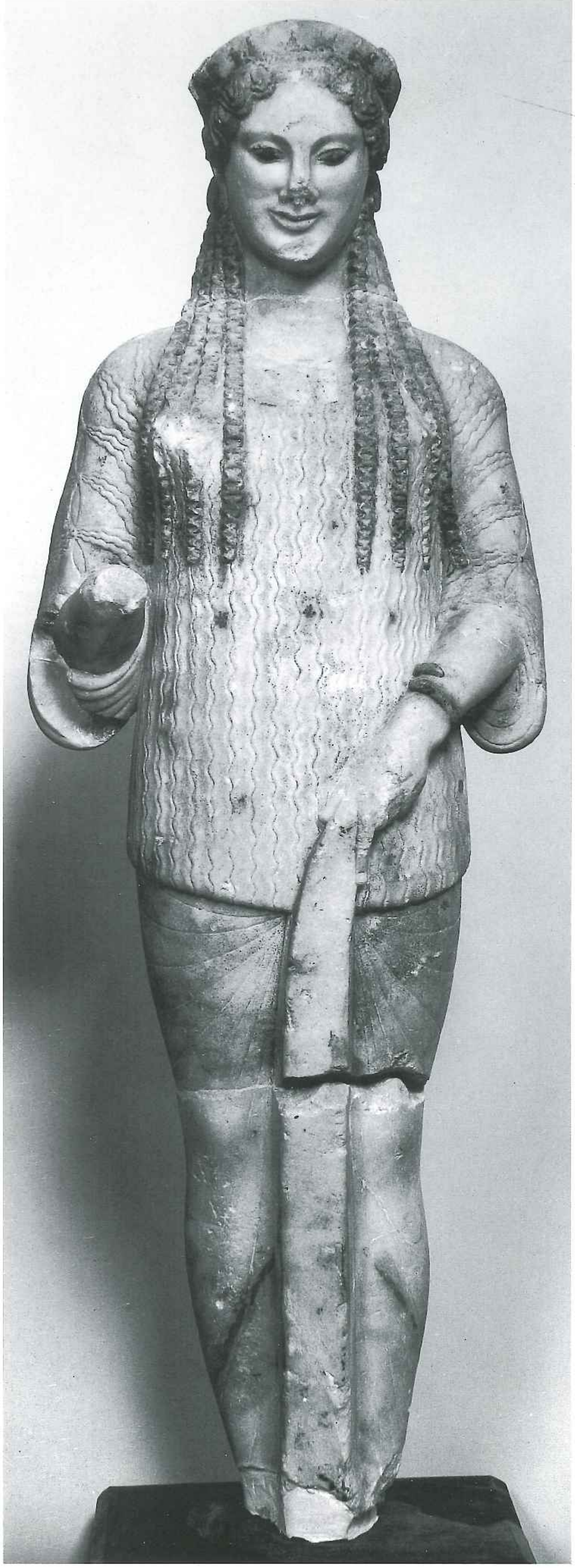
a b

Akropolis Museum 672



c d

Akropolis Museum 672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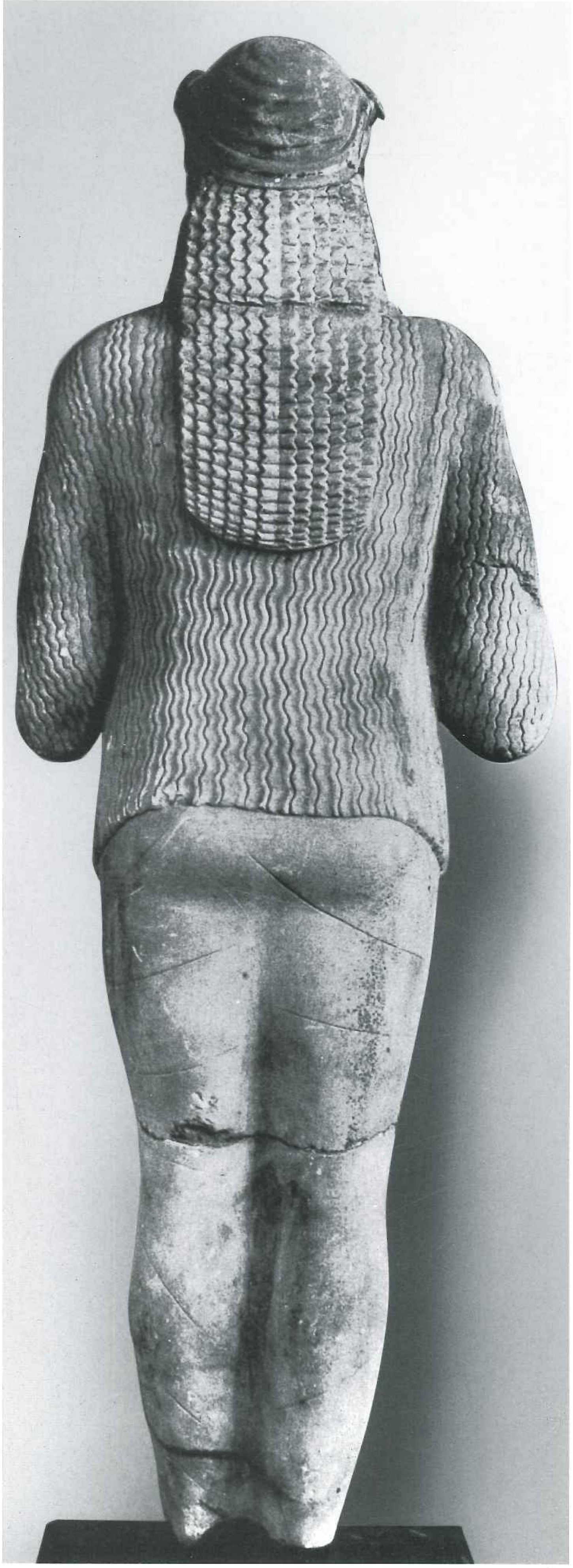
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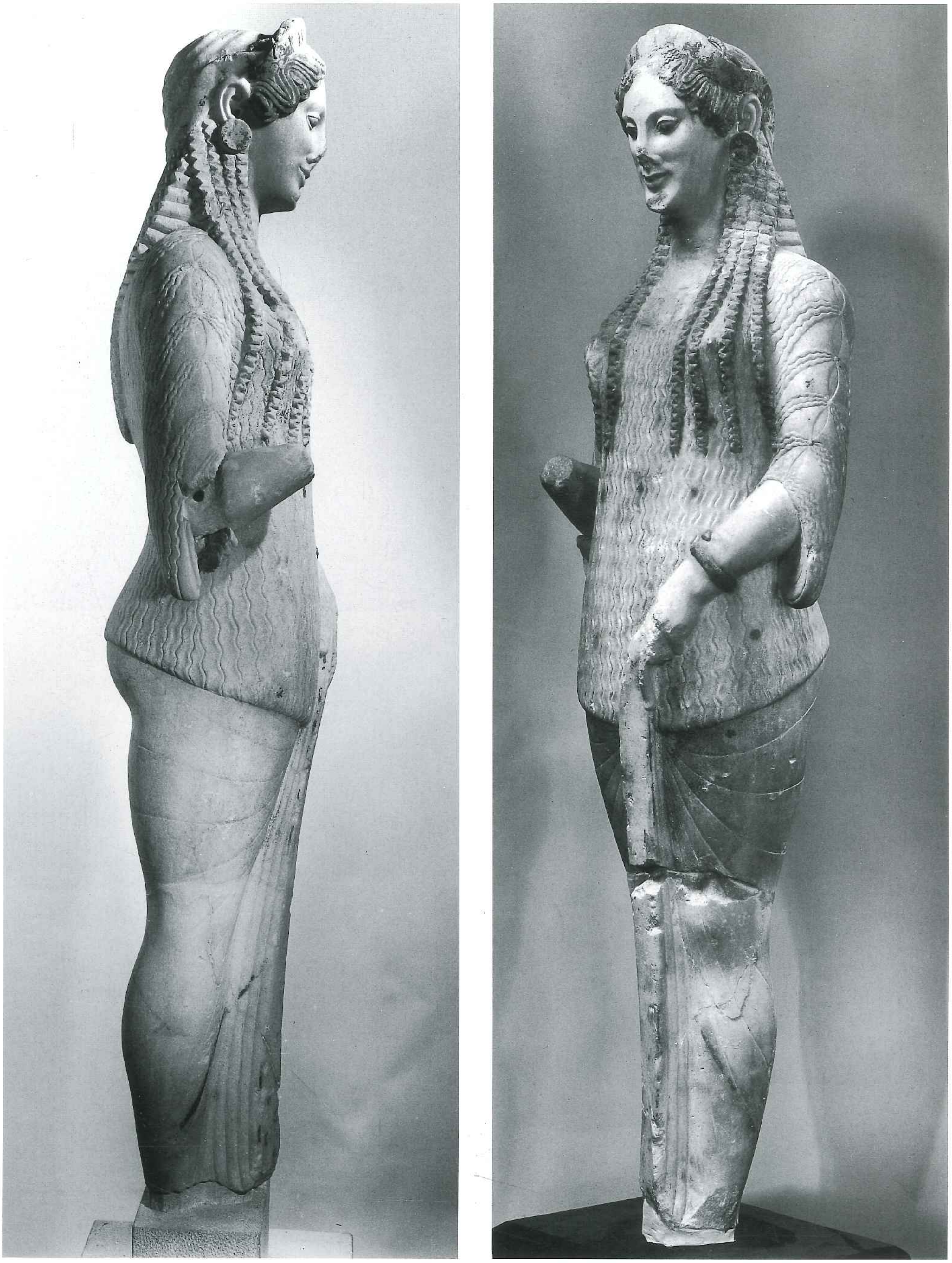
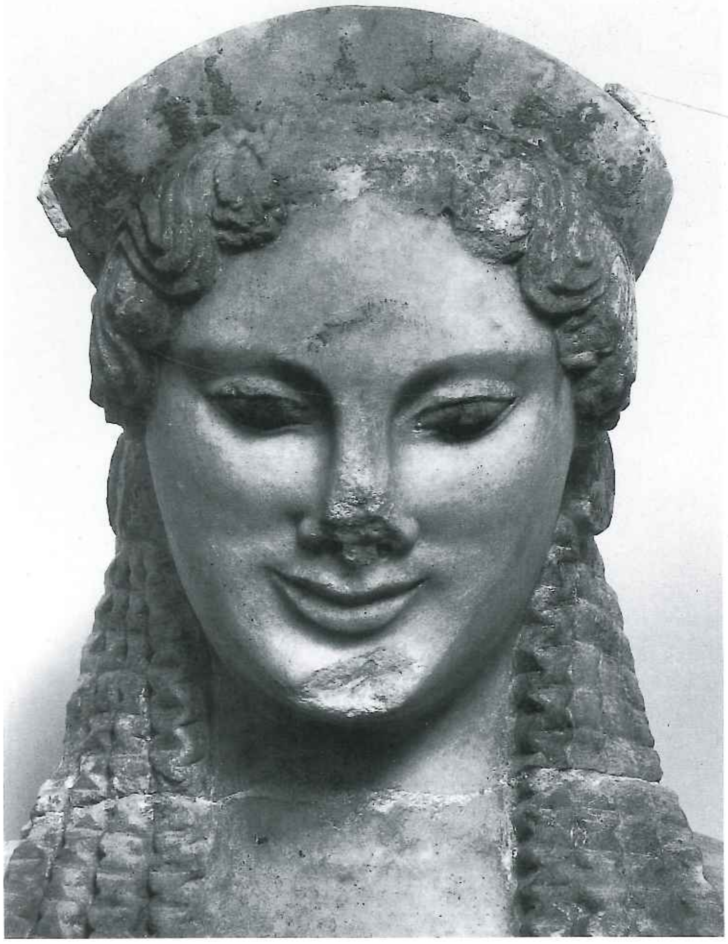
Akropolis Museum 670



Akropolis Museum 670



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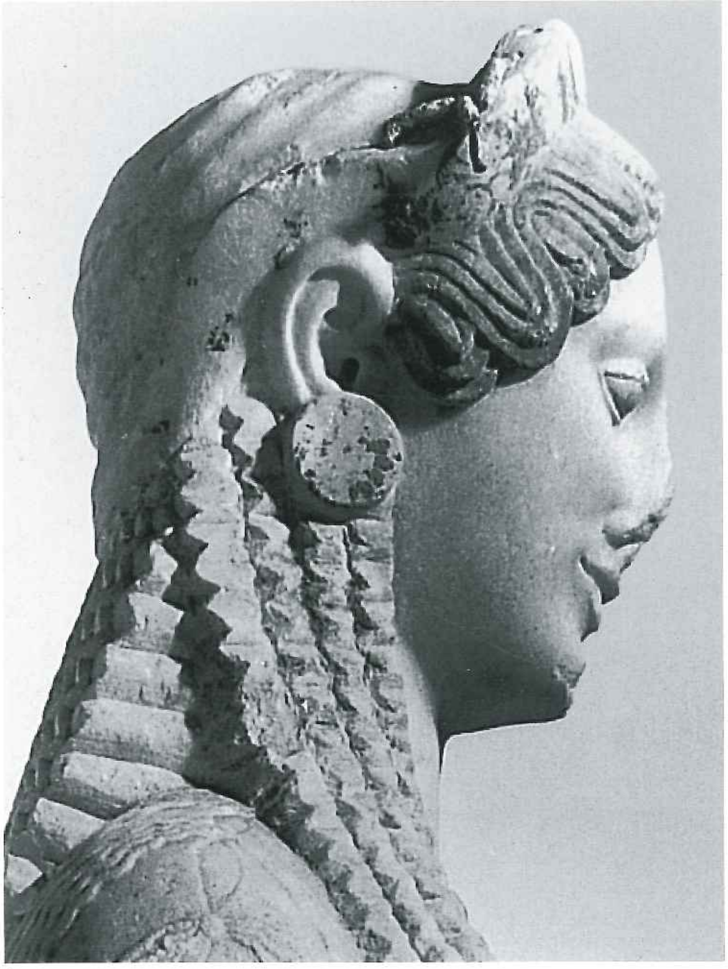

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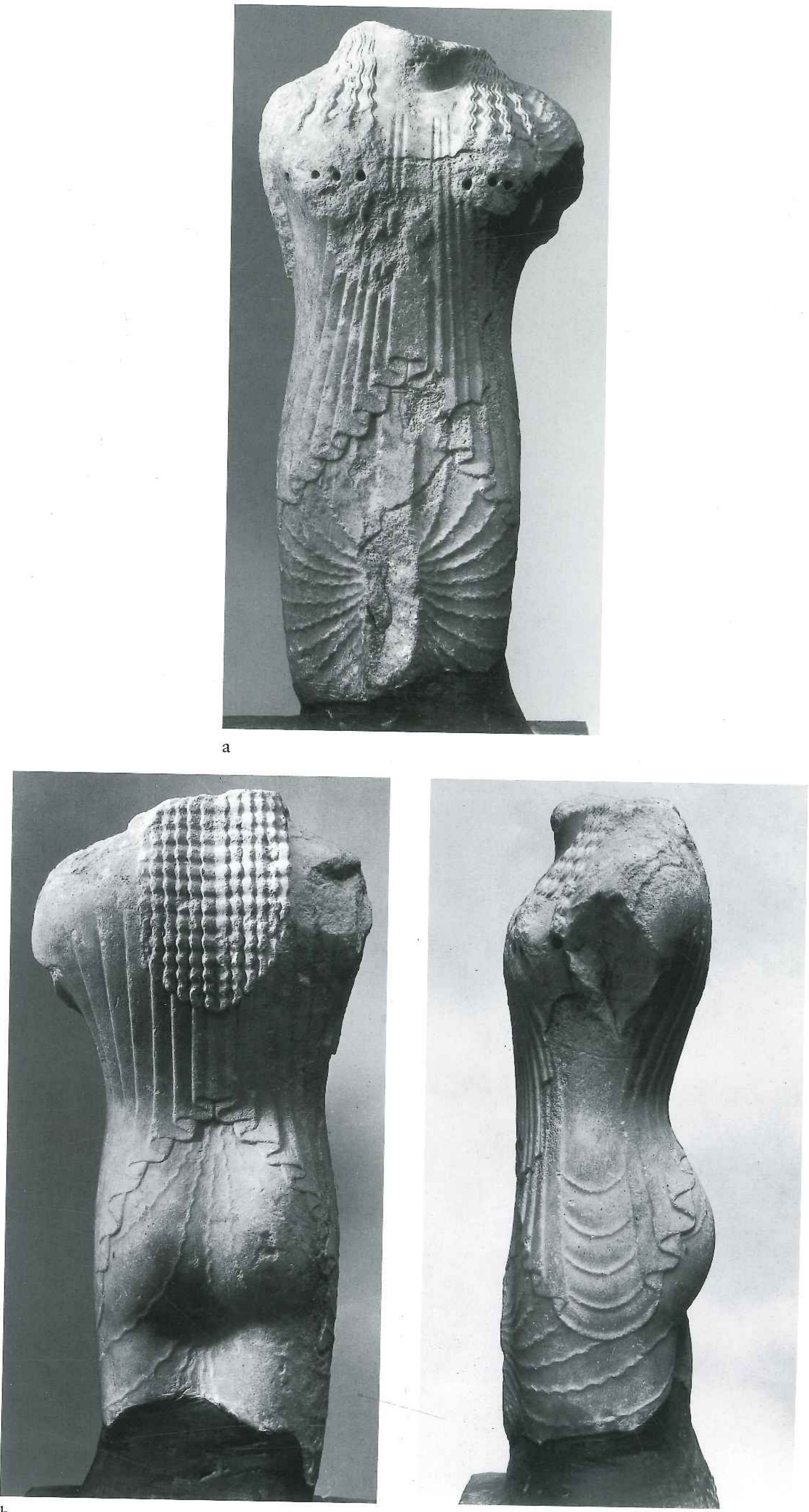
Akropolis Museum 670

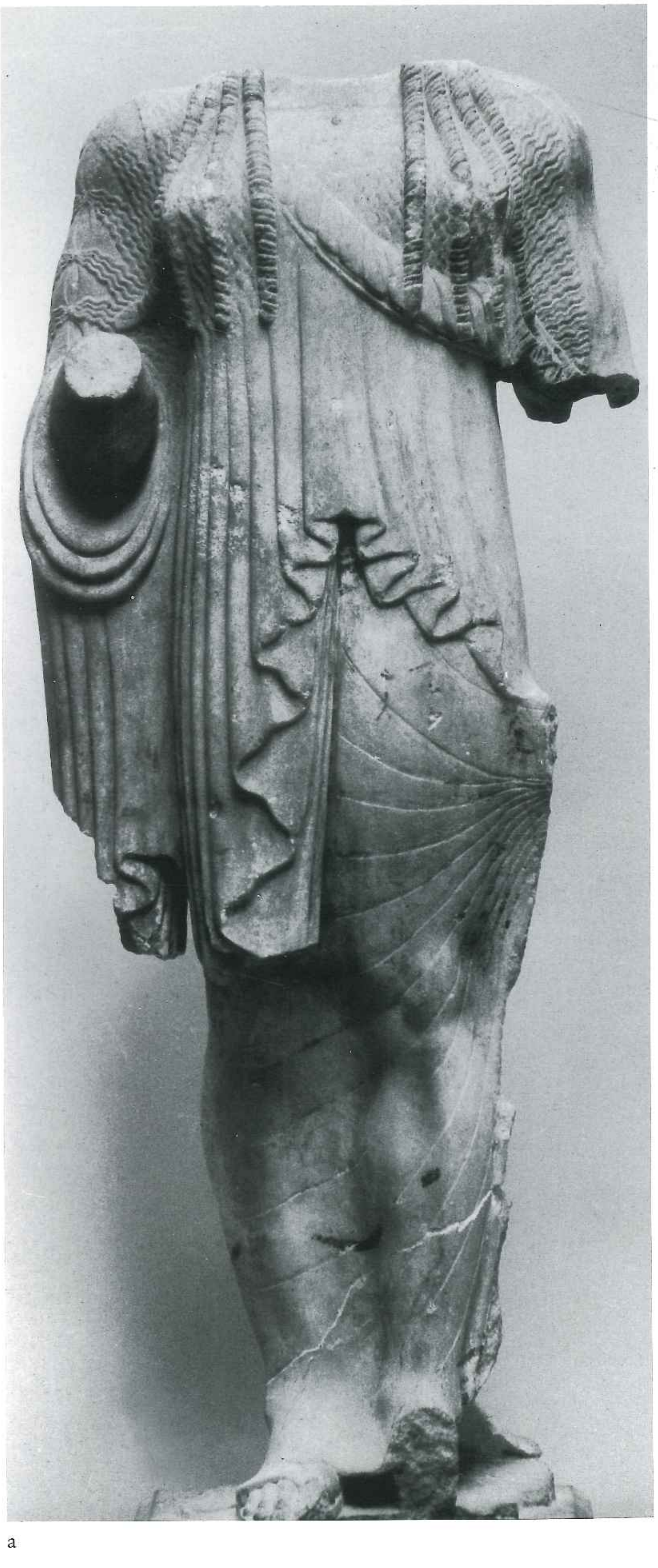


a

b

c

Akropolis Museum 611



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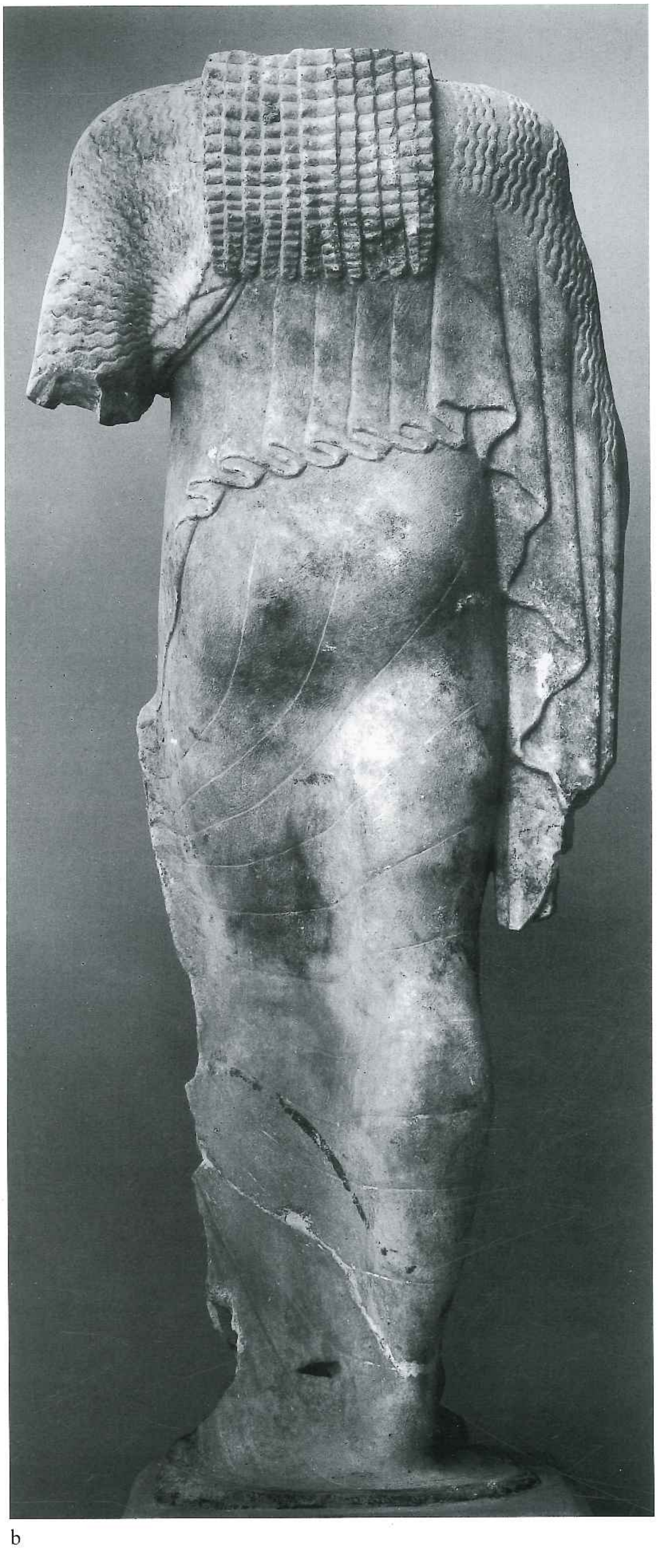

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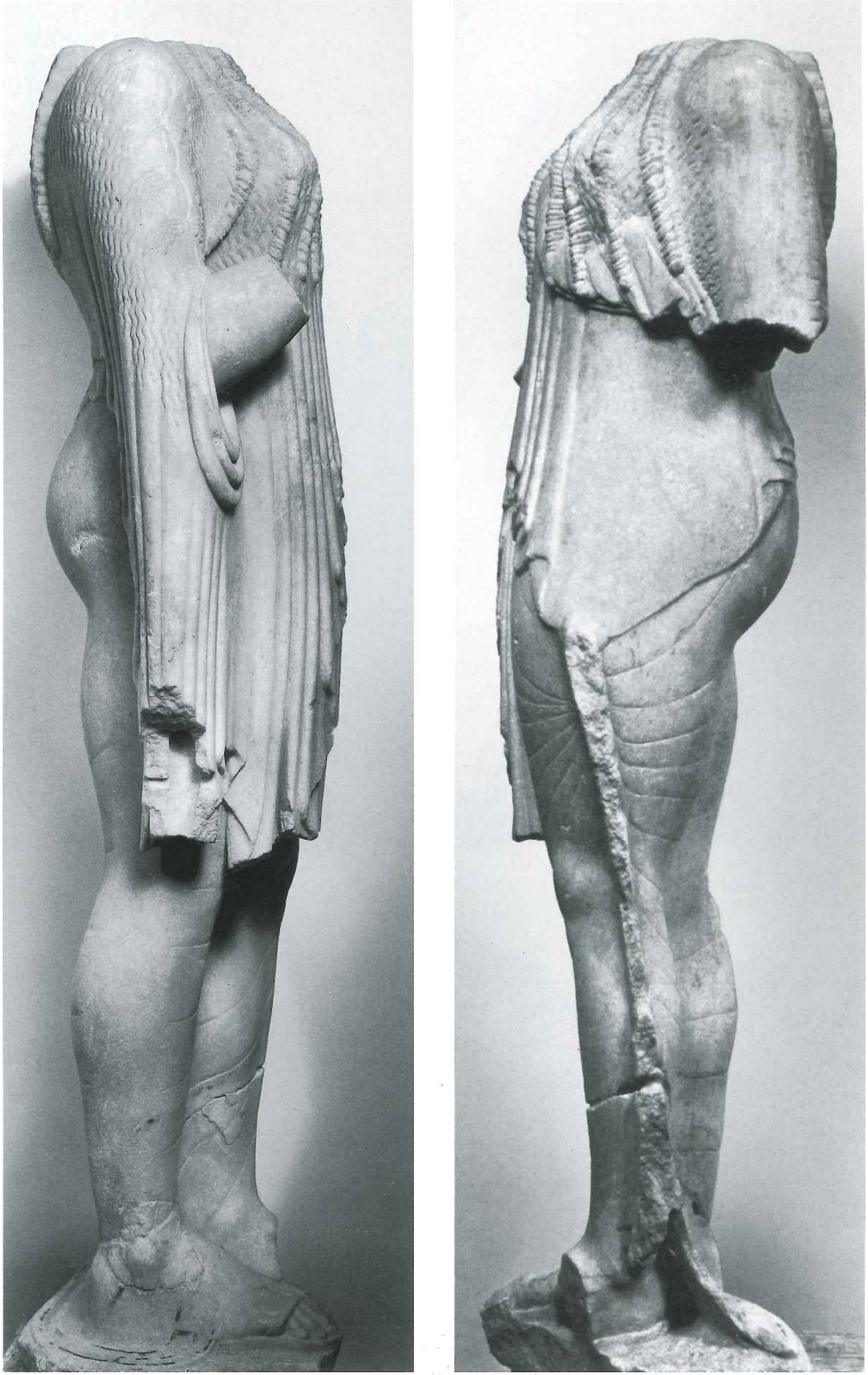
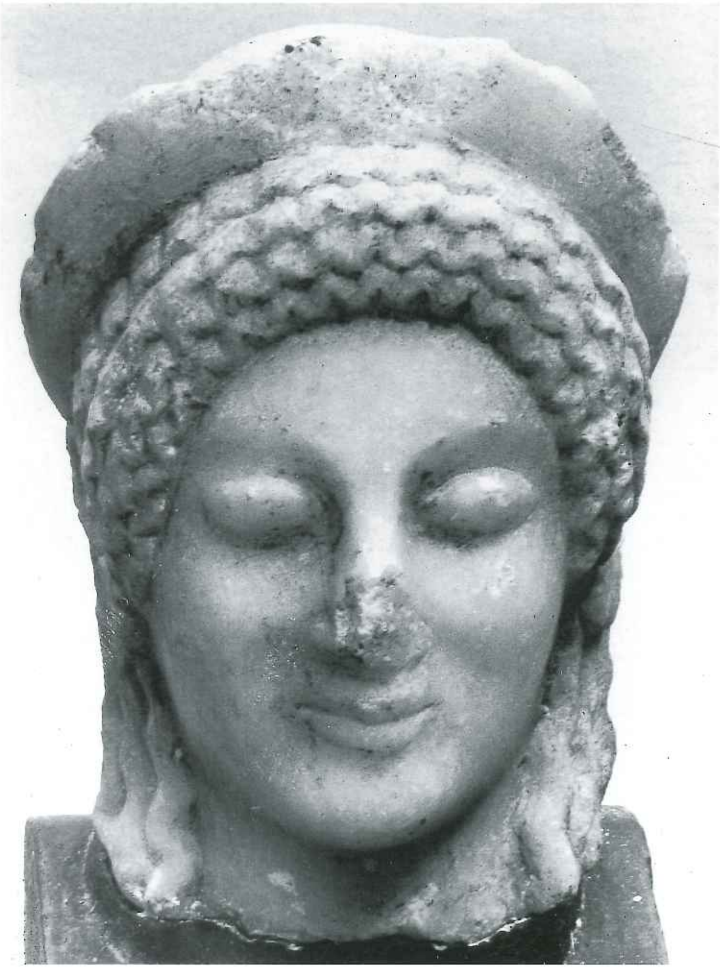
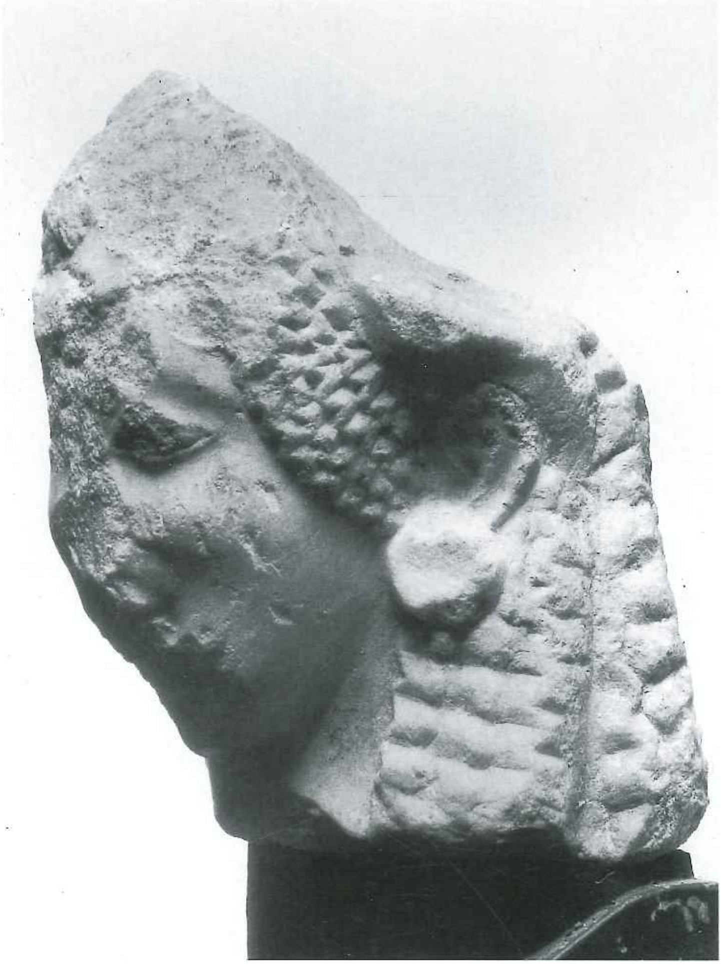
Akropolis Museum 598


c d

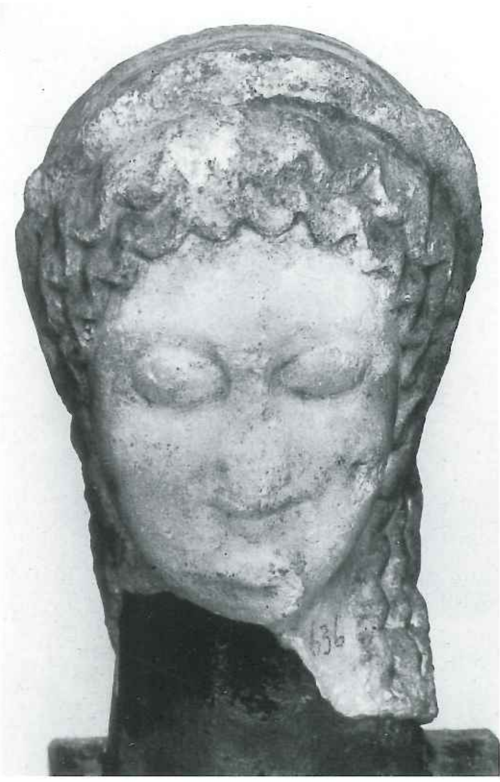
Akropolis Museum 598



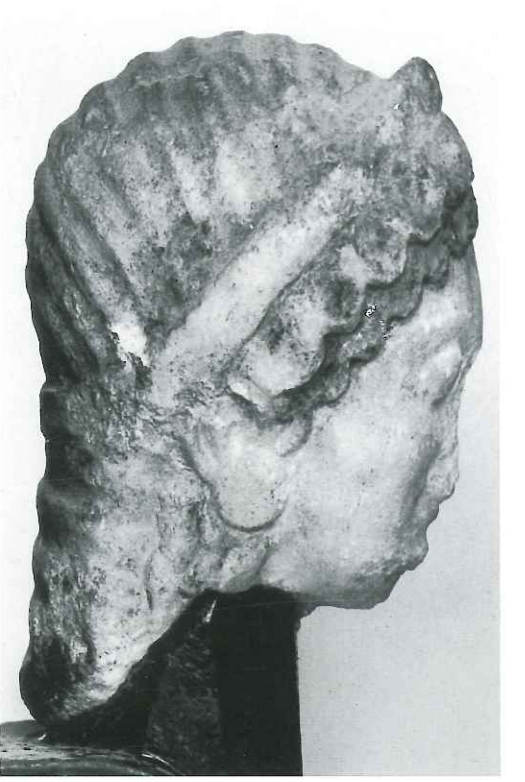
639



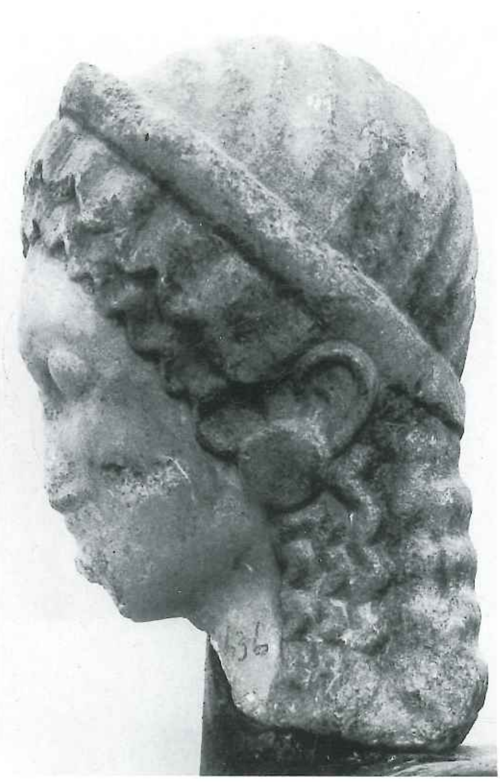
652



636 a

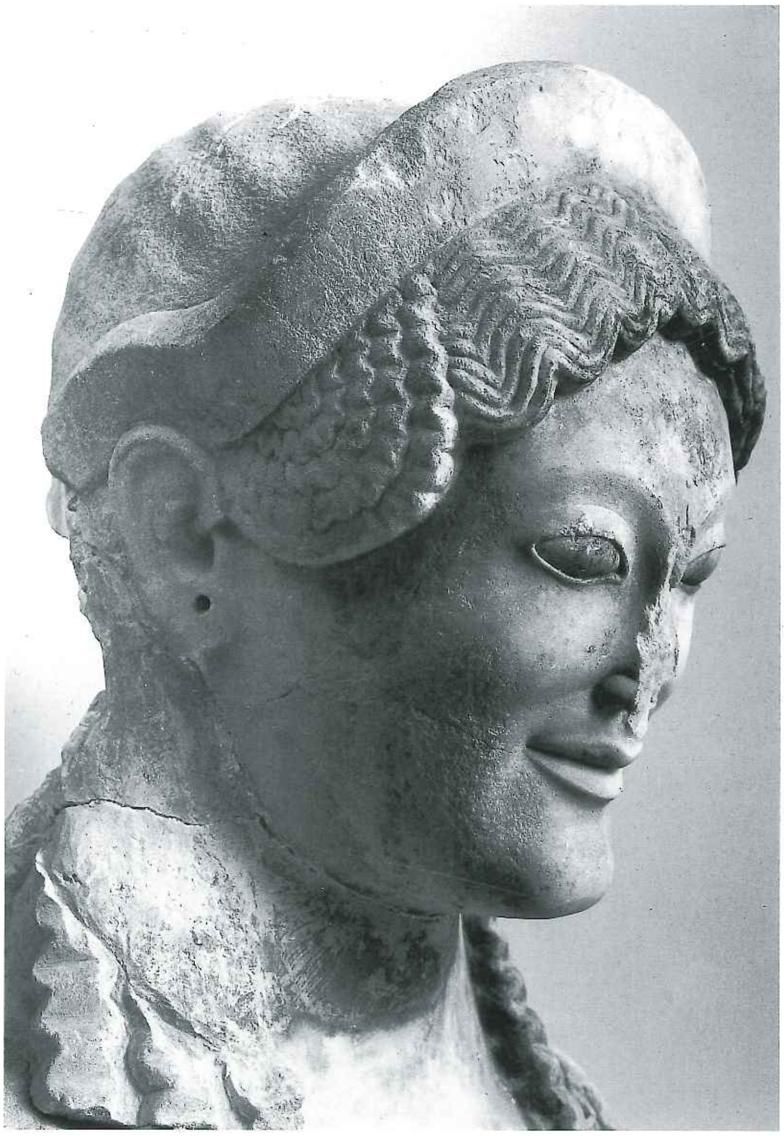


636 b



636 c

Akropolis Museum 639, 652, and 636



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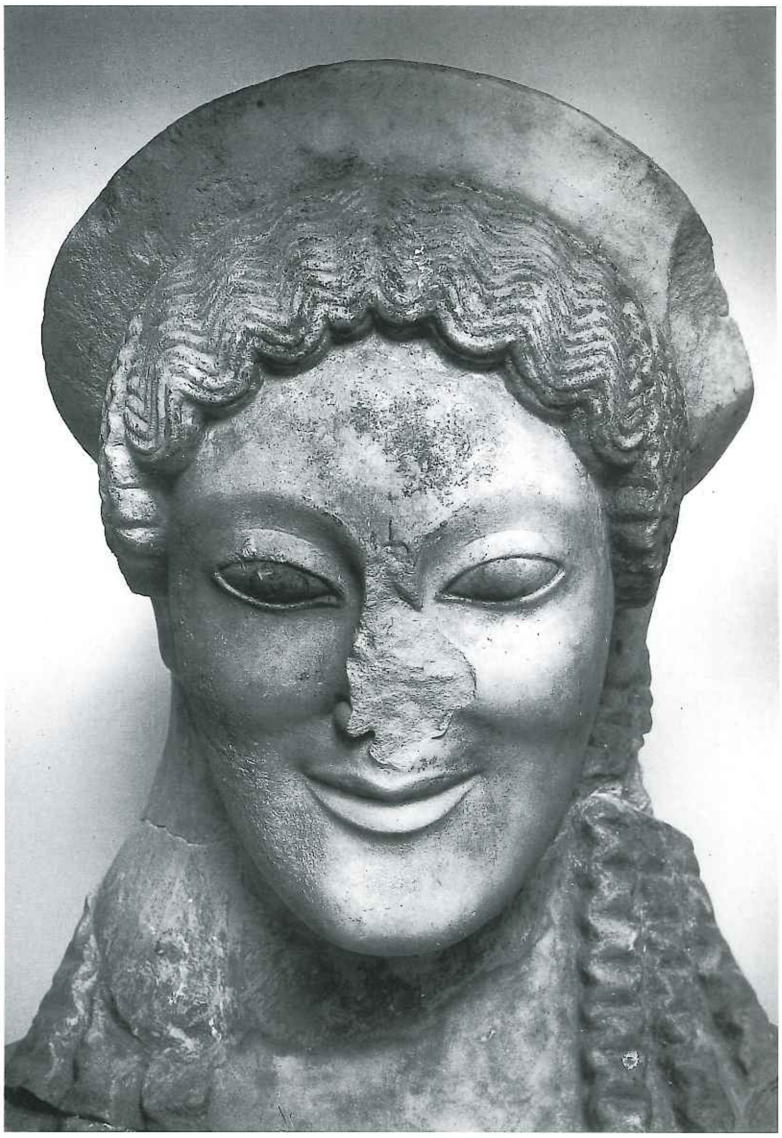
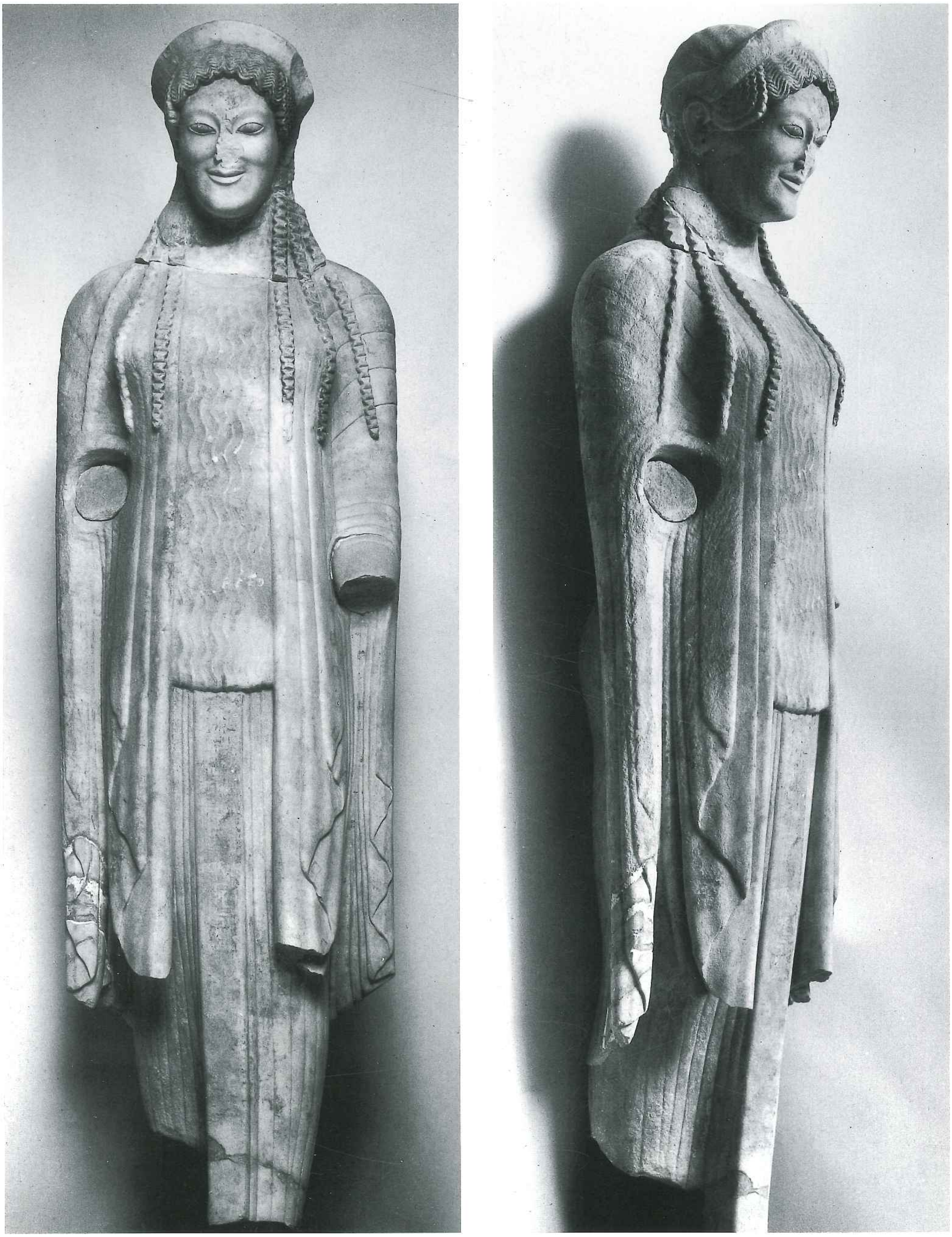


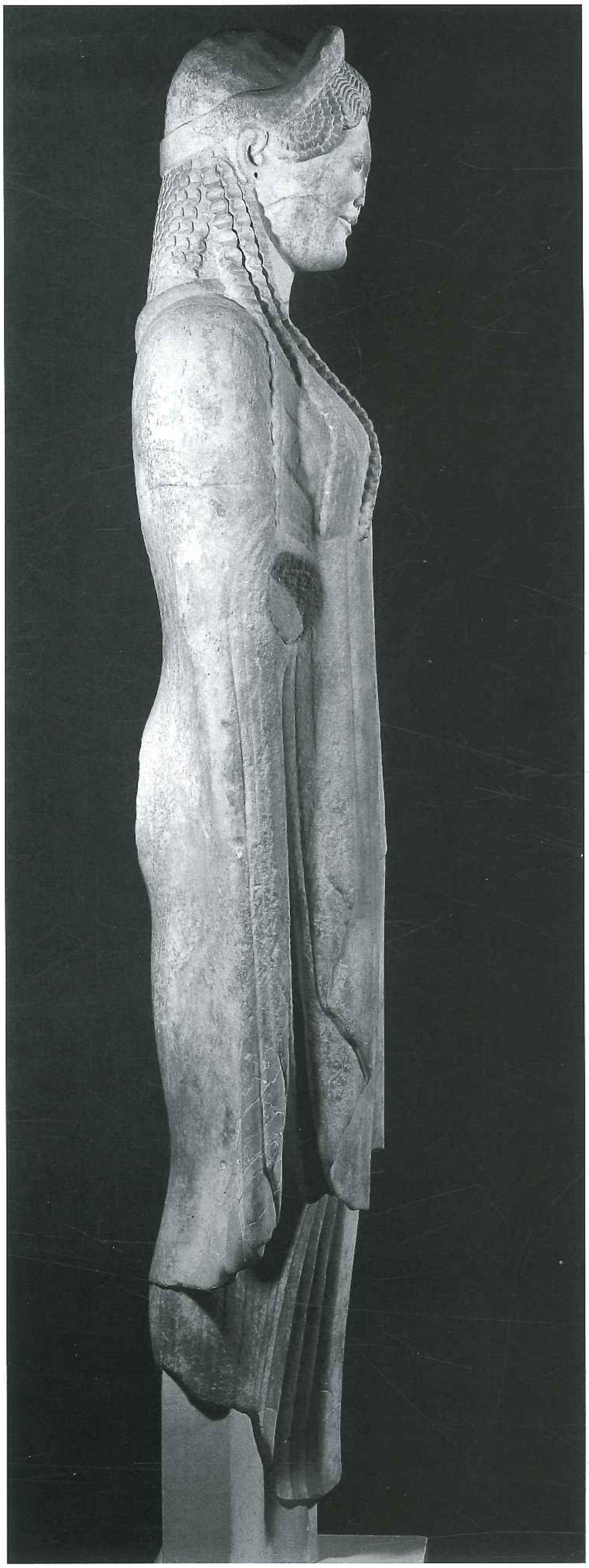
b

Akropolis Museum 671



c d

Akropolis Museum 671



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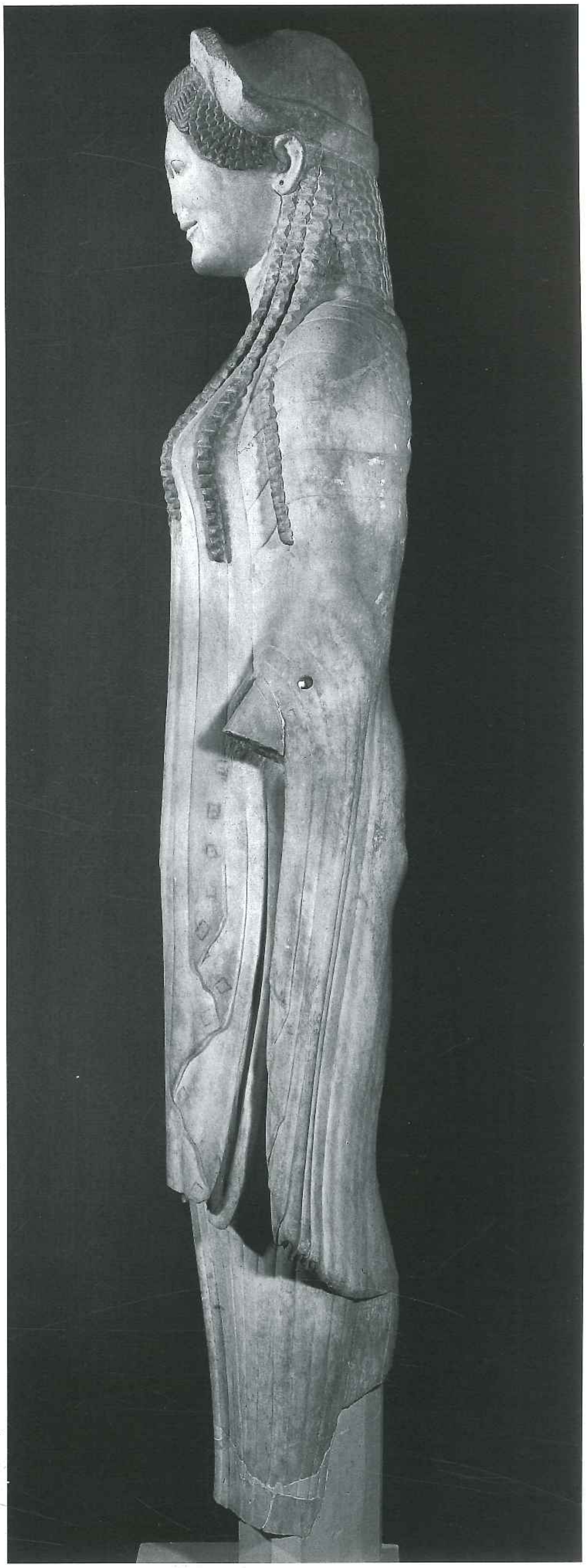

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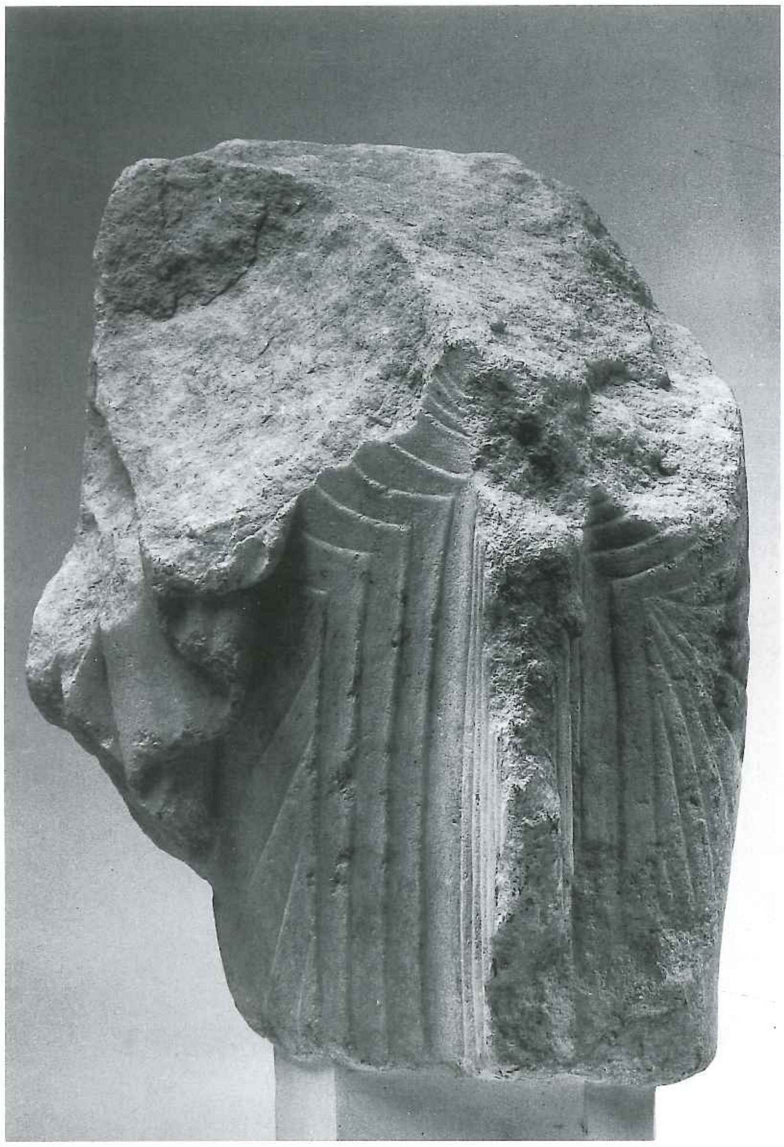
Akropolis Museum 671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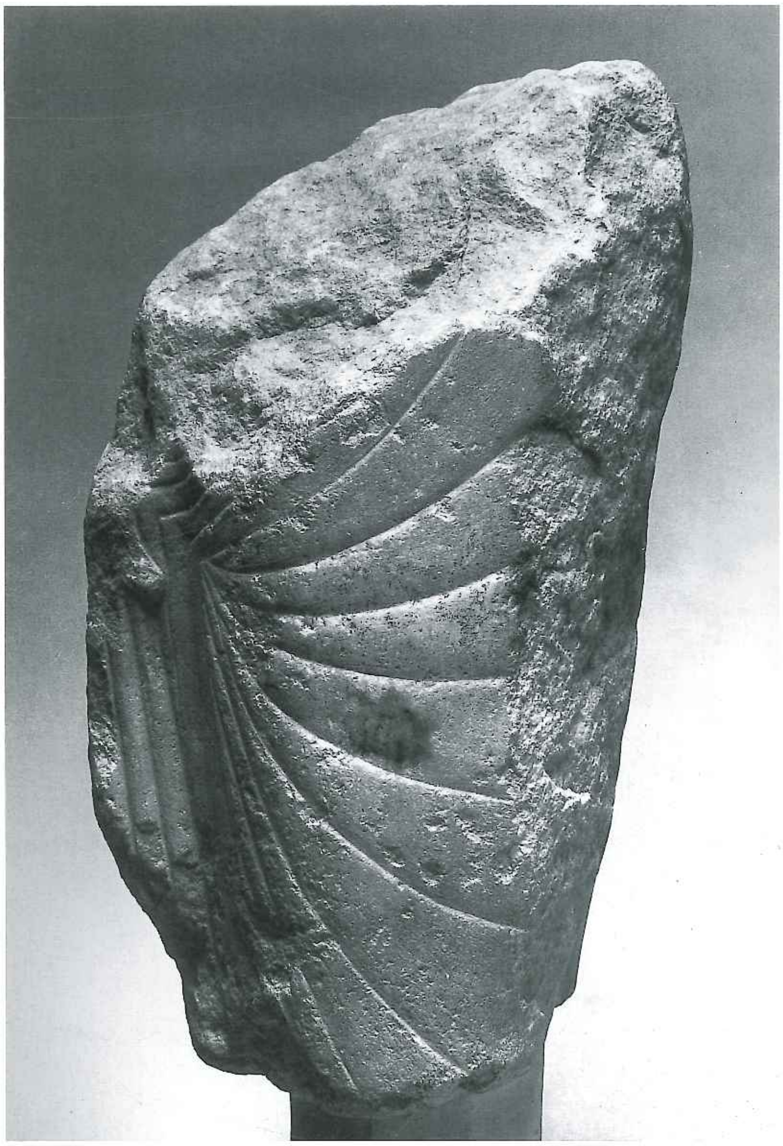
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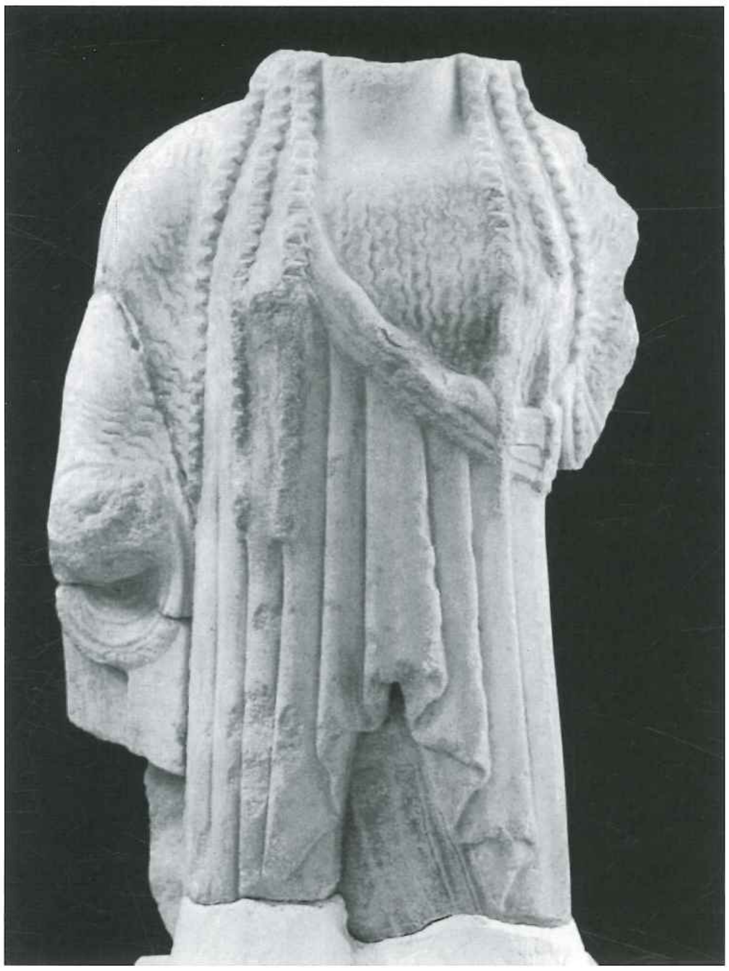
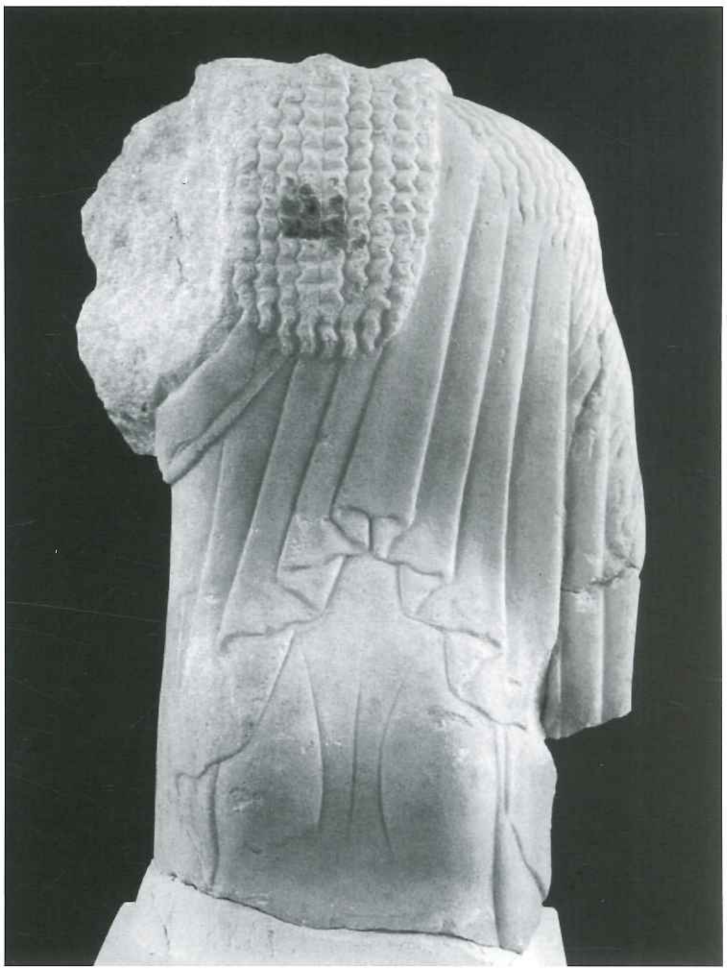
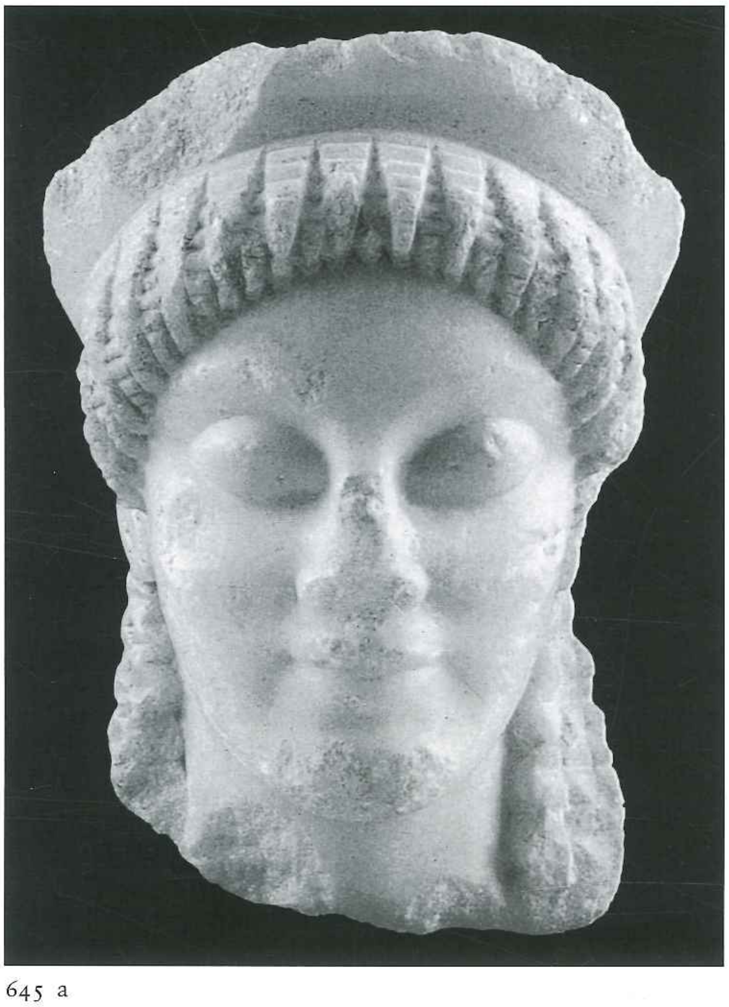


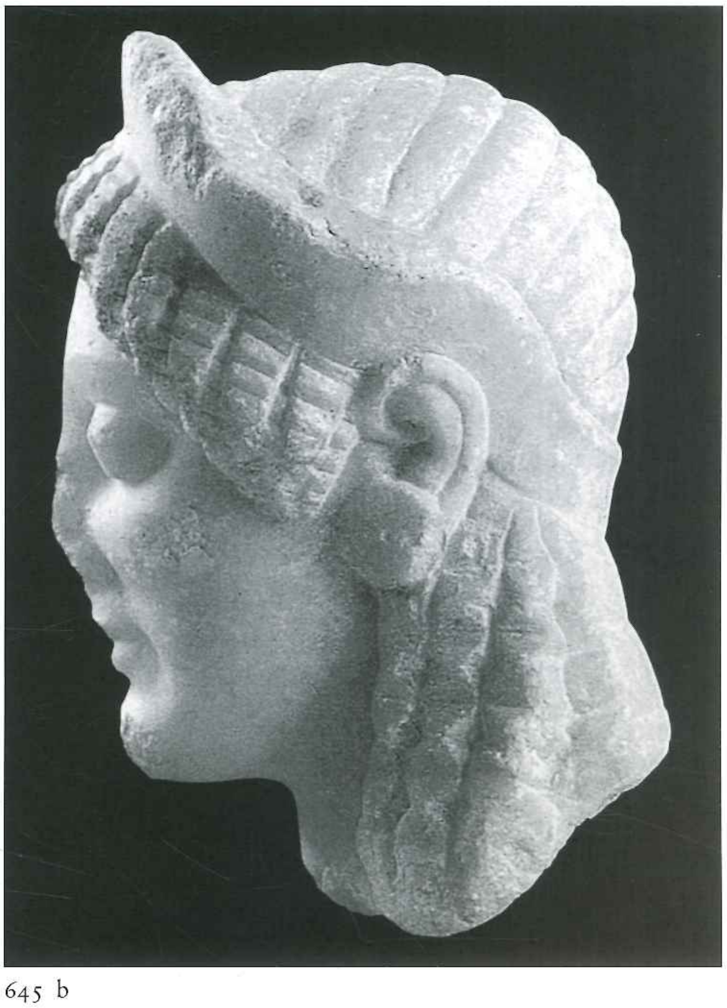
603 a



603 b

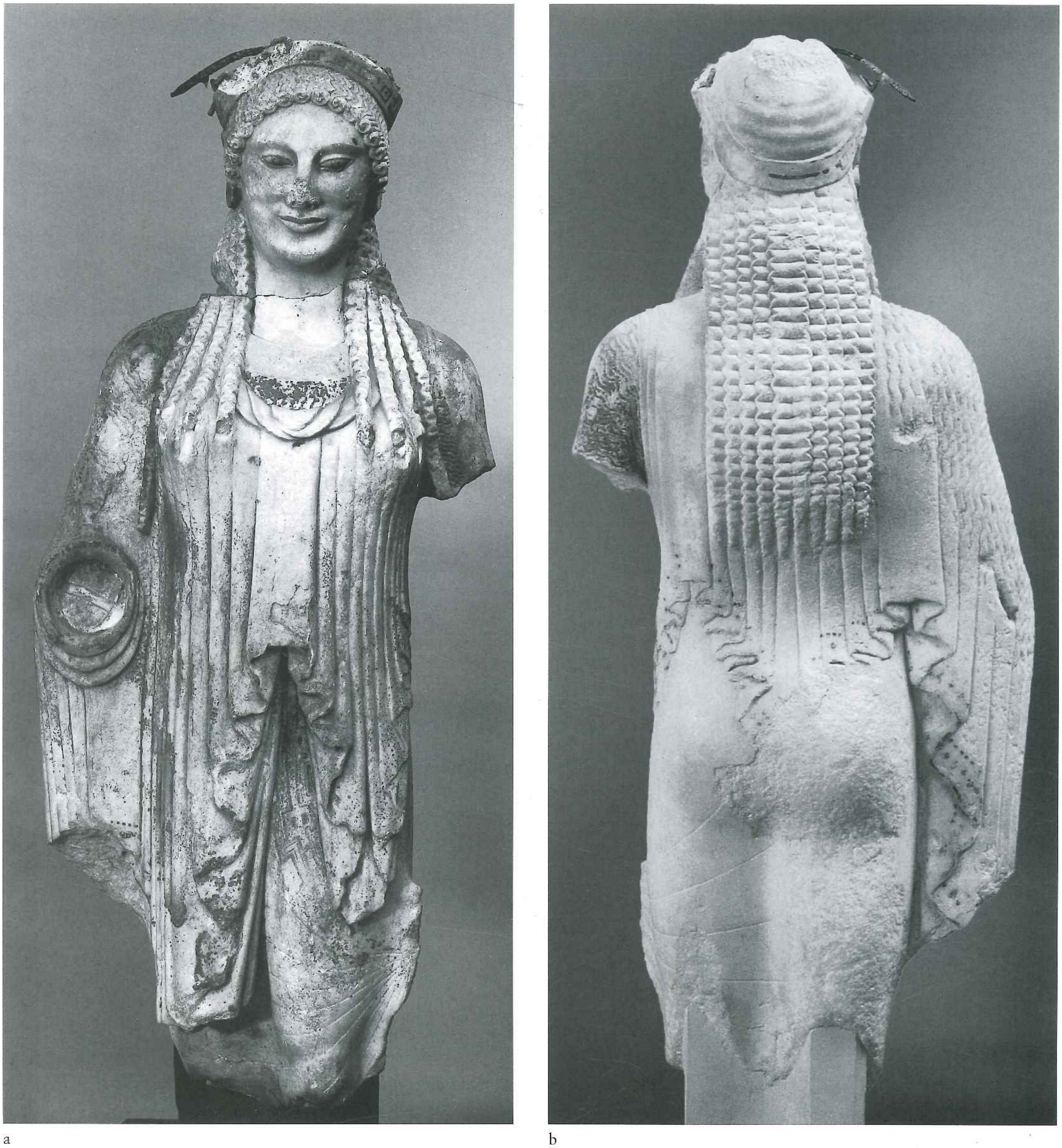


645 a

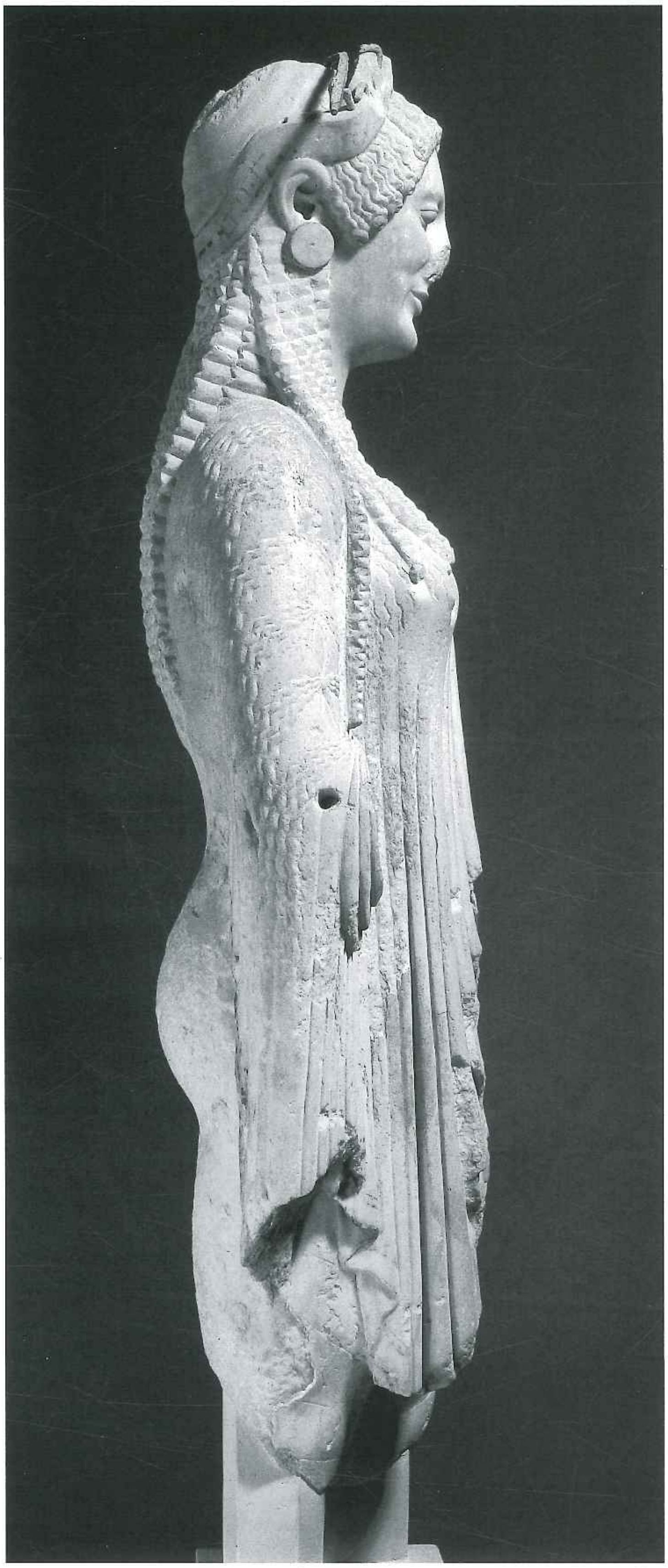


645 b

Akropolis Museum 603 and 645


a
b

Akropolis Museum 673



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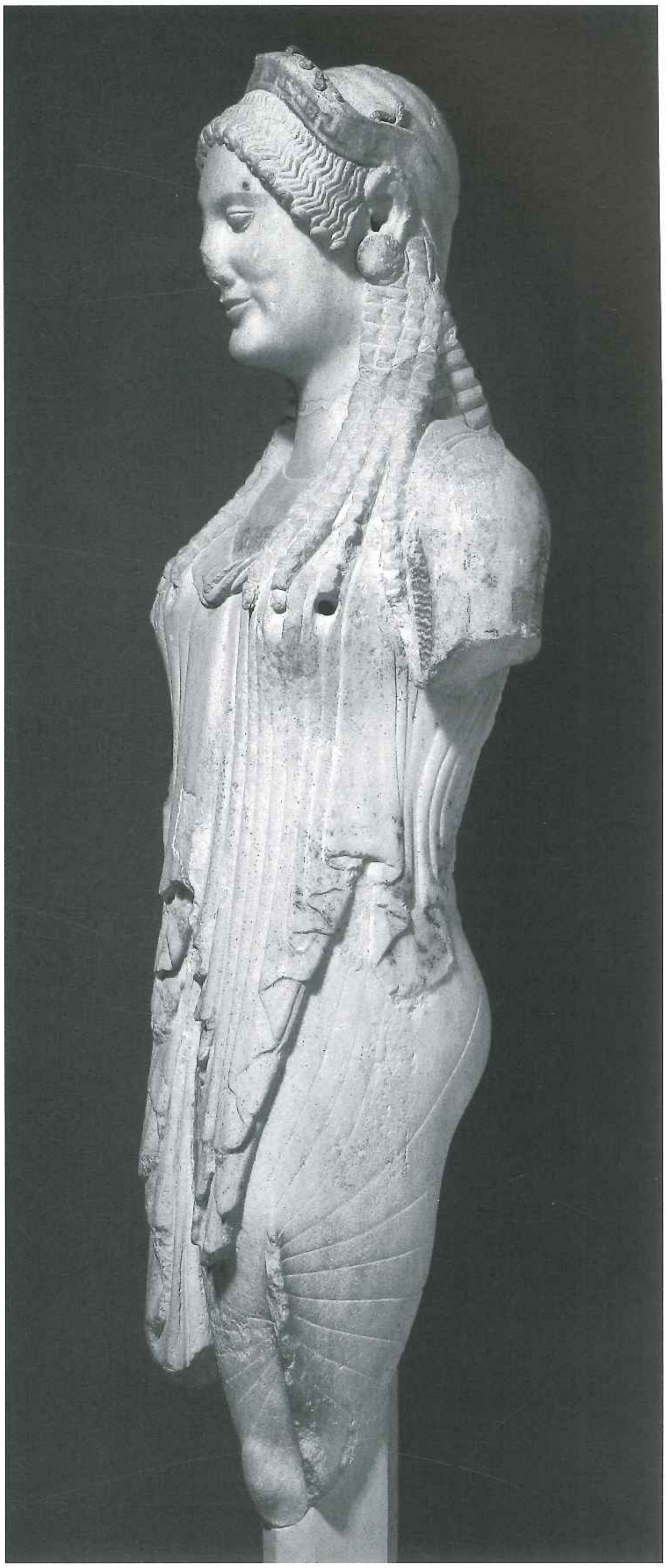

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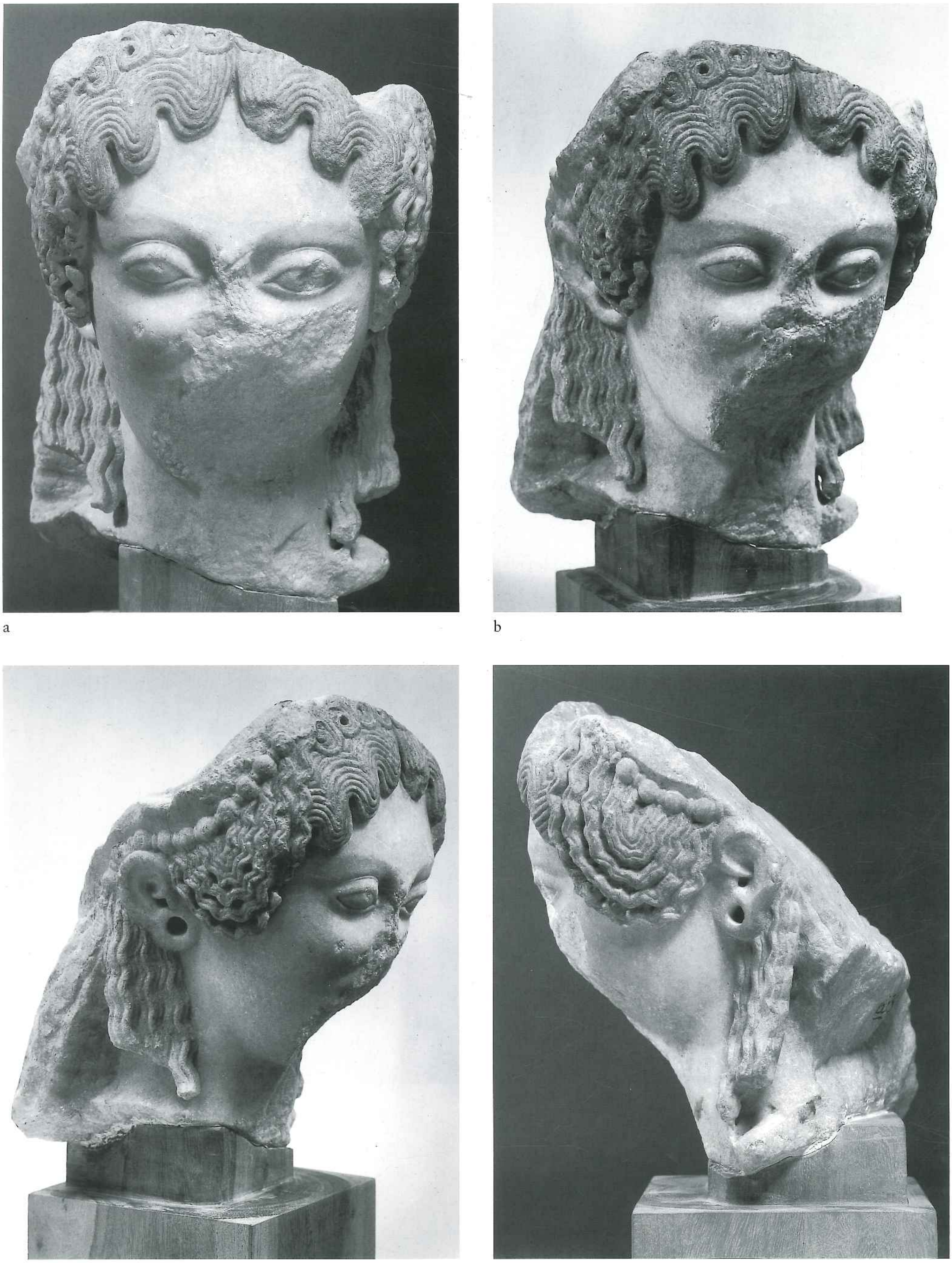
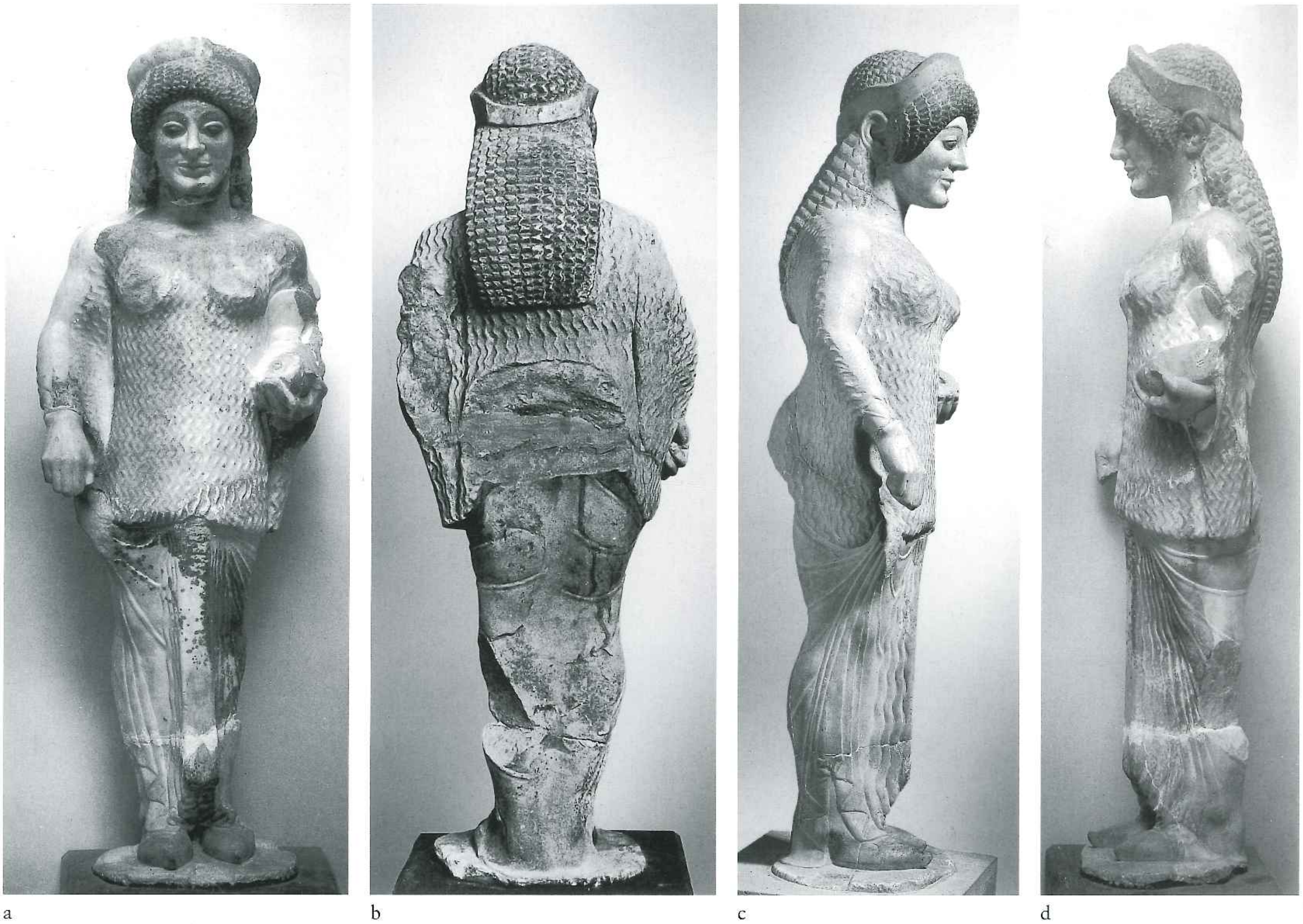
Akropolis Museum 673

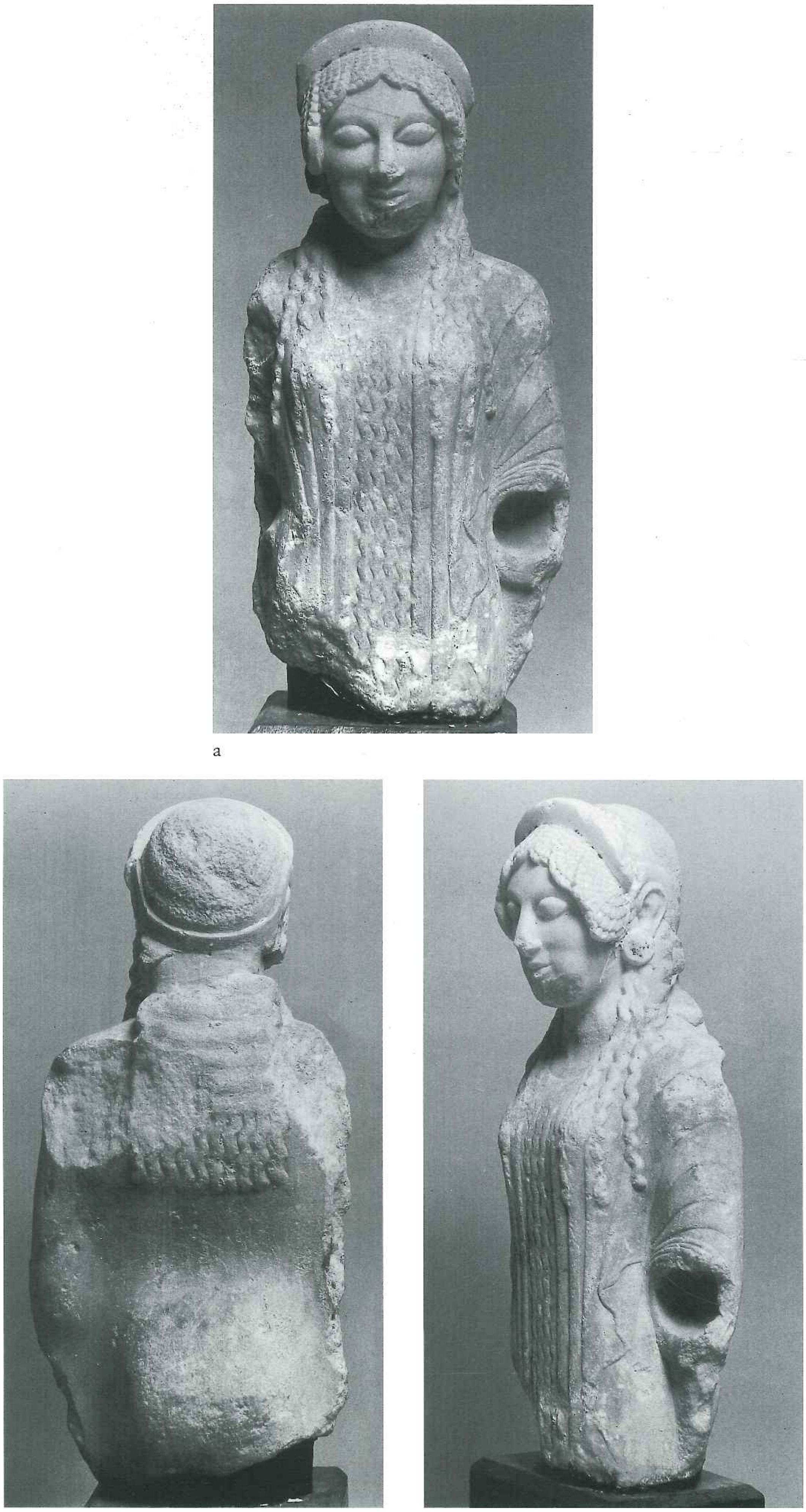


Akropolis Museum 659



a b c d

Akropolis Museum 683

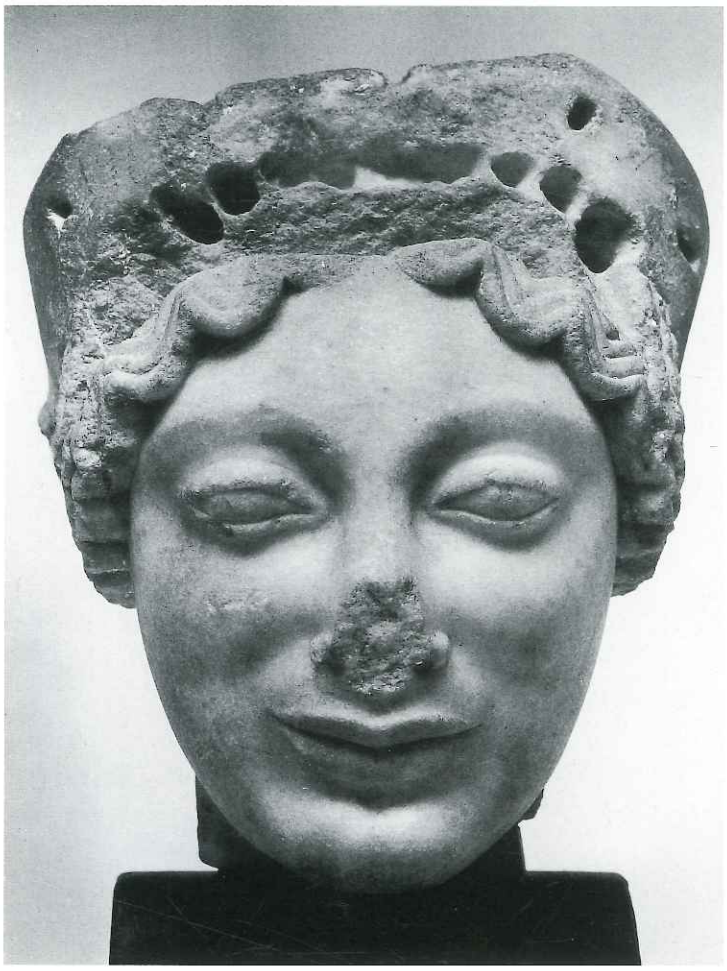


a

b

c

Akropolis Museum 666



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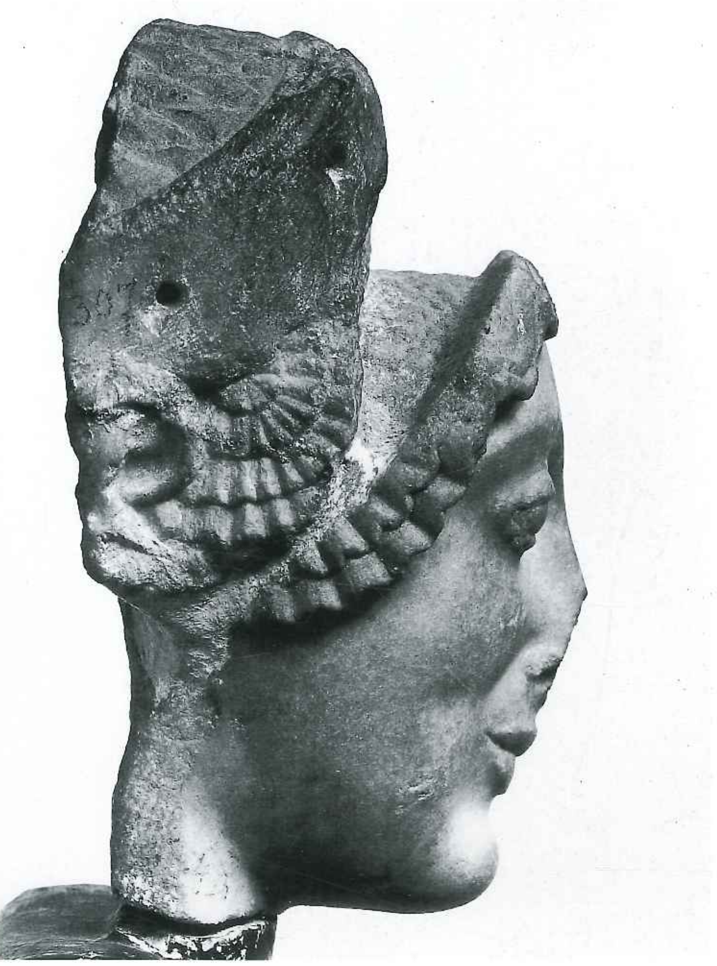

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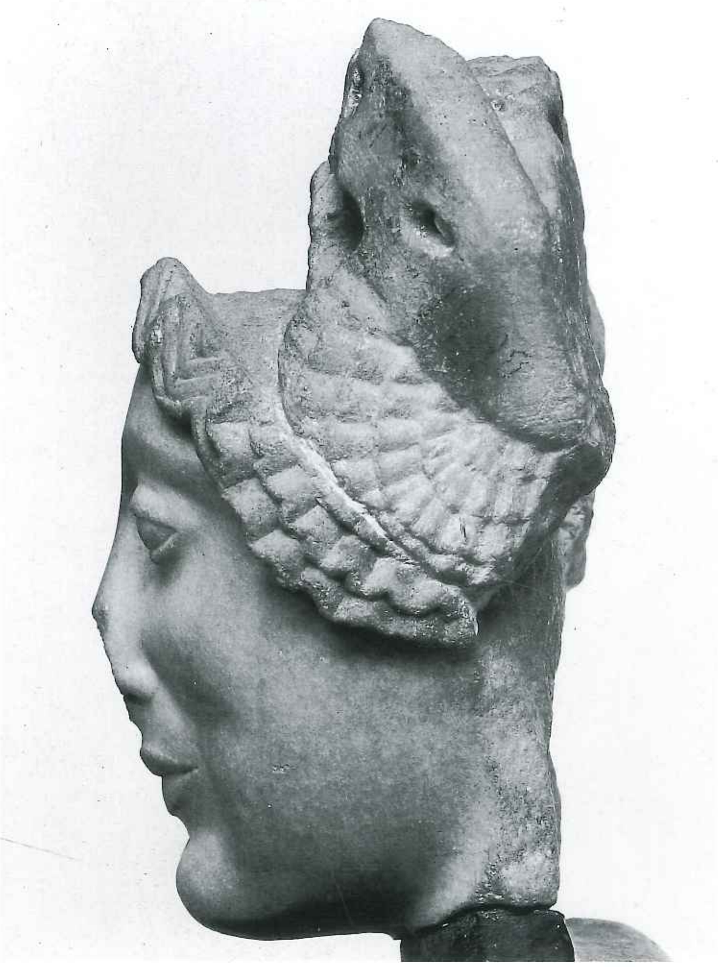

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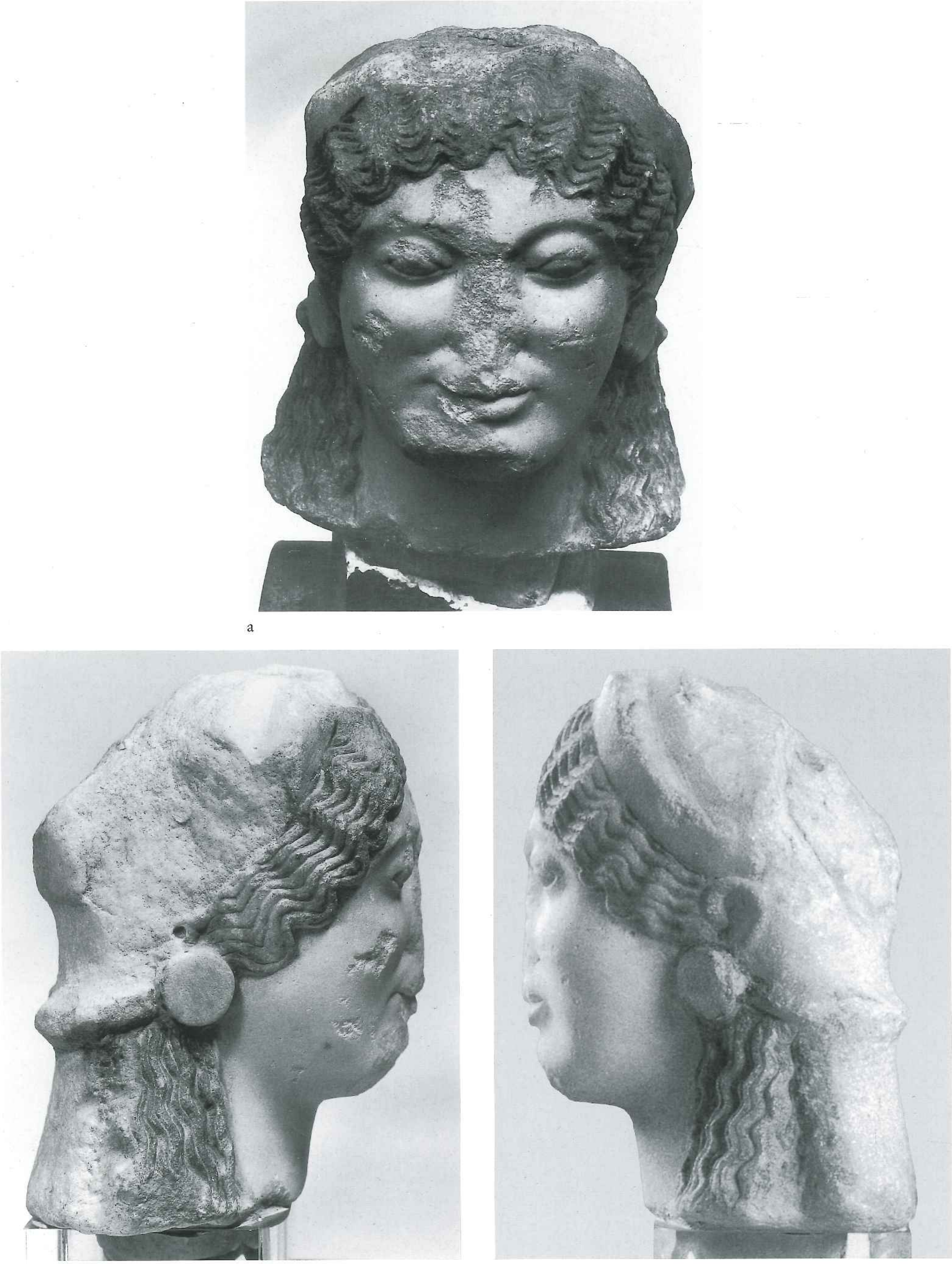
Akropolis Museum 643

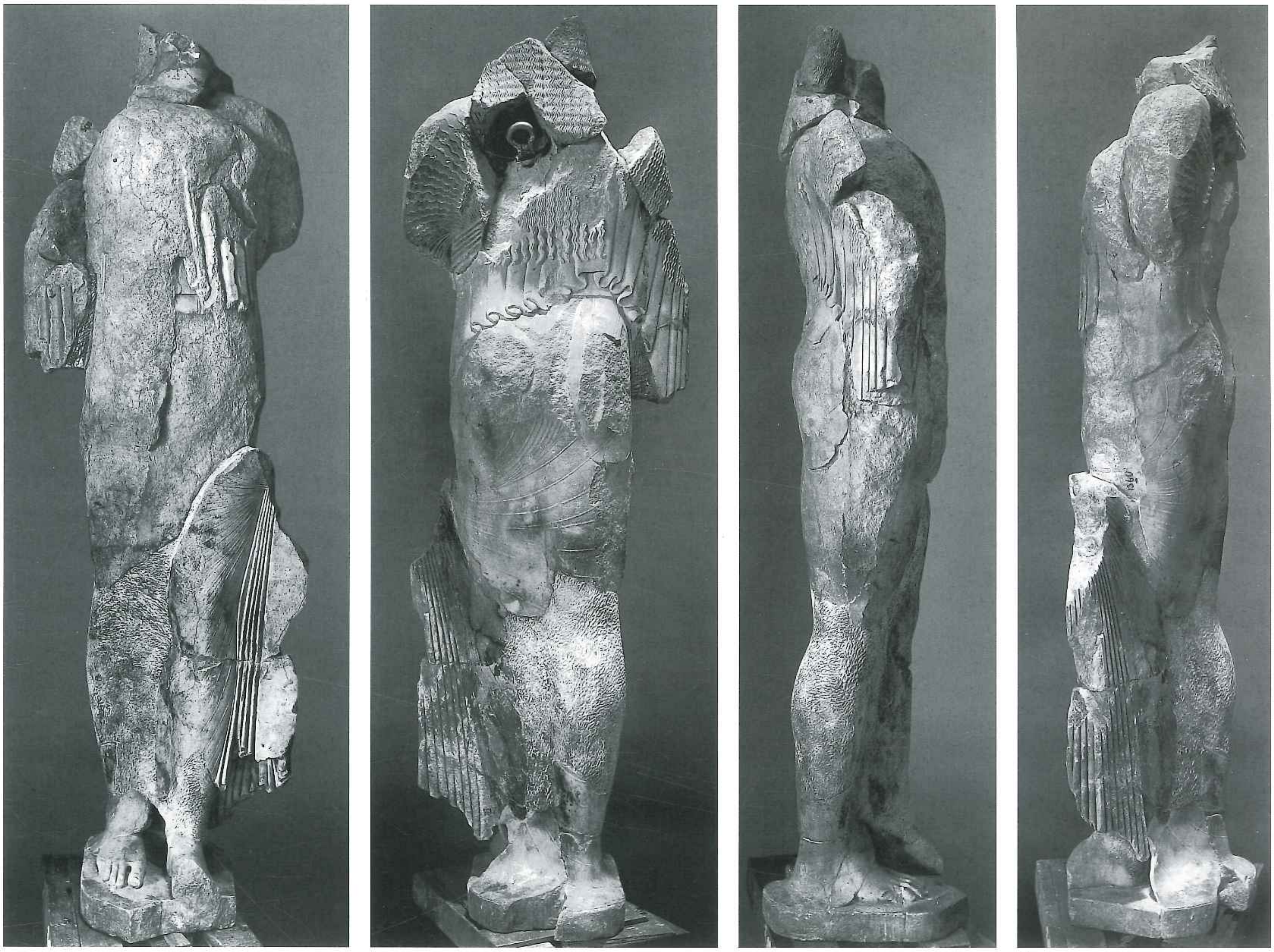


a

b

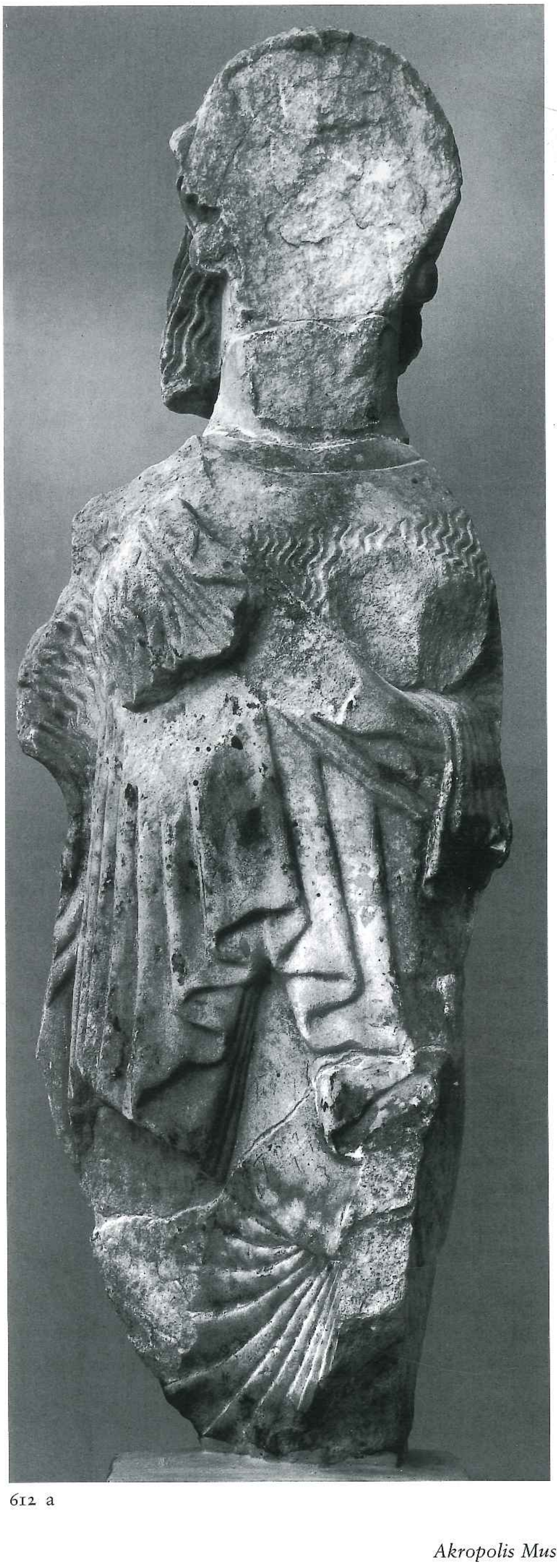
c

Akropolis Museum 661

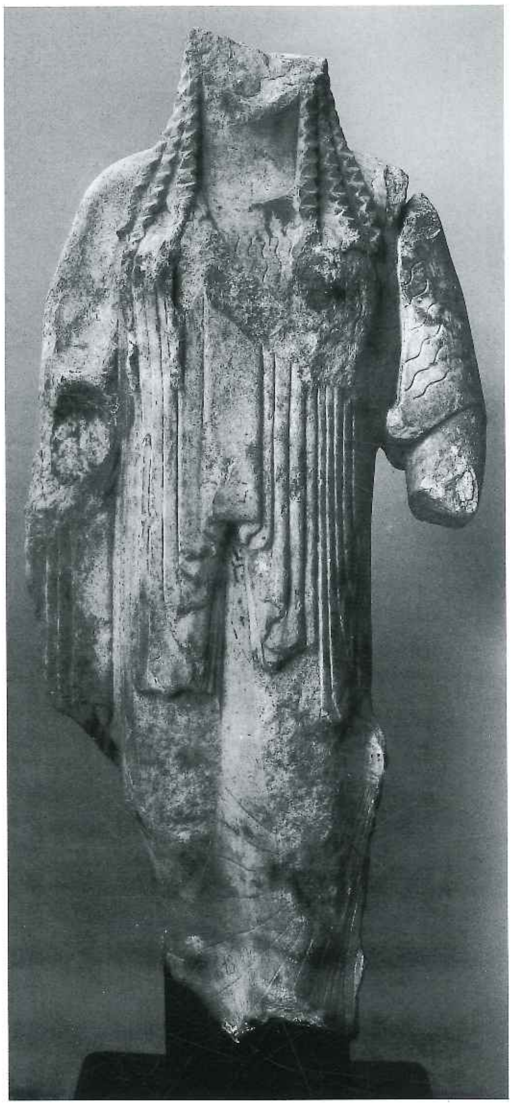


a b c d

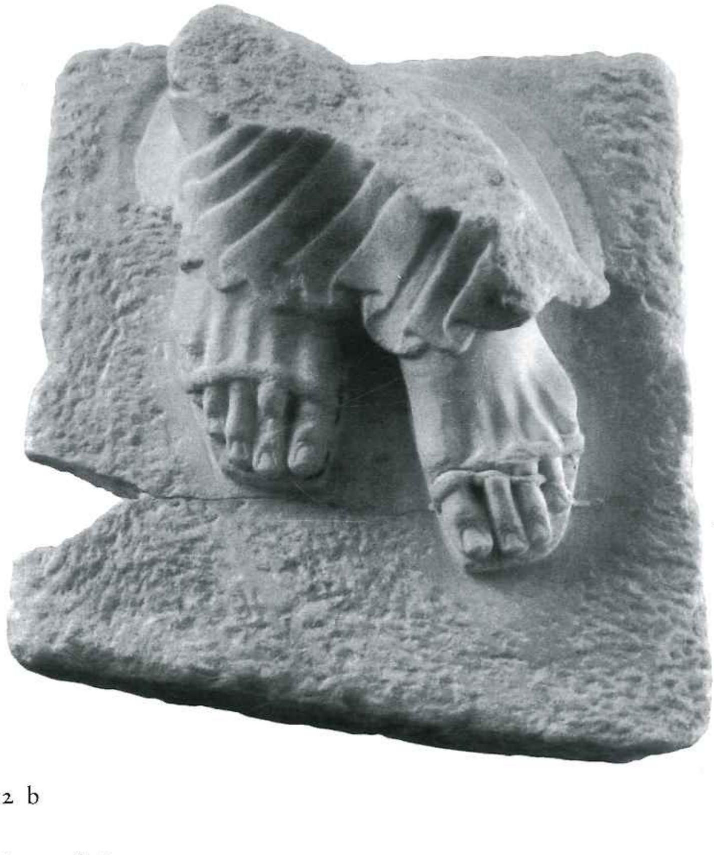
Akropolis Museum 1360



612 a

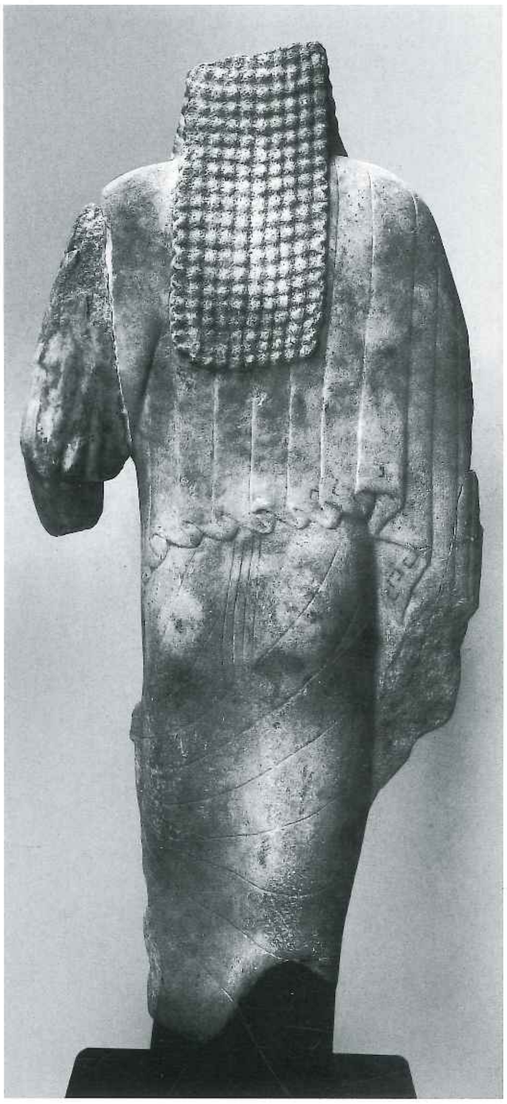


613 a

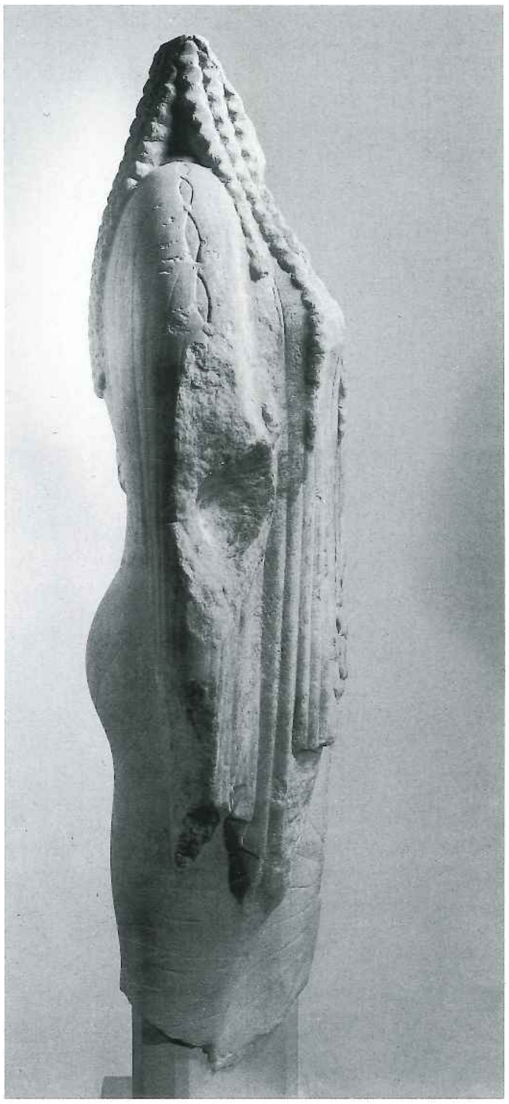


612 b

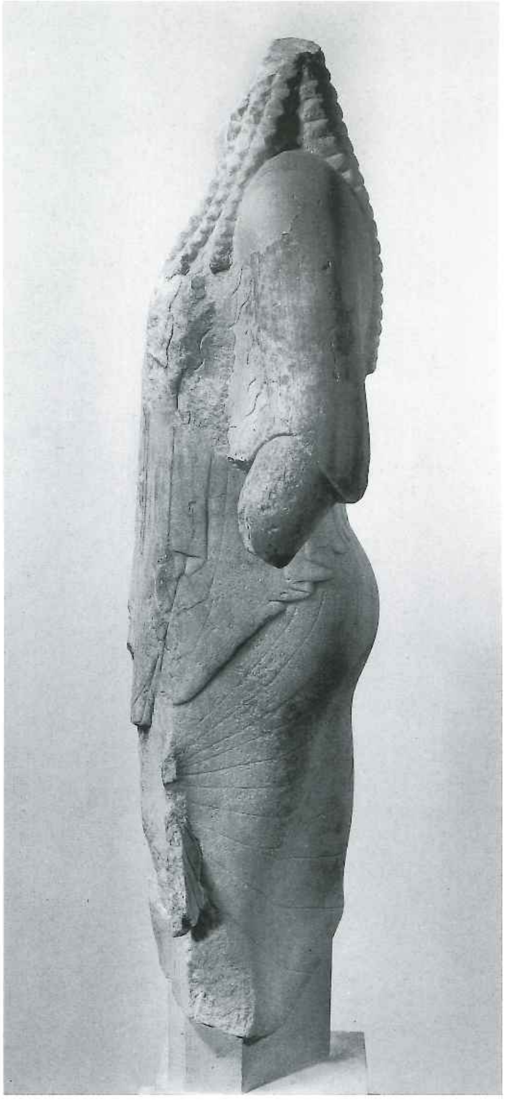
Akropolis Museum 612 and 613



613 b

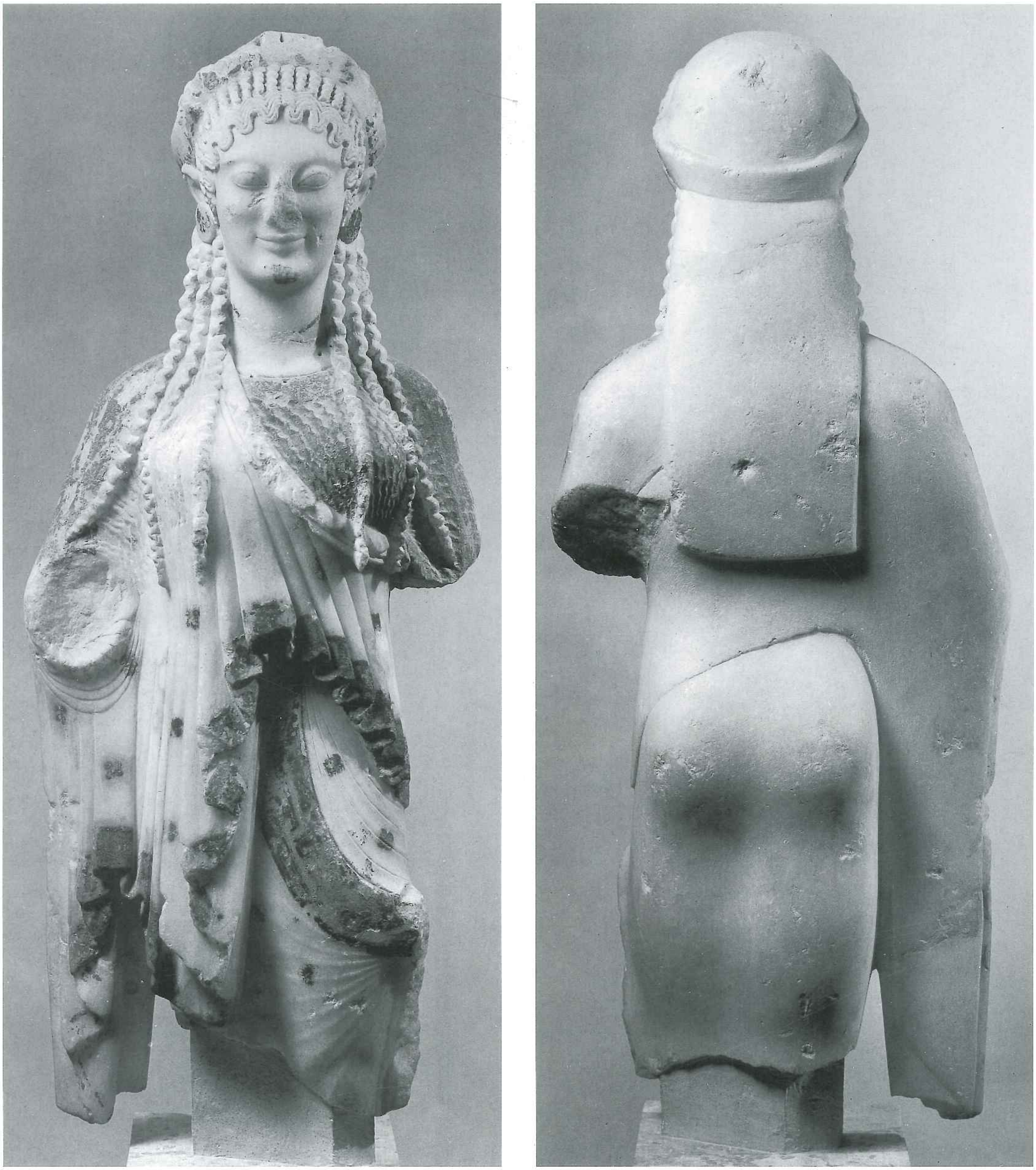


613 c



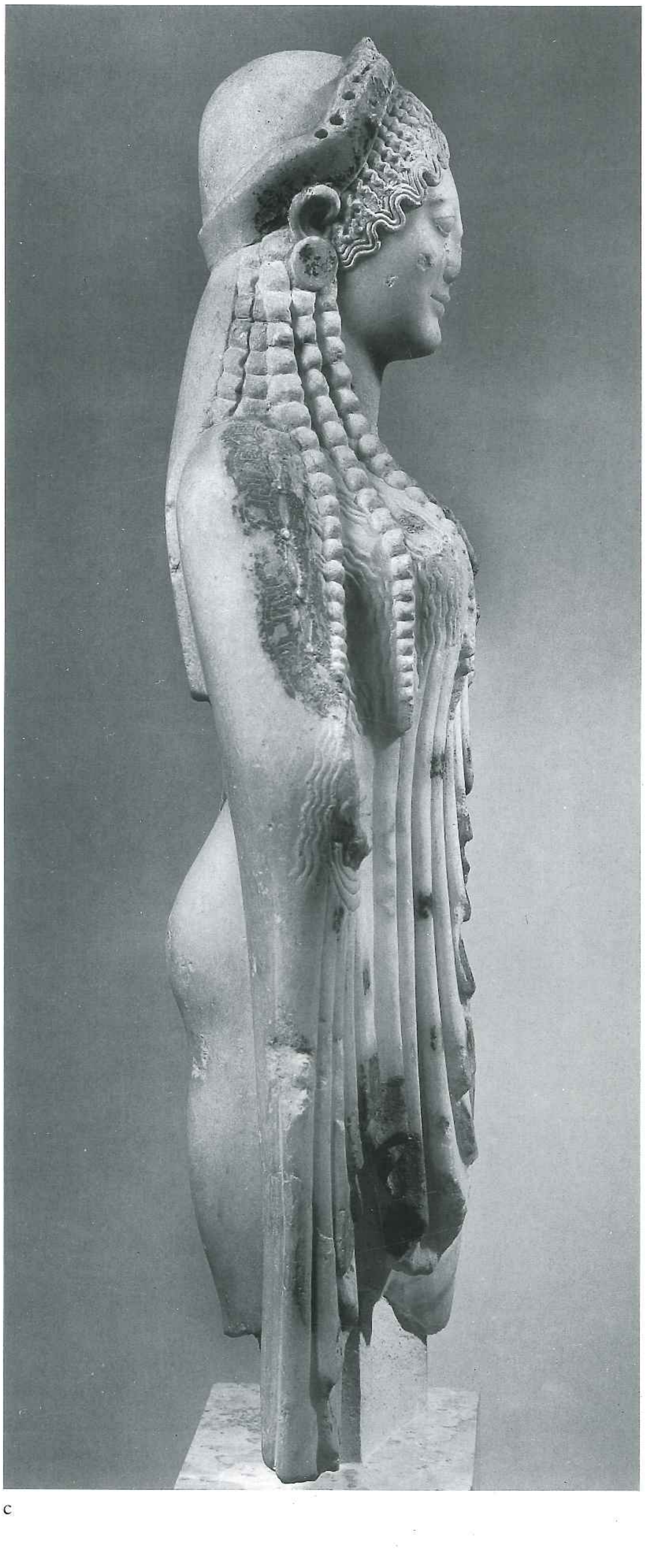
613 d

Akropolis Museum 613



a b

Akropolis Museum 675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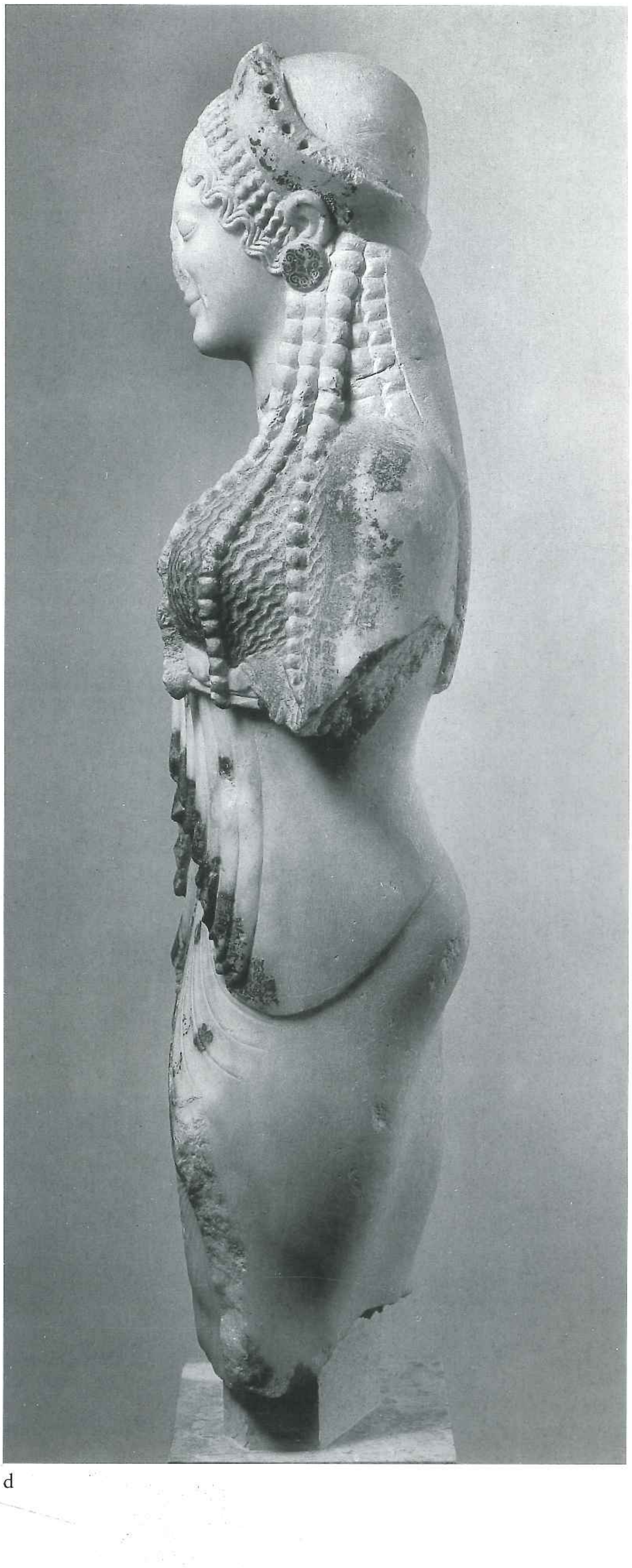
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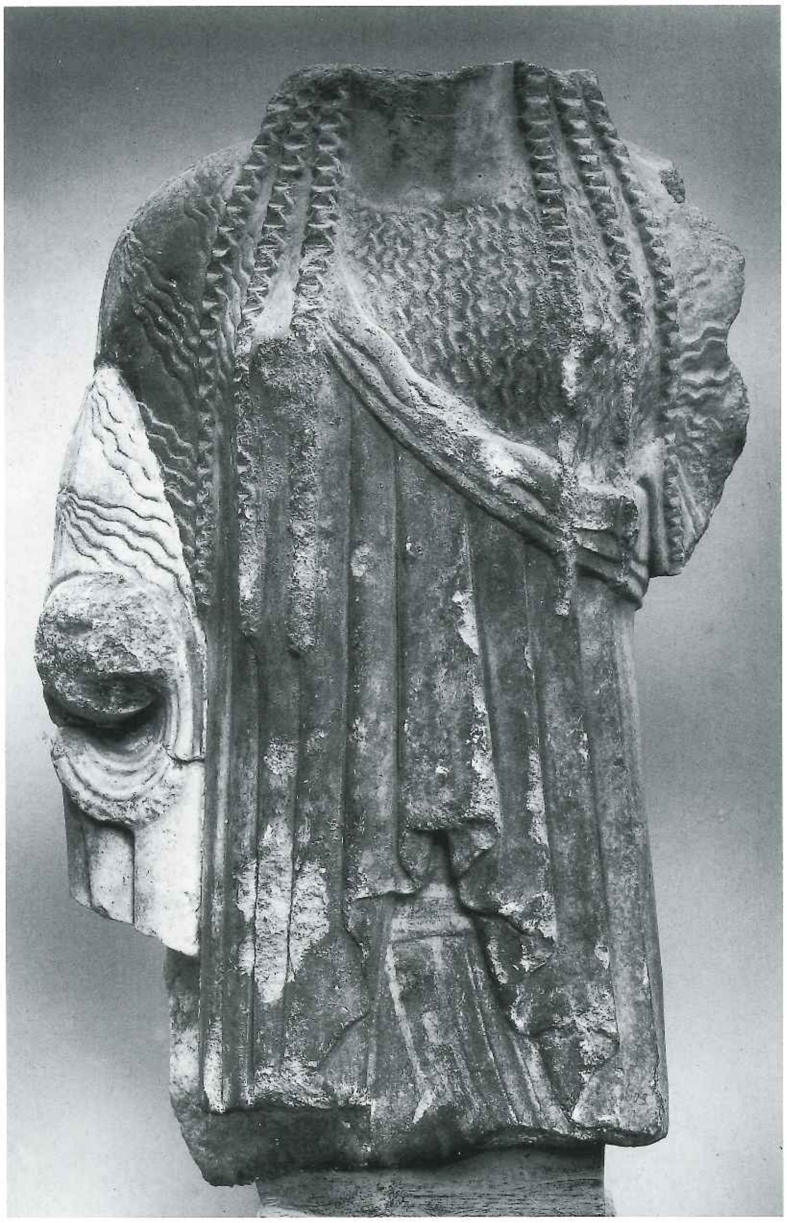
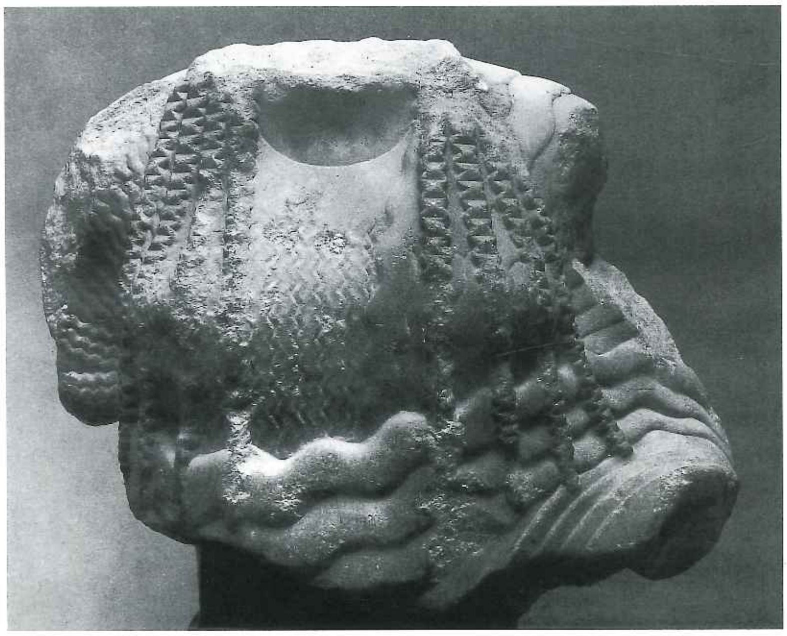
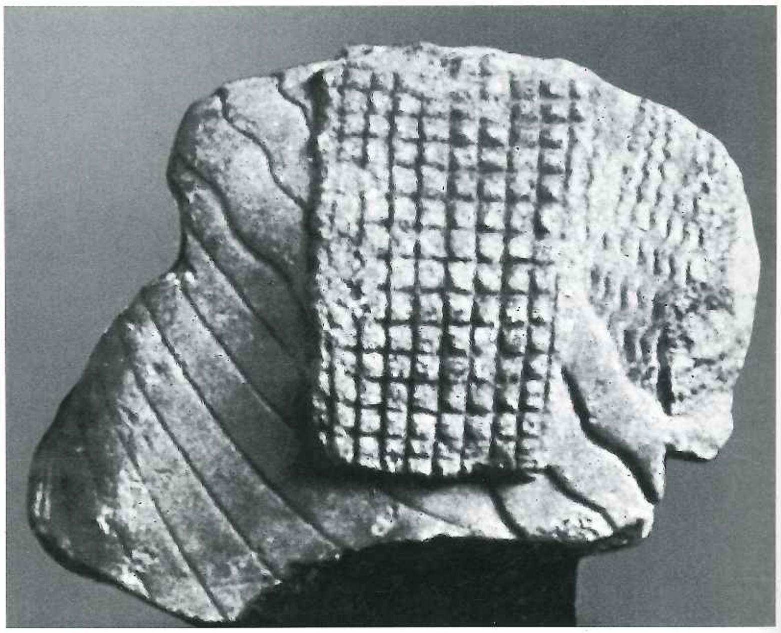
Akropolis Museum 675



603 a

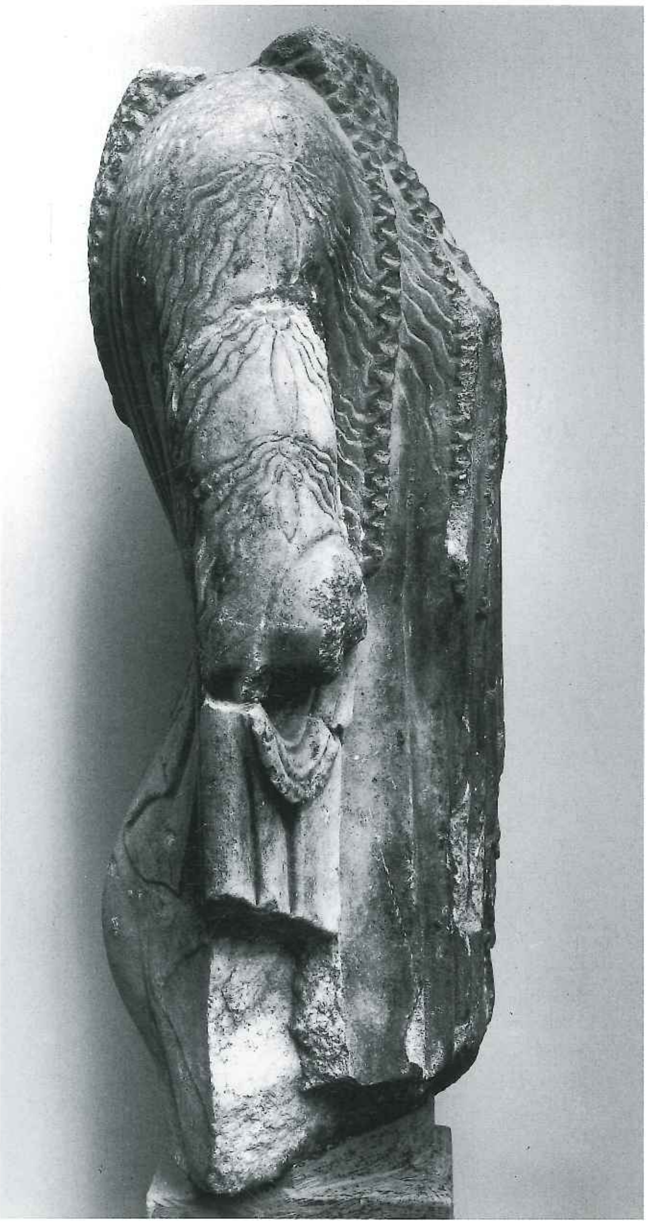


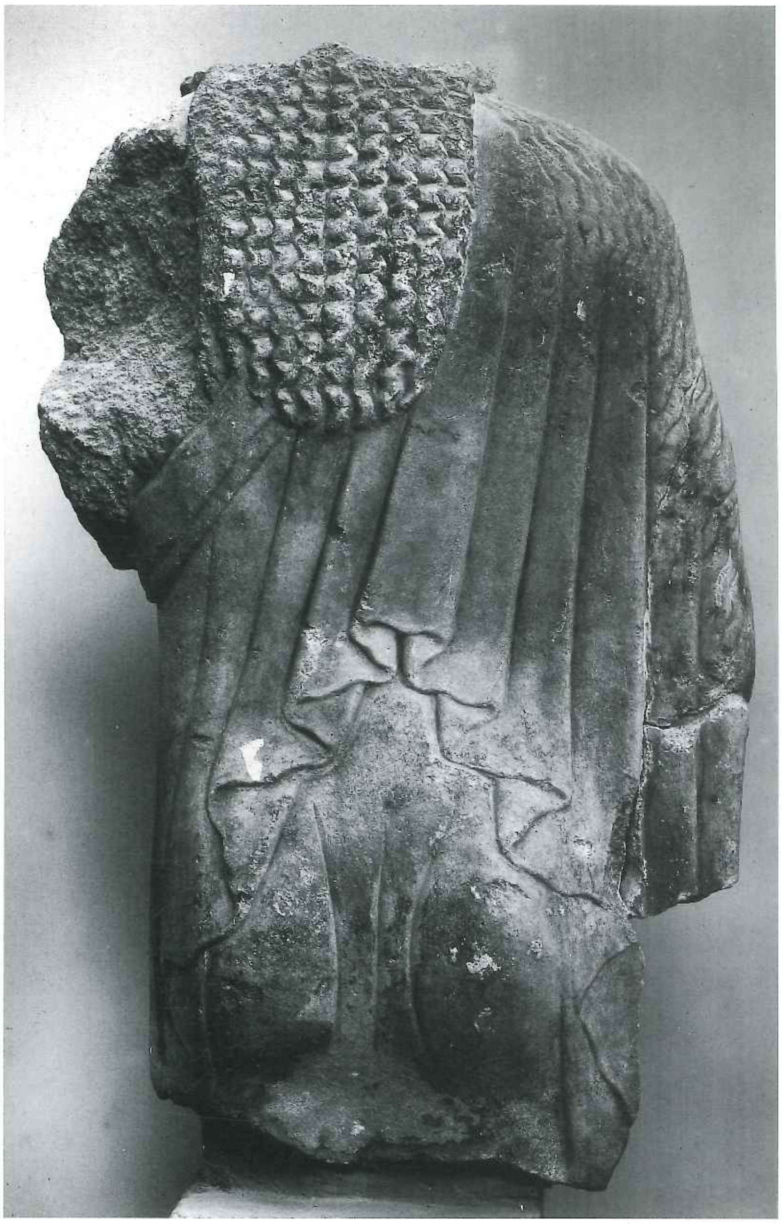
584 a

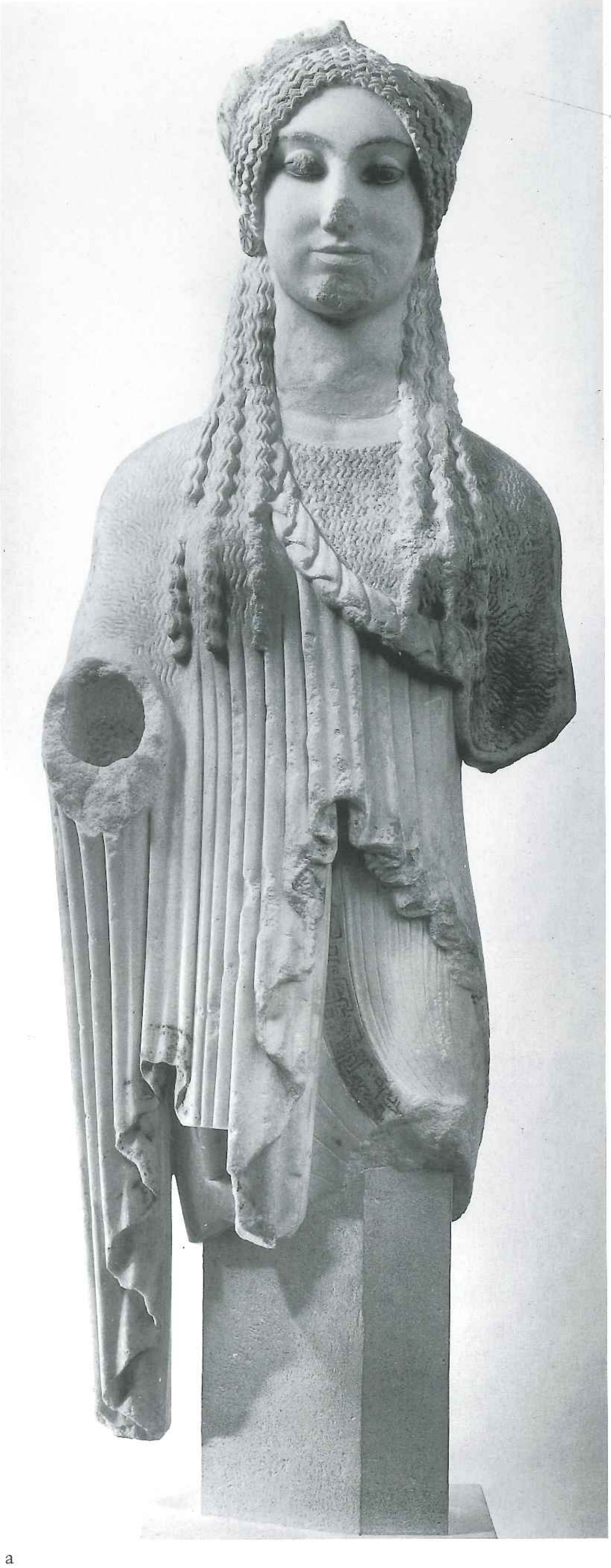


584 b

Akropolis Museum 584 and 603


603 b


603 c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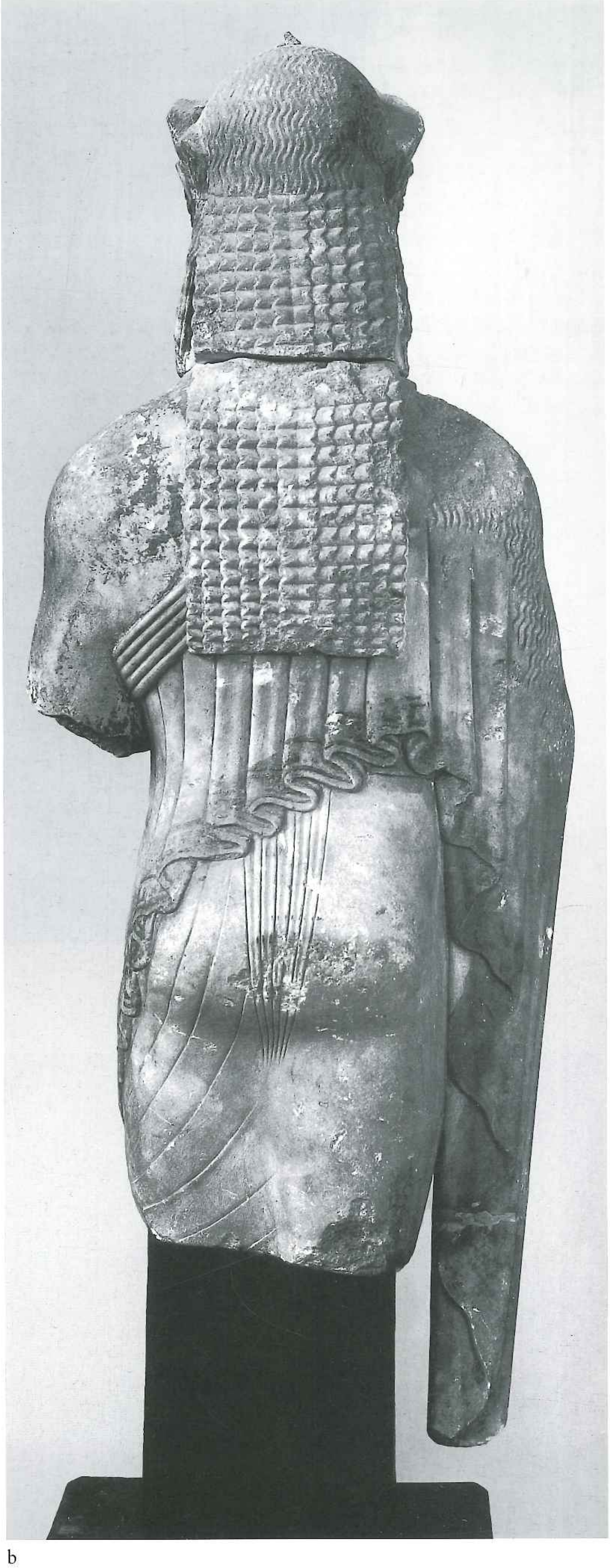
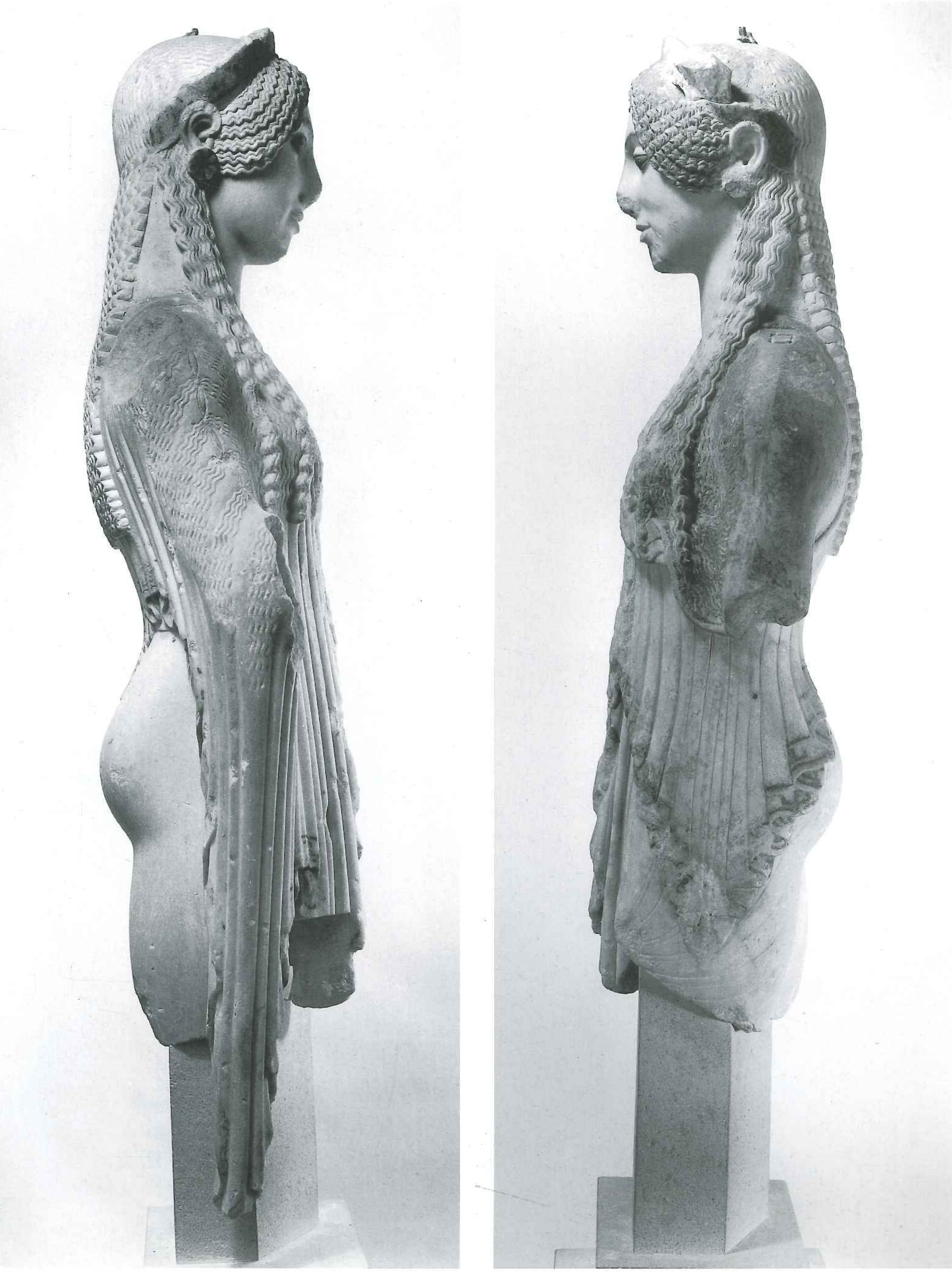
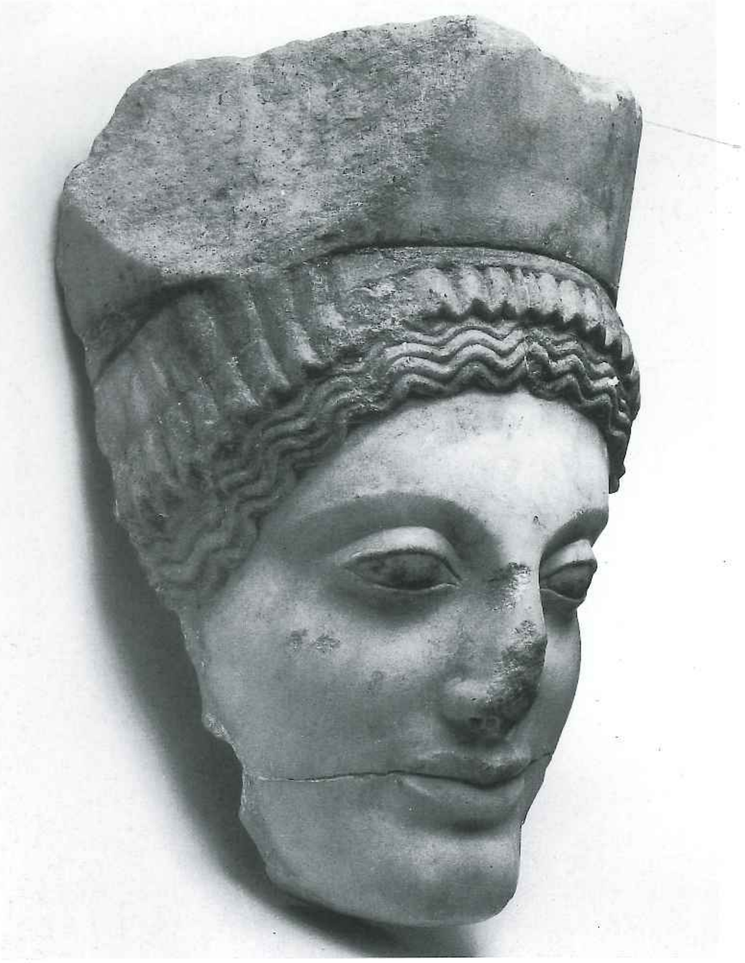

b

Akropolis Museum 674

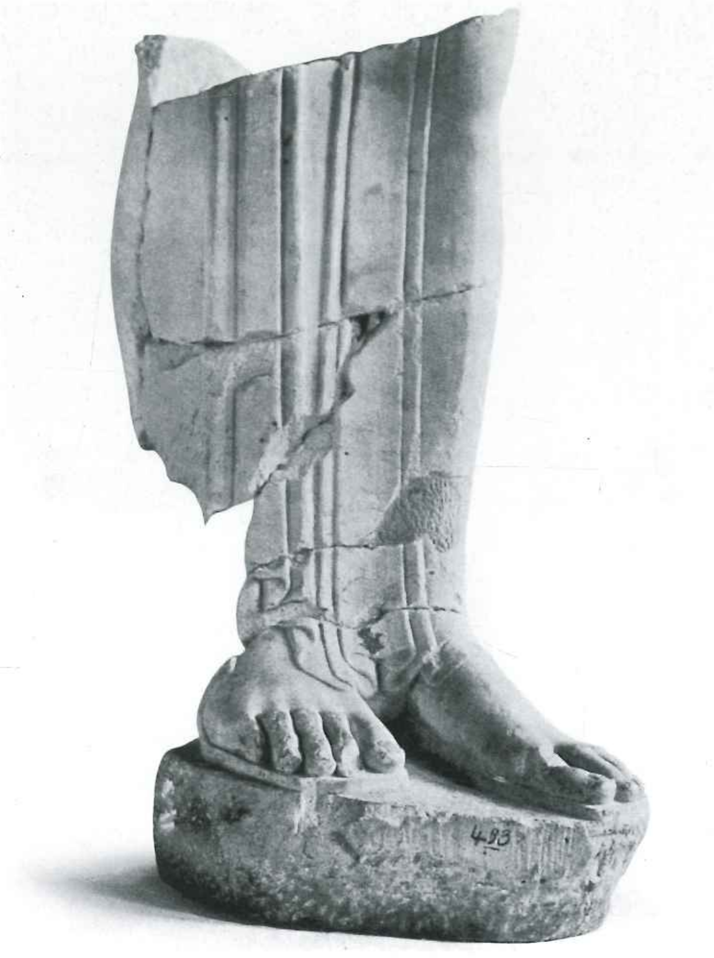


c d

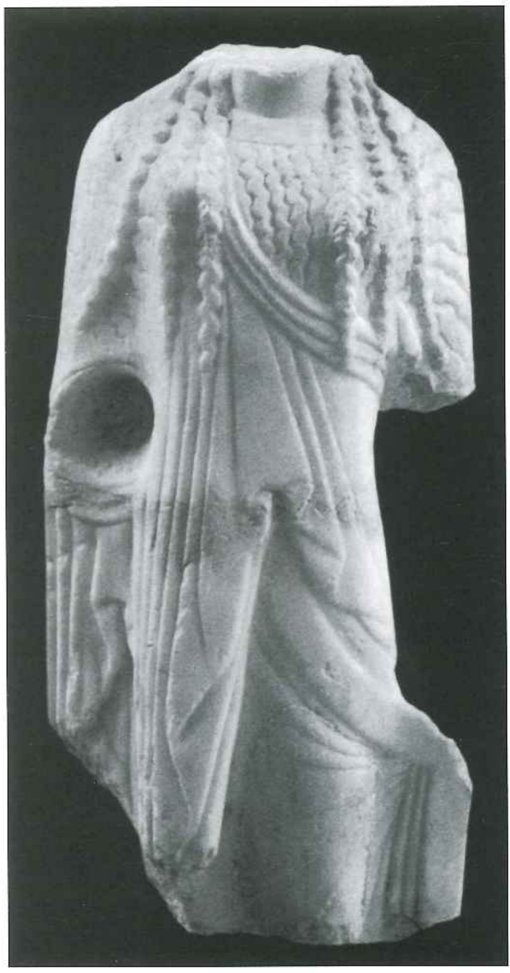
Akropolis Museum 674



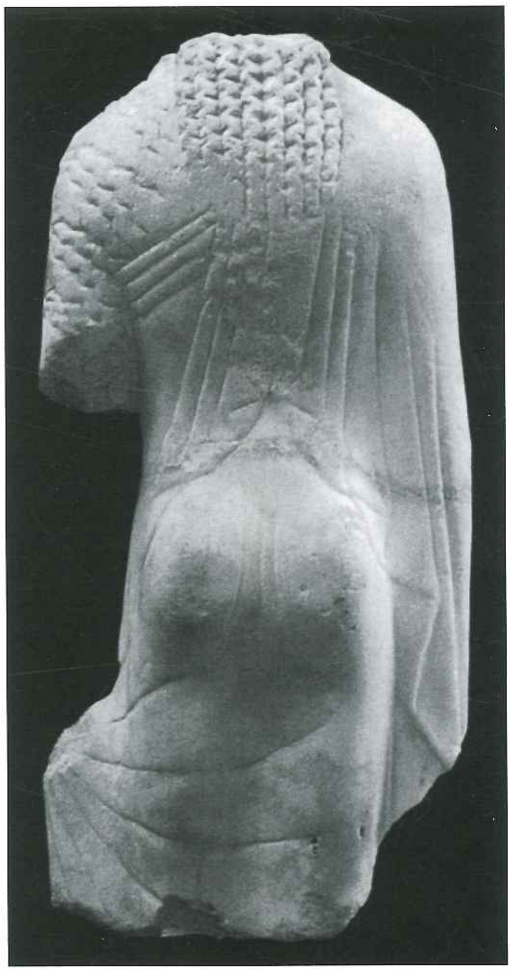
696



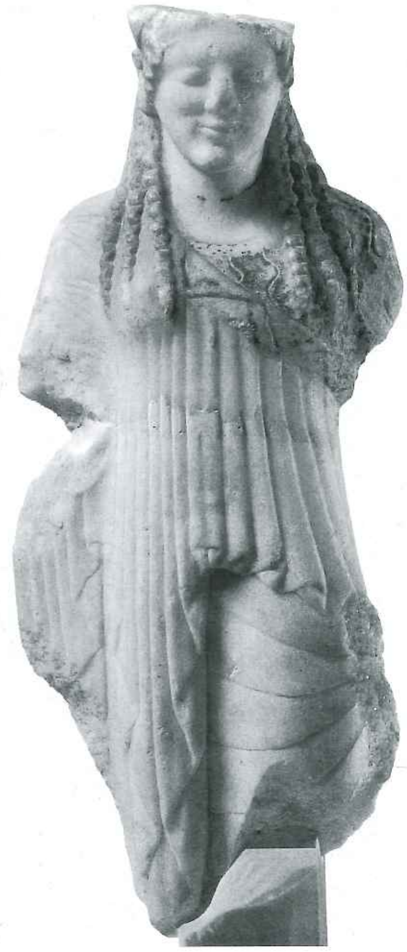
493



667 a

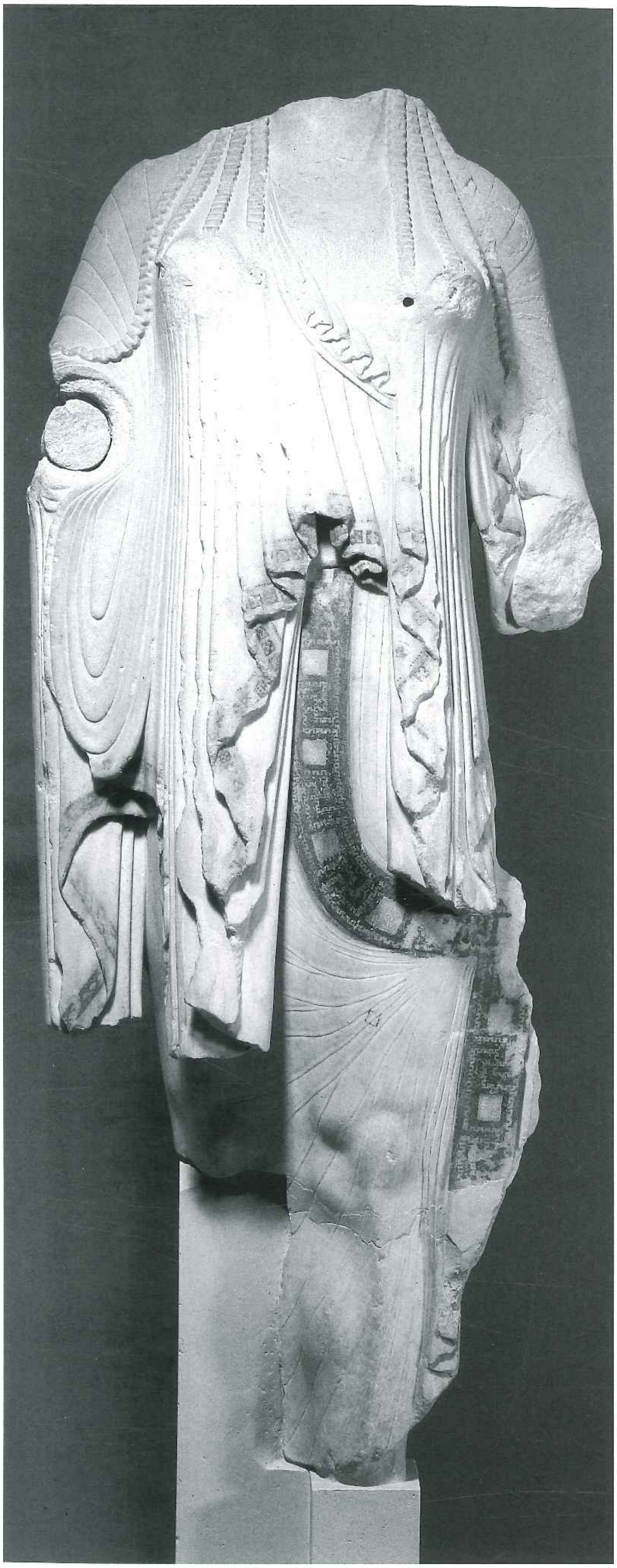


667 b



668

Akropolis Museum 696, 493, 667, and 668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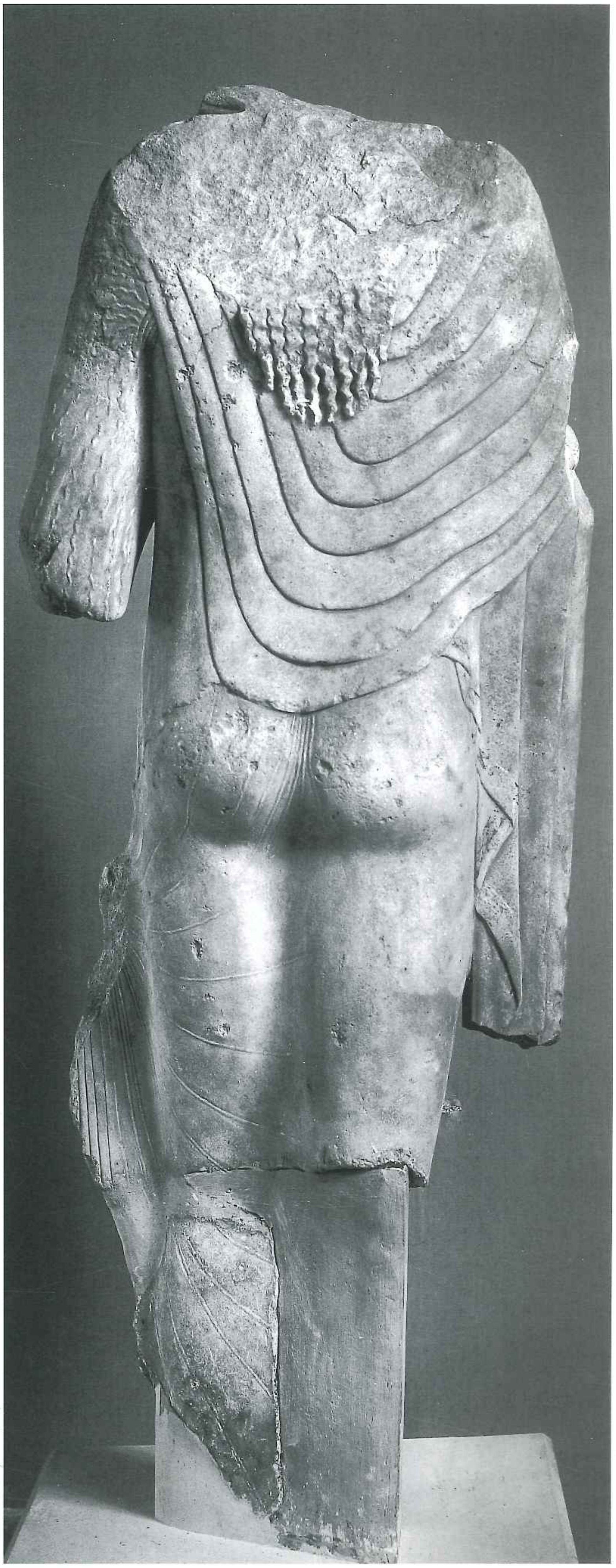
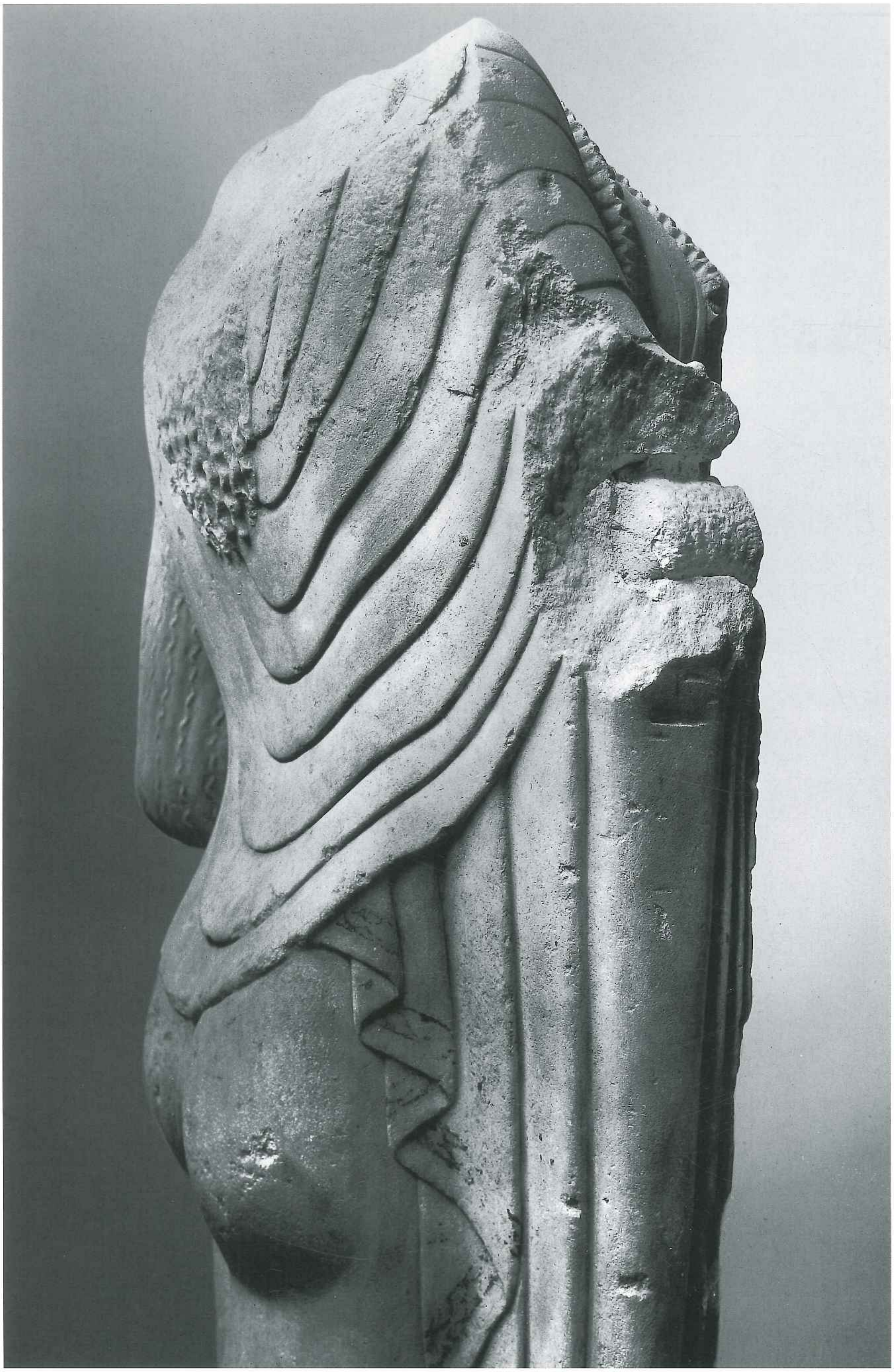
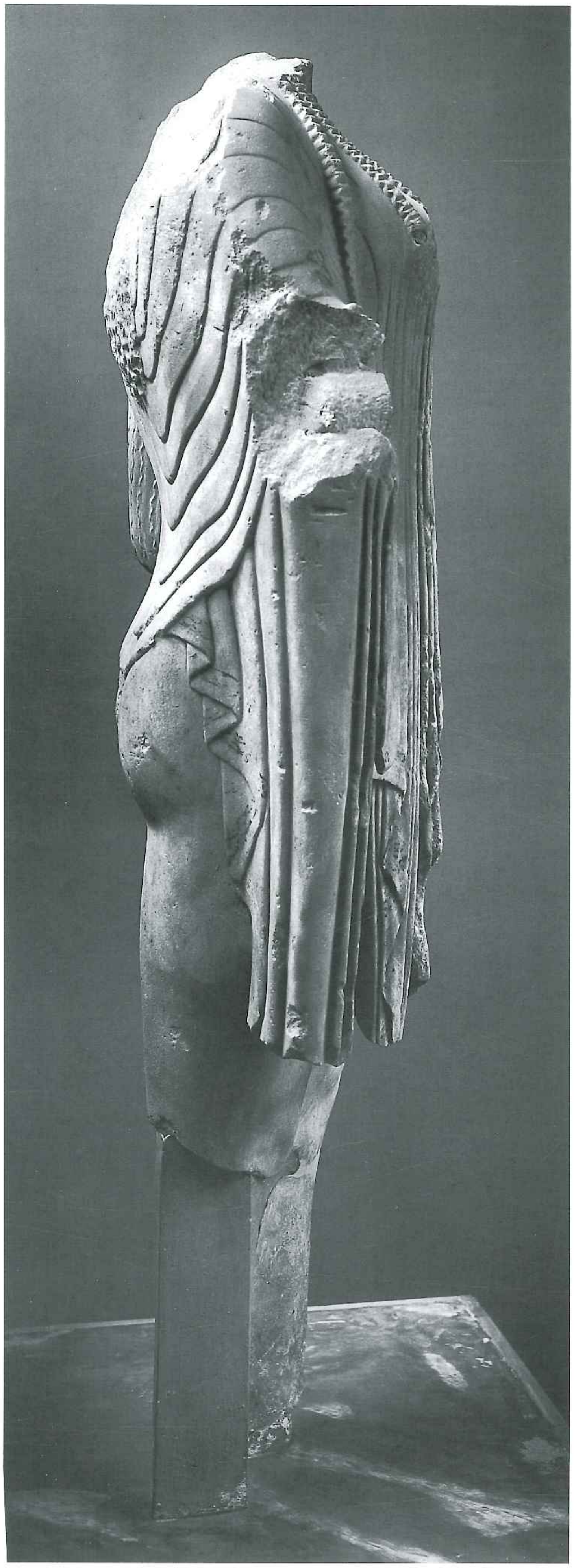

b

Akropolis Museum 594



c

Akropolis Museum 594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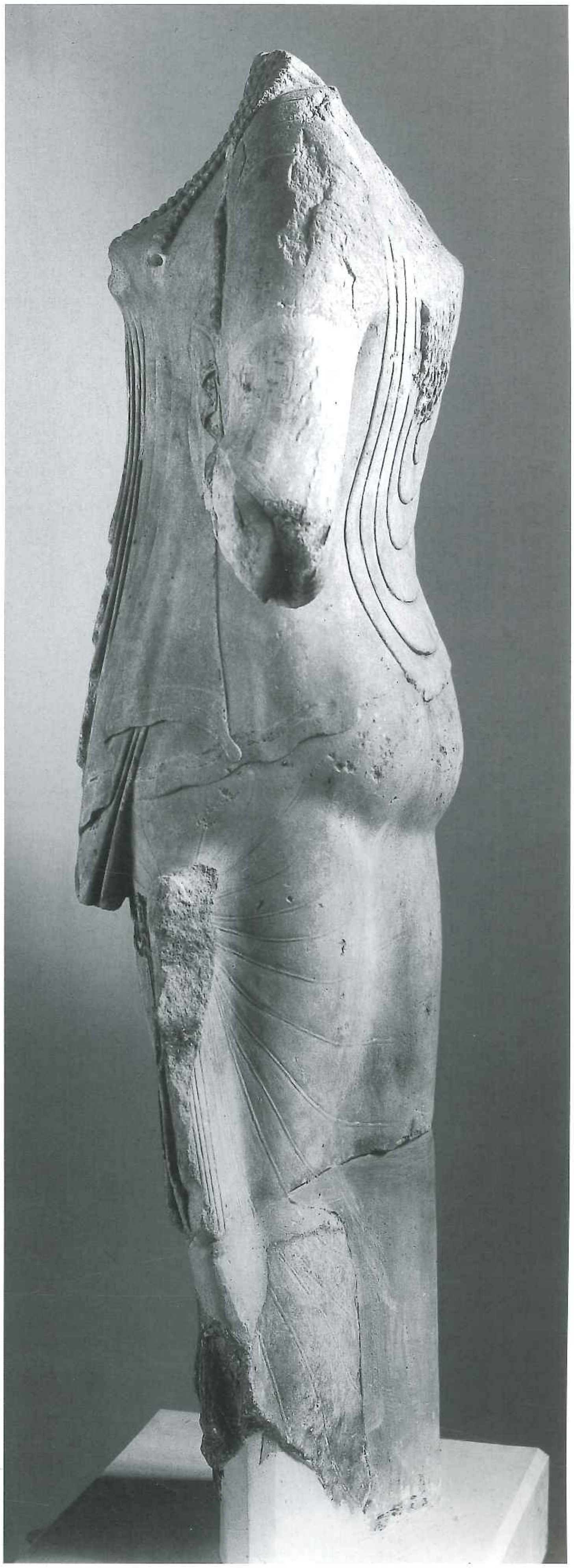
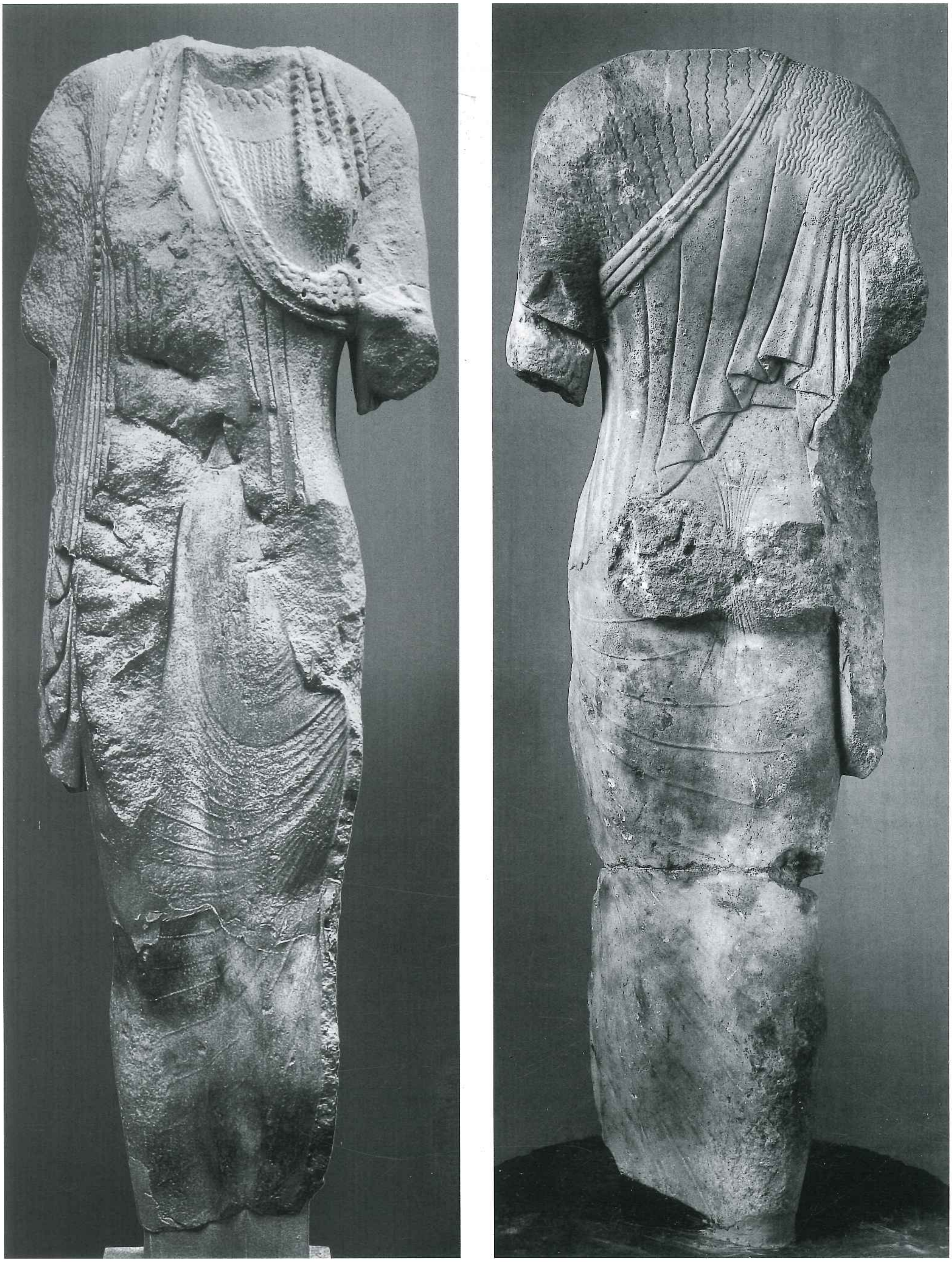
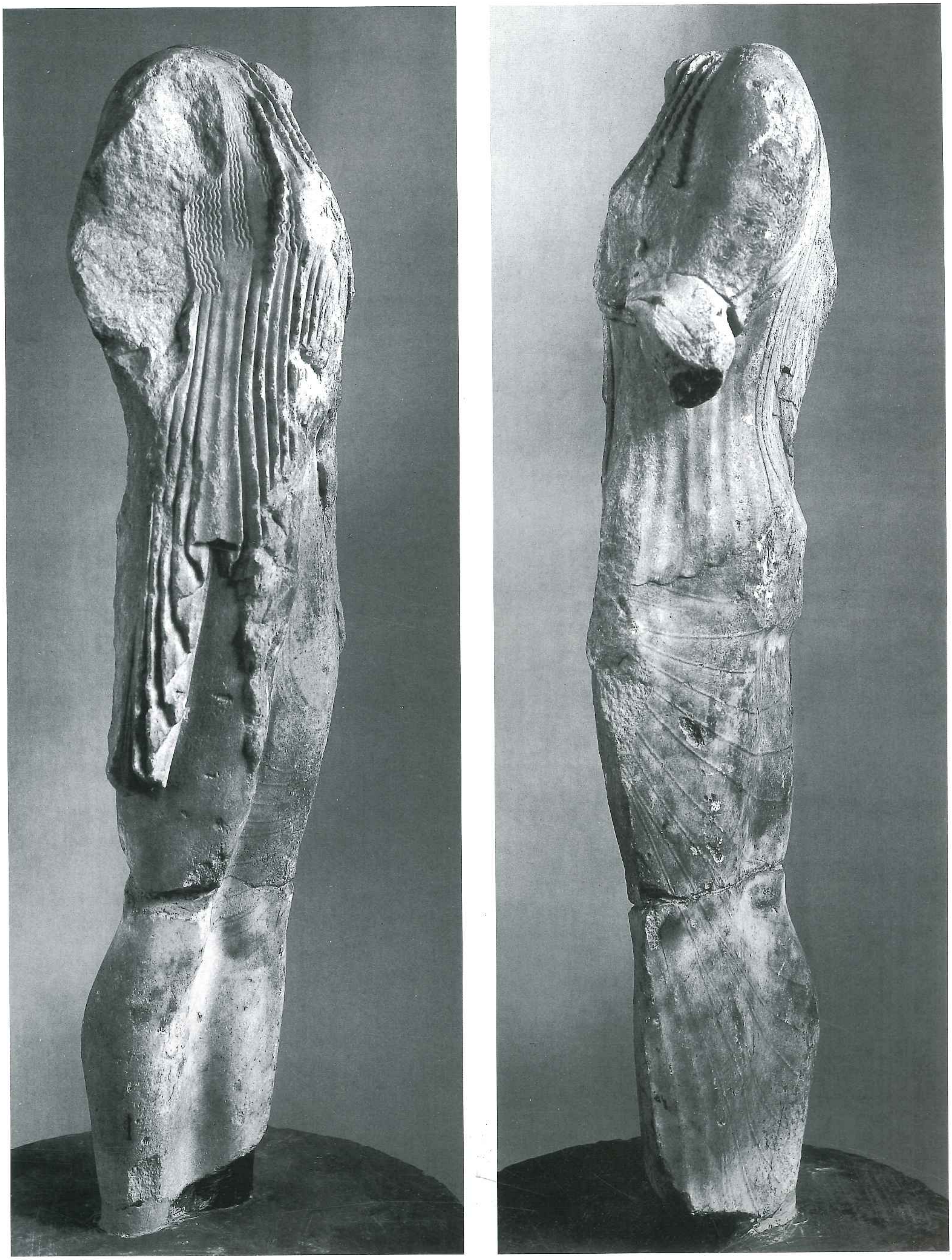

e

Akropolis Museum 594

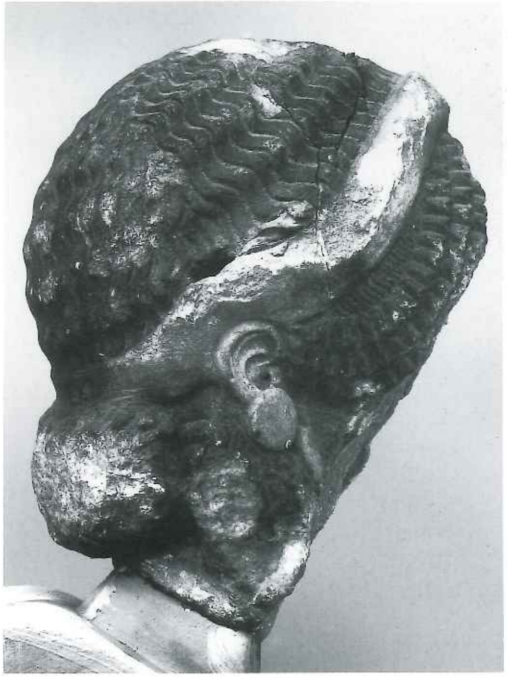

a b

Akropolis Museum 595

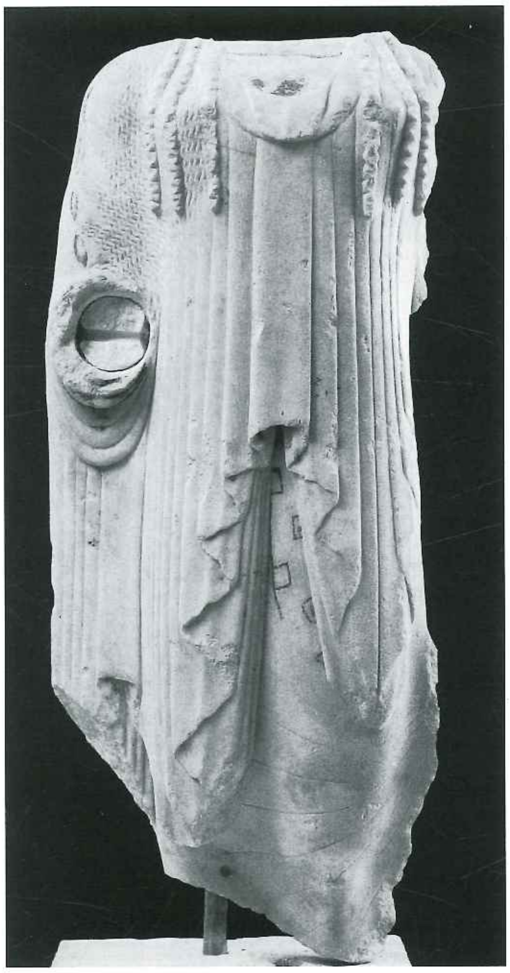


c d

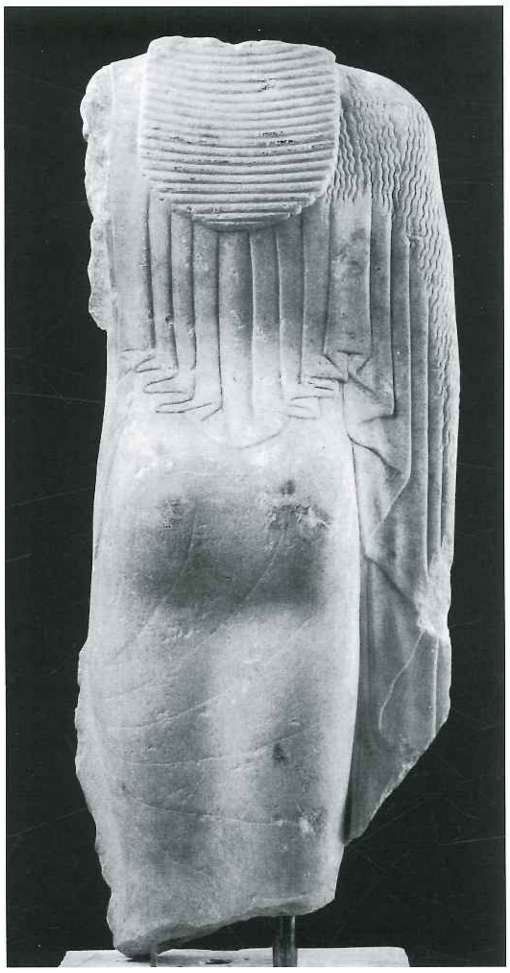
Akropolis Museum 595



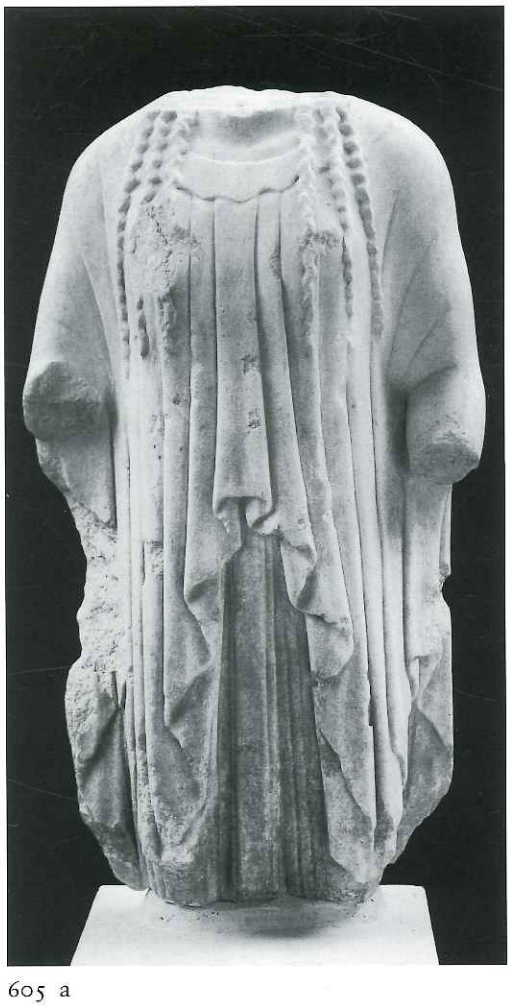
662



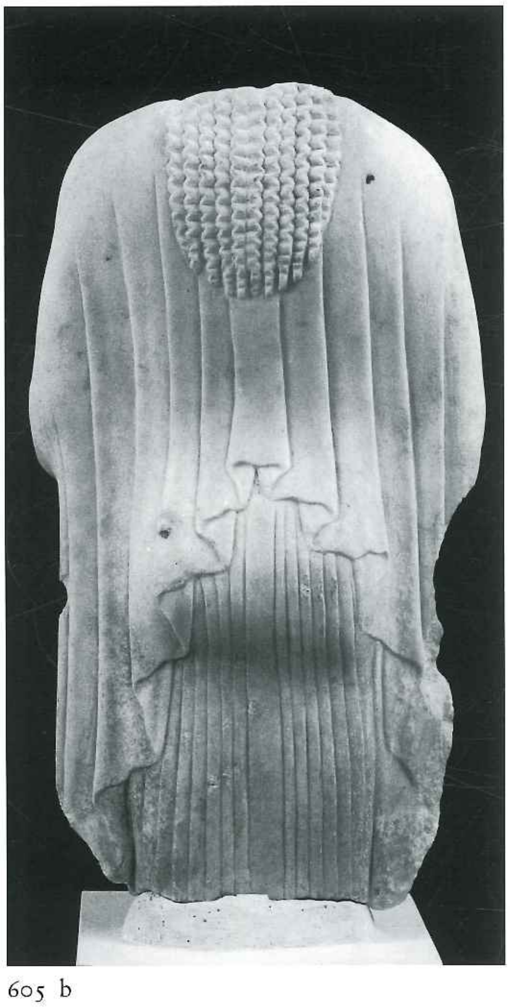
600 a



600 b

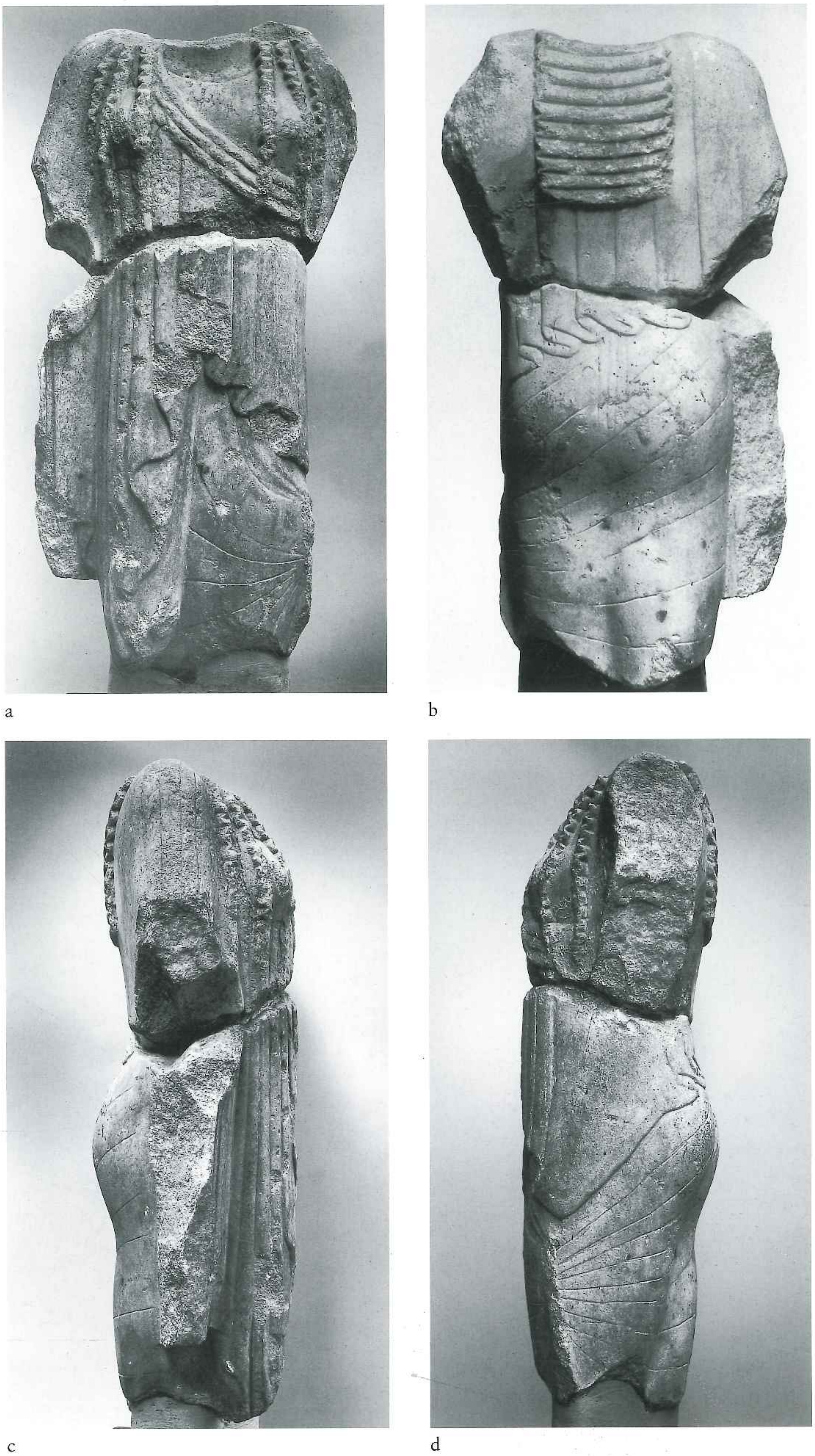


605 a

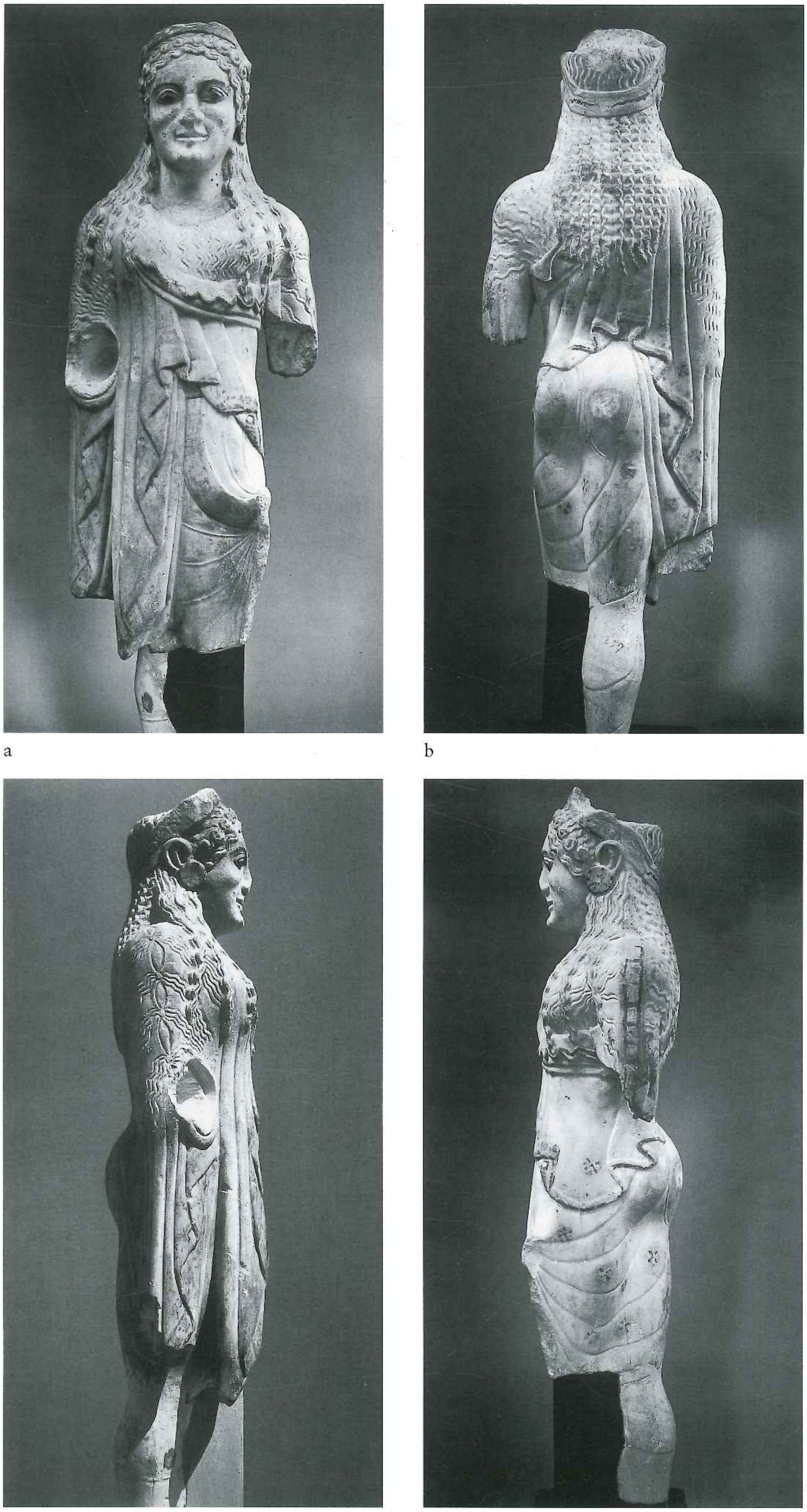


605 b

Akropolis Museum 662, 600, and 605

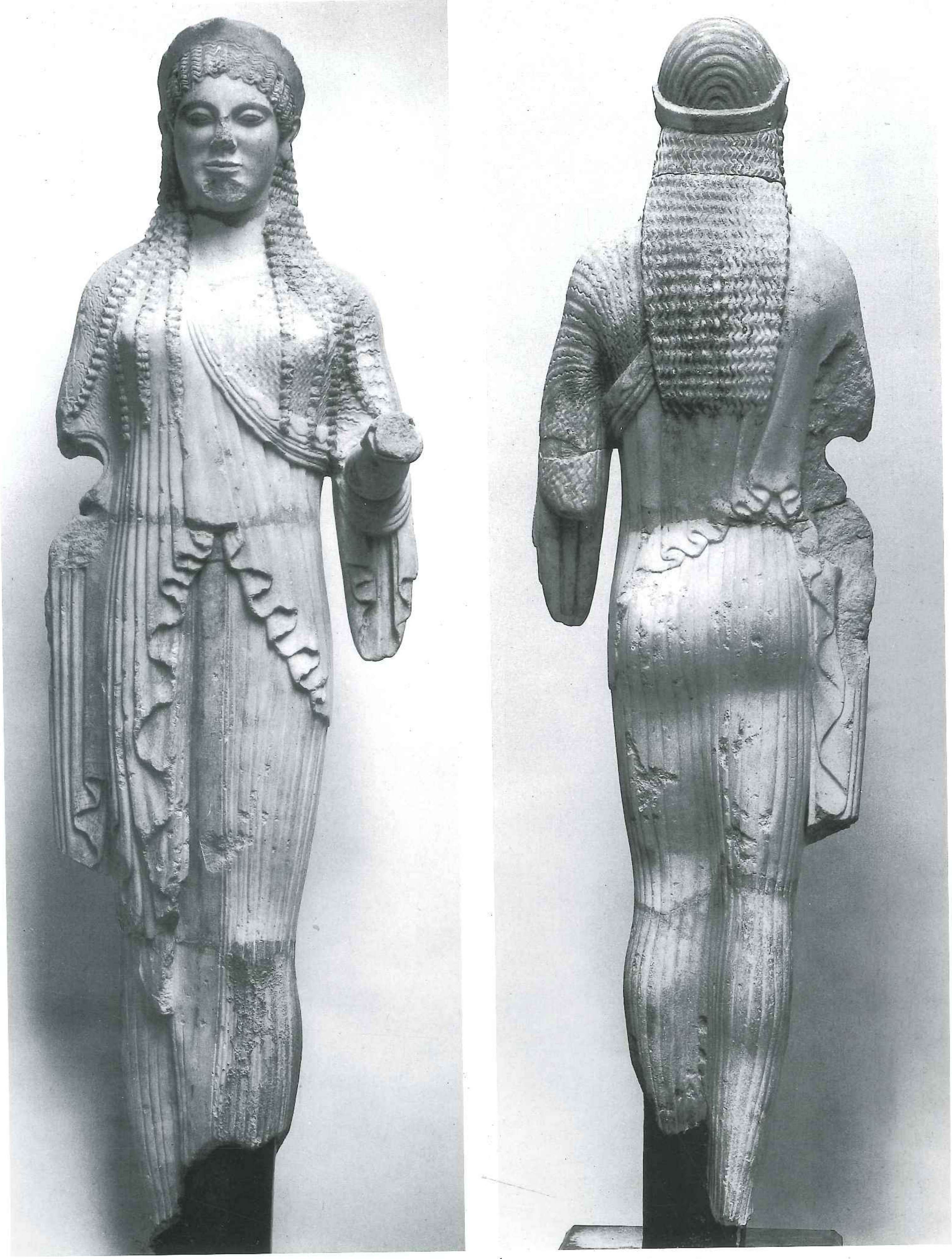


Akropolis Museum 601



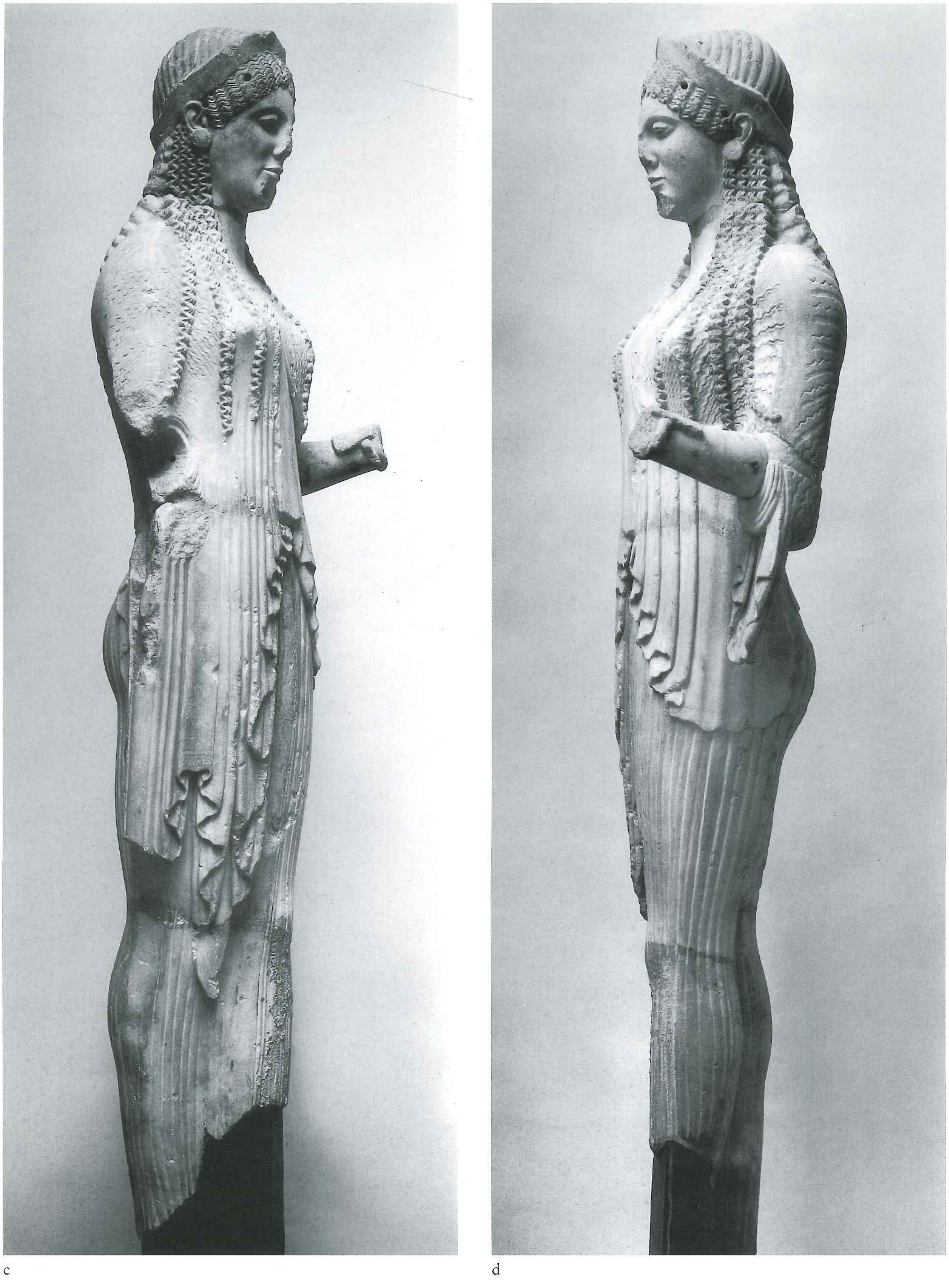
a b c d

Akropolis Museum 676



a b

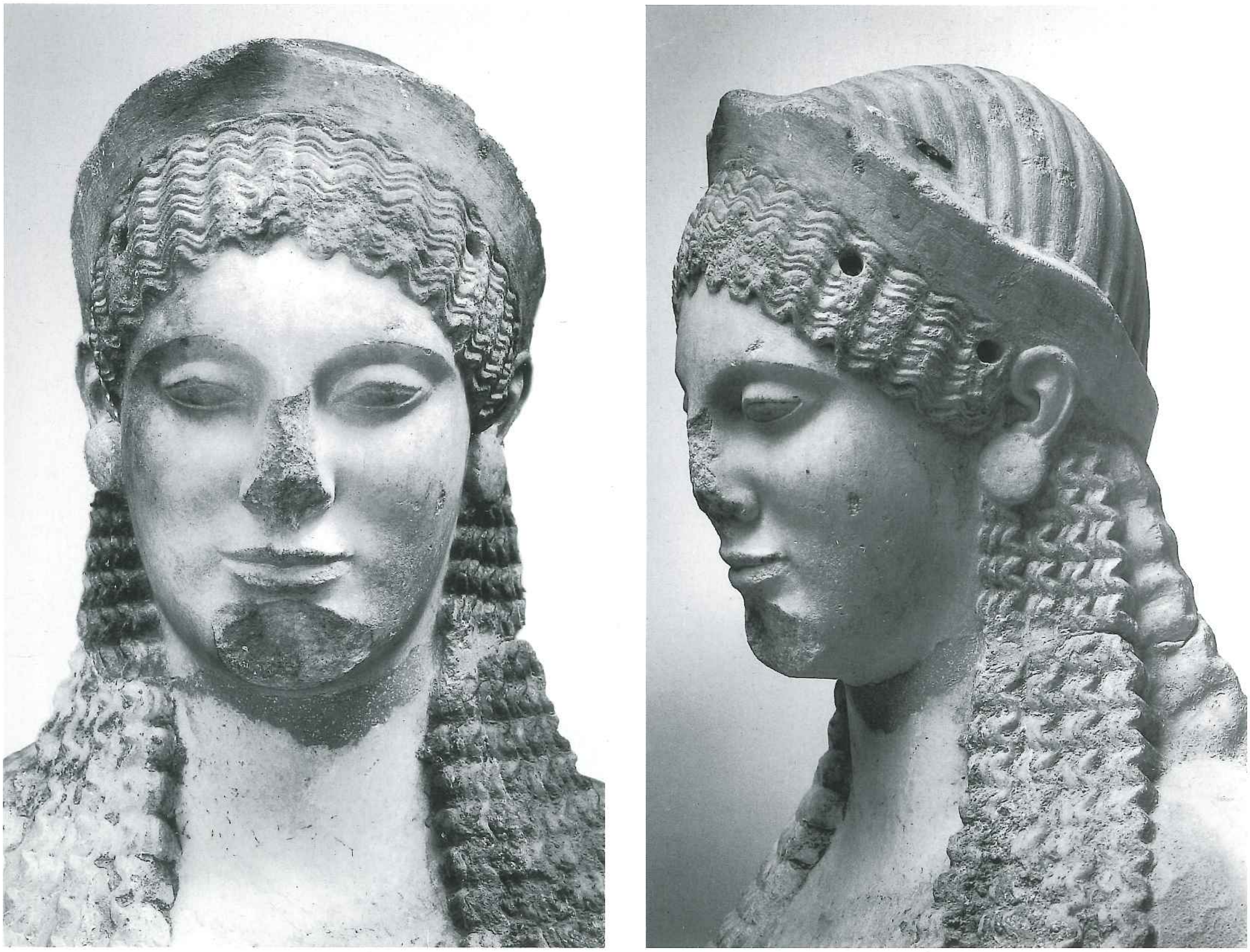
Akropolis Museum 685



c

d

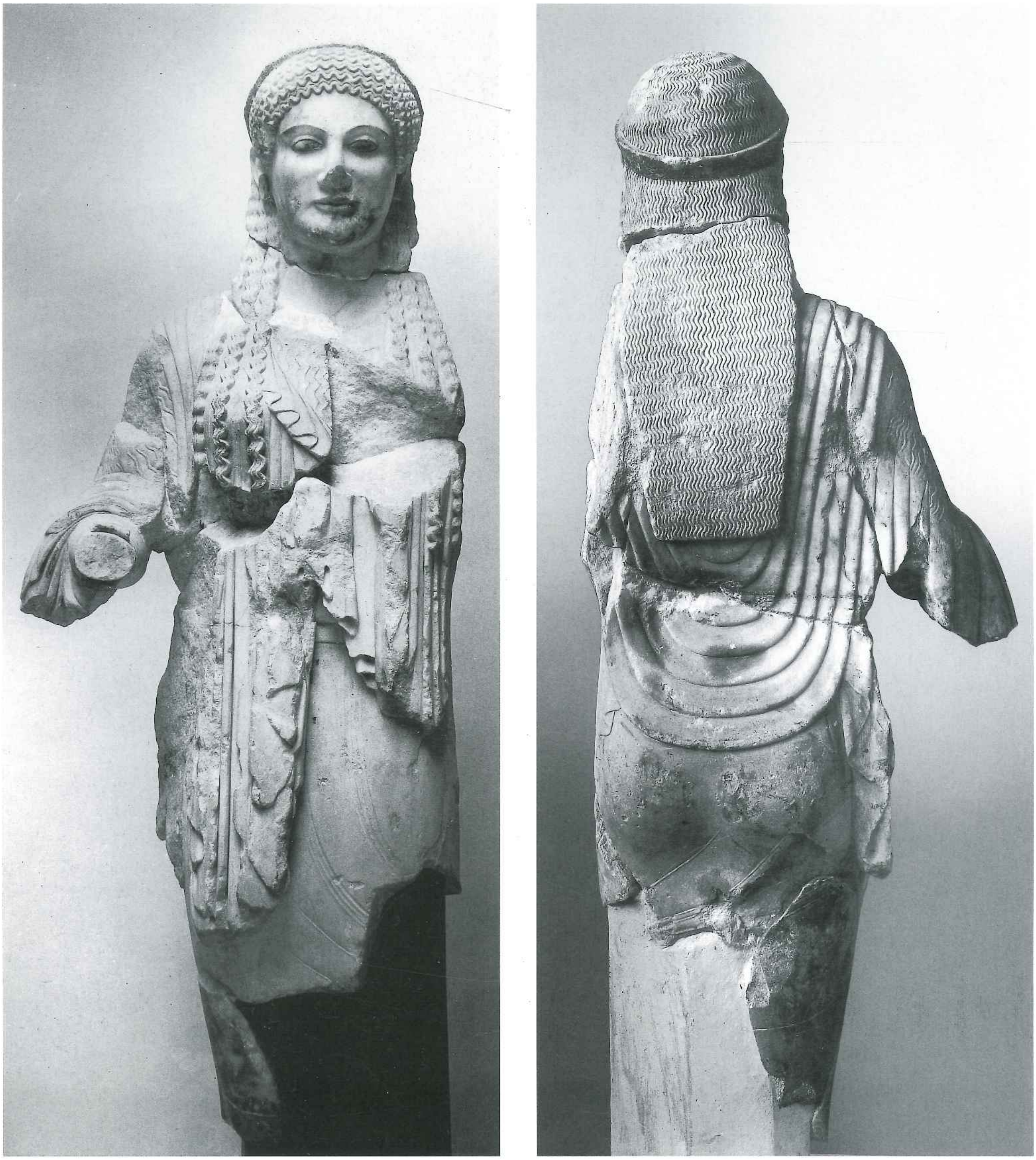
Akropolis Museum 685



e

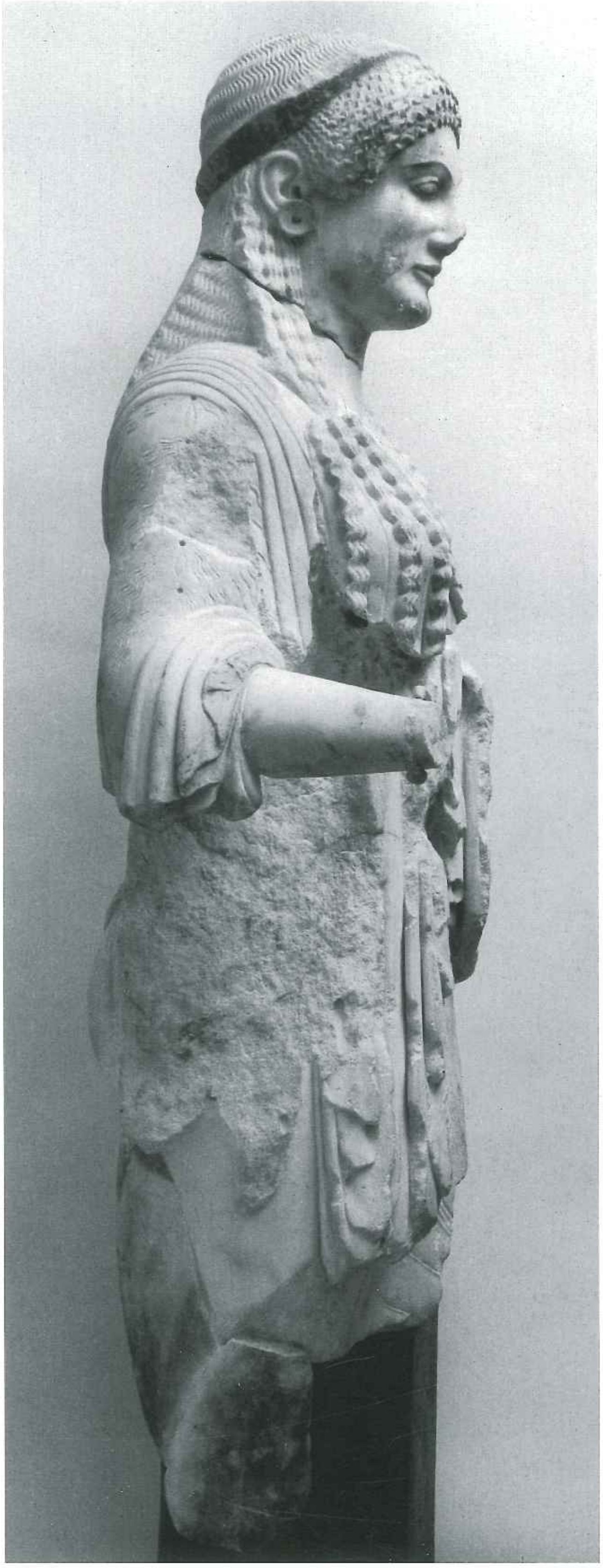
f

Akropolis Museum 685

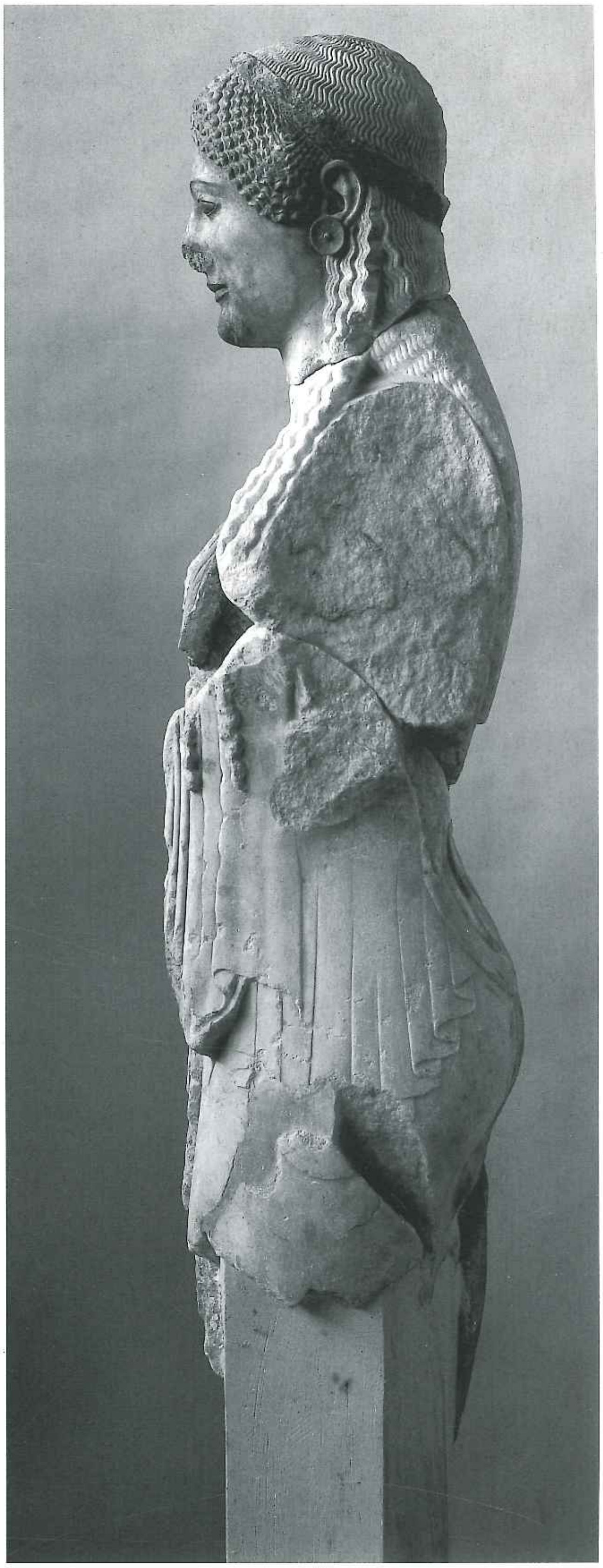


a b

Akropolis Museum 684

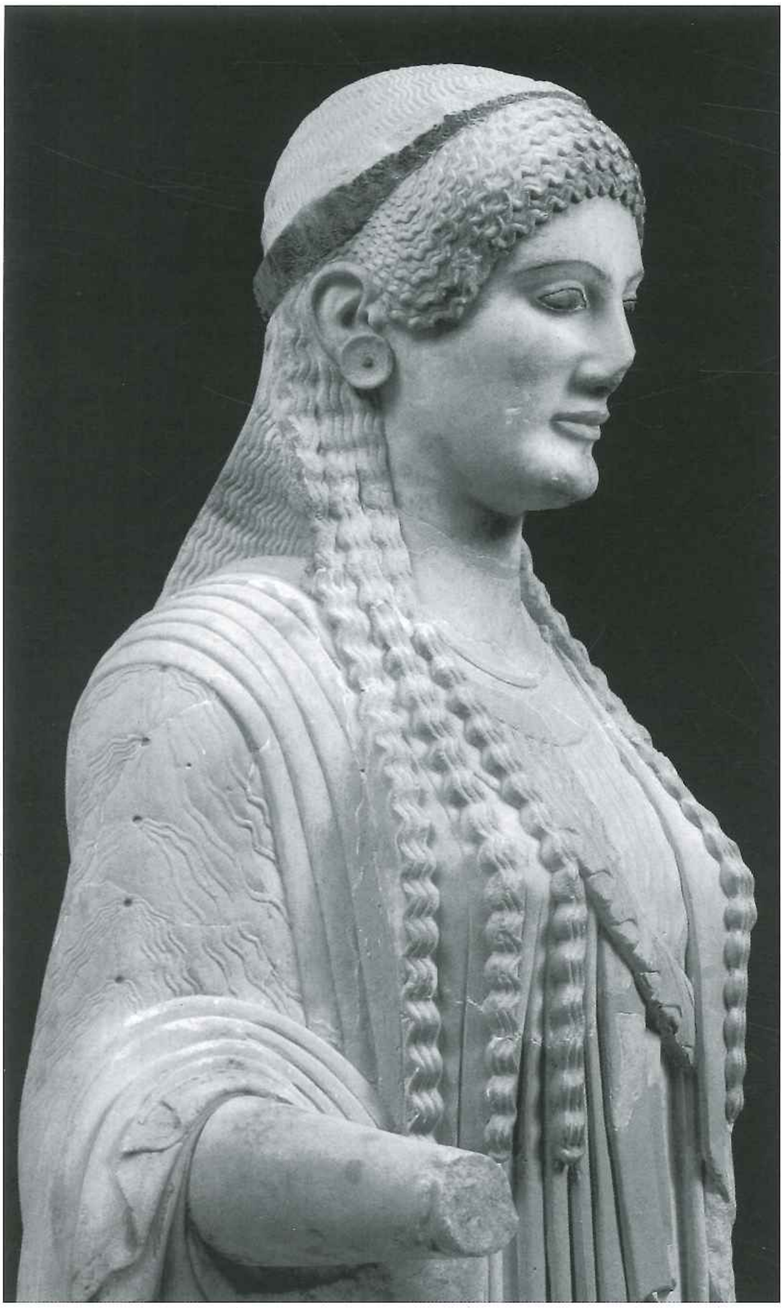


c



d

Akropolis Museum 684



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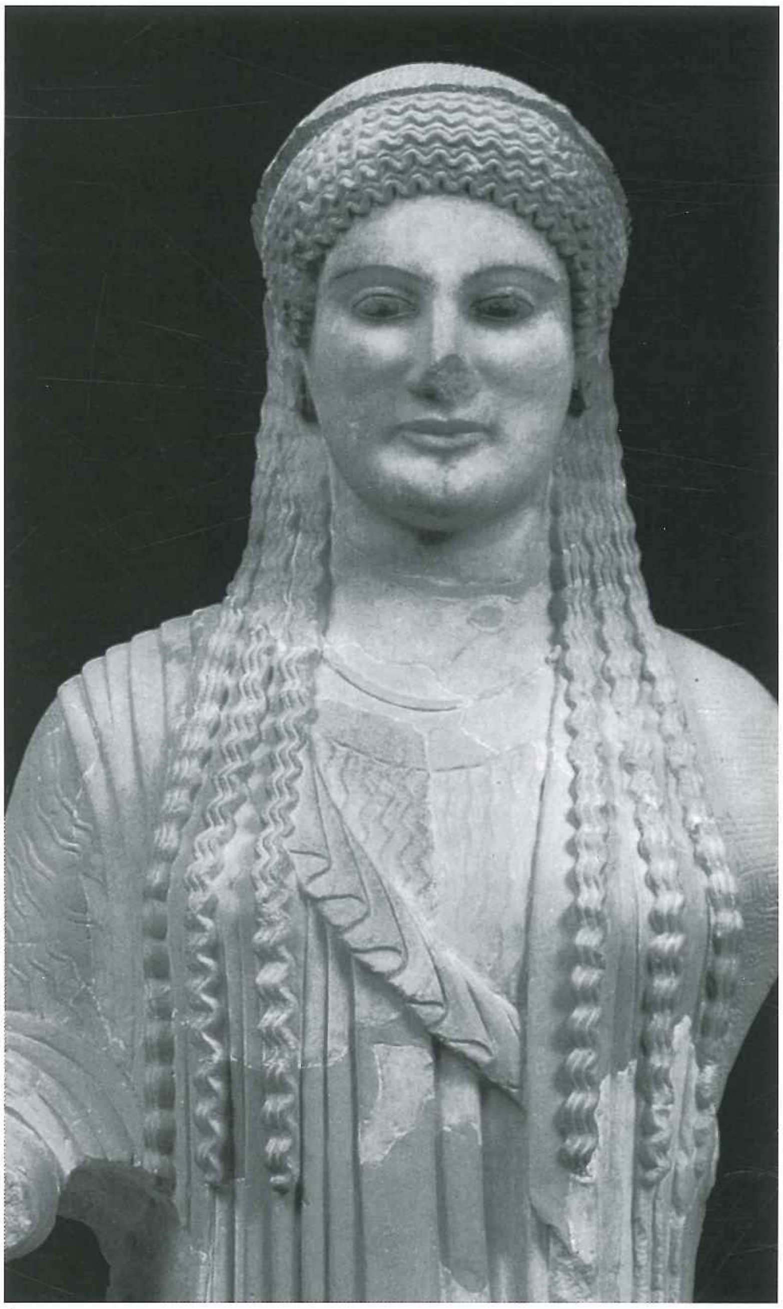

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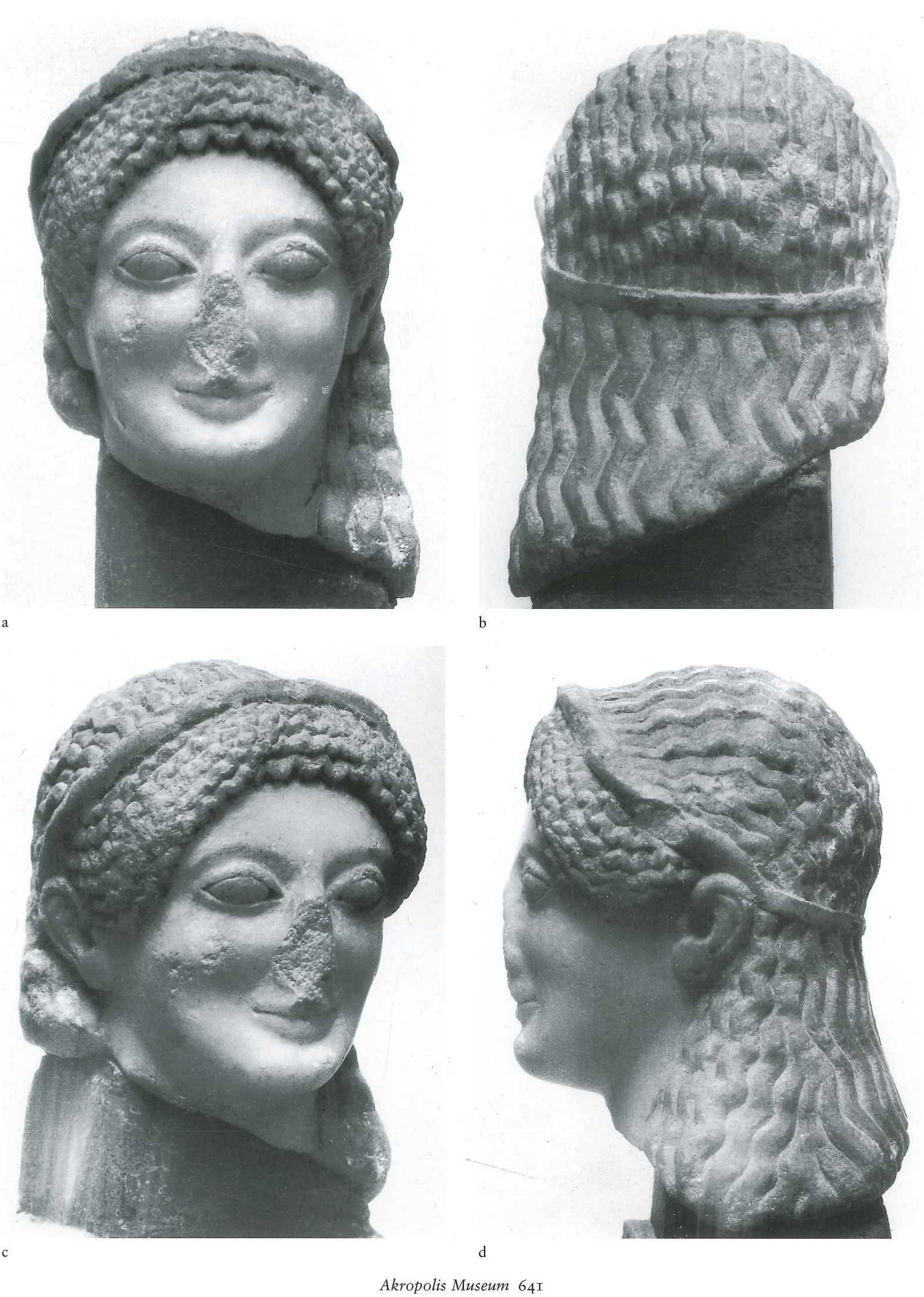
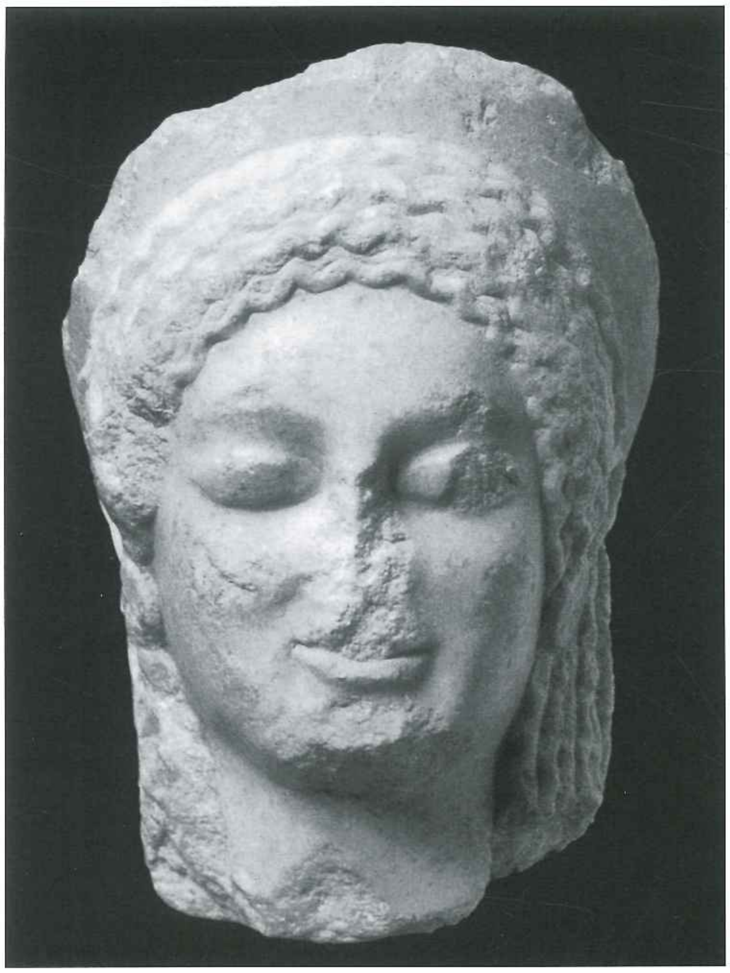
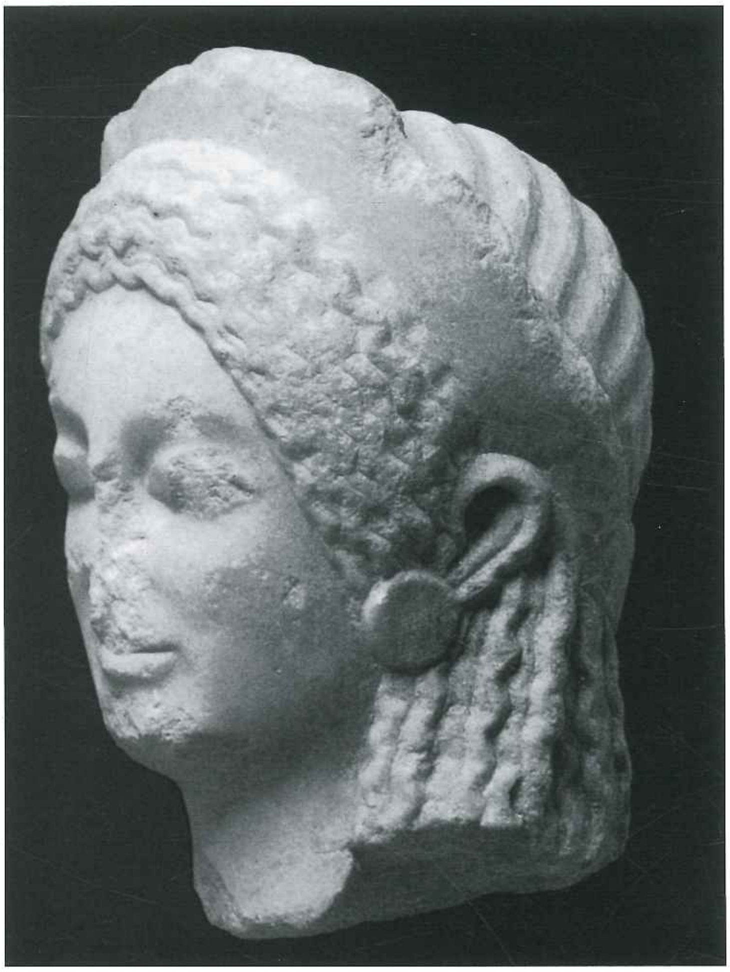
Akropolis Museum 684

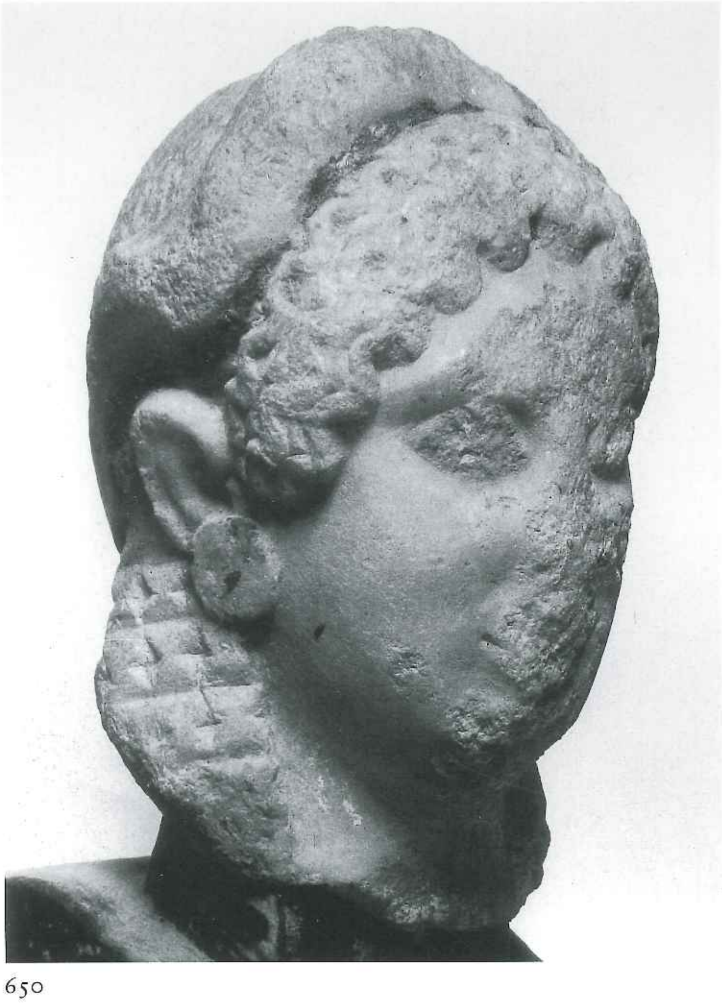


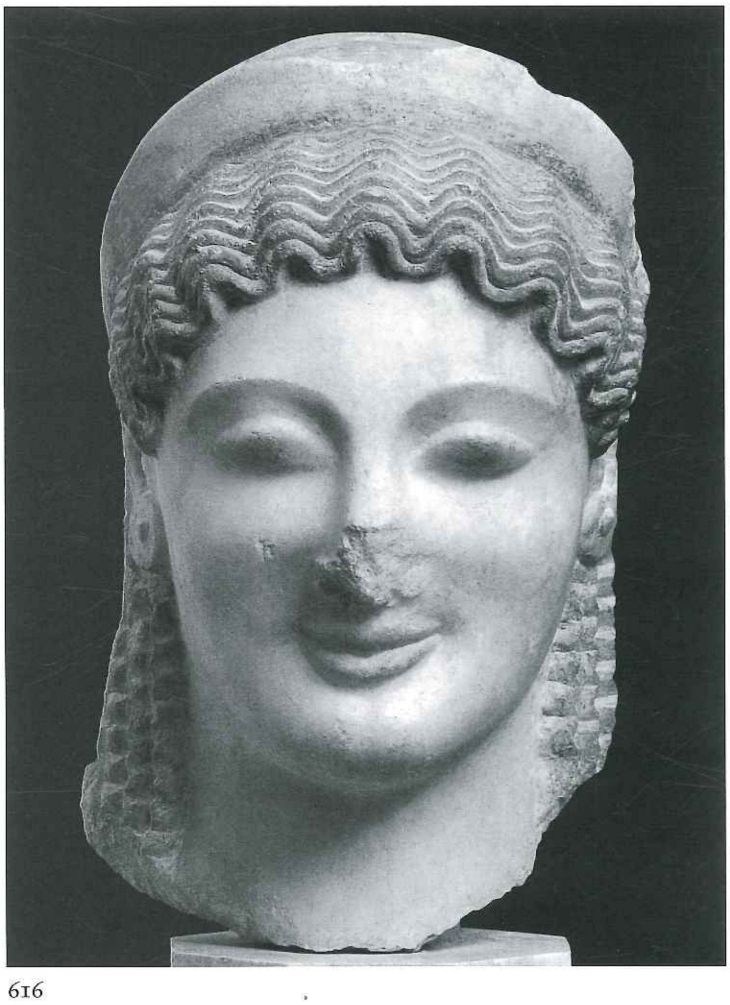
a b c d

Akropolis Museum 641

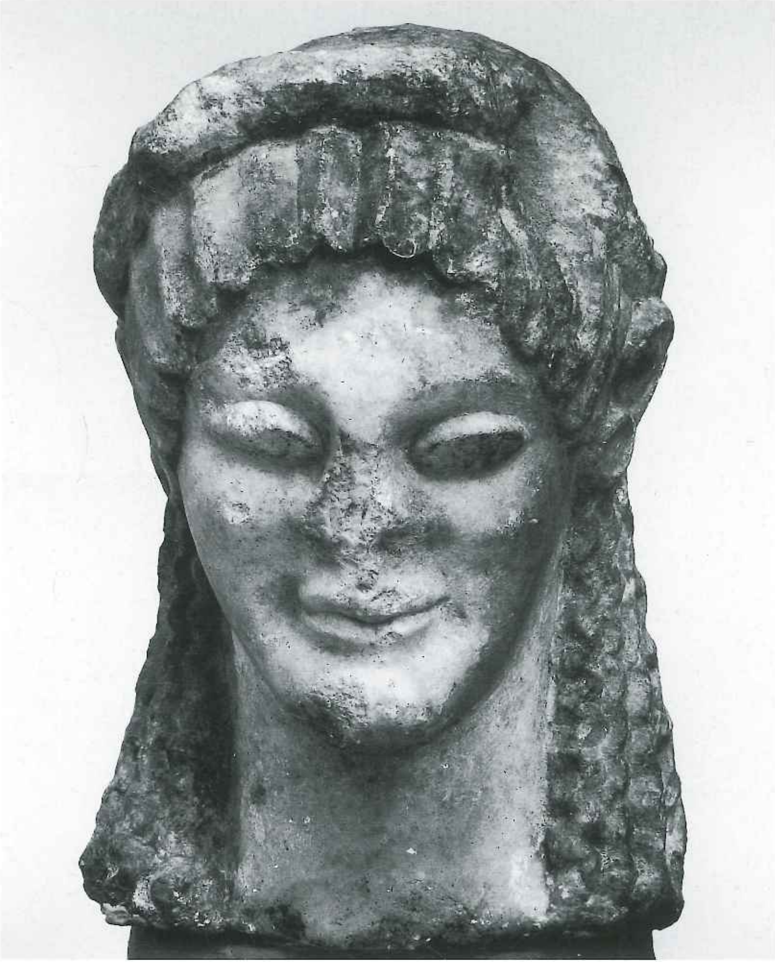

649 a


649 b

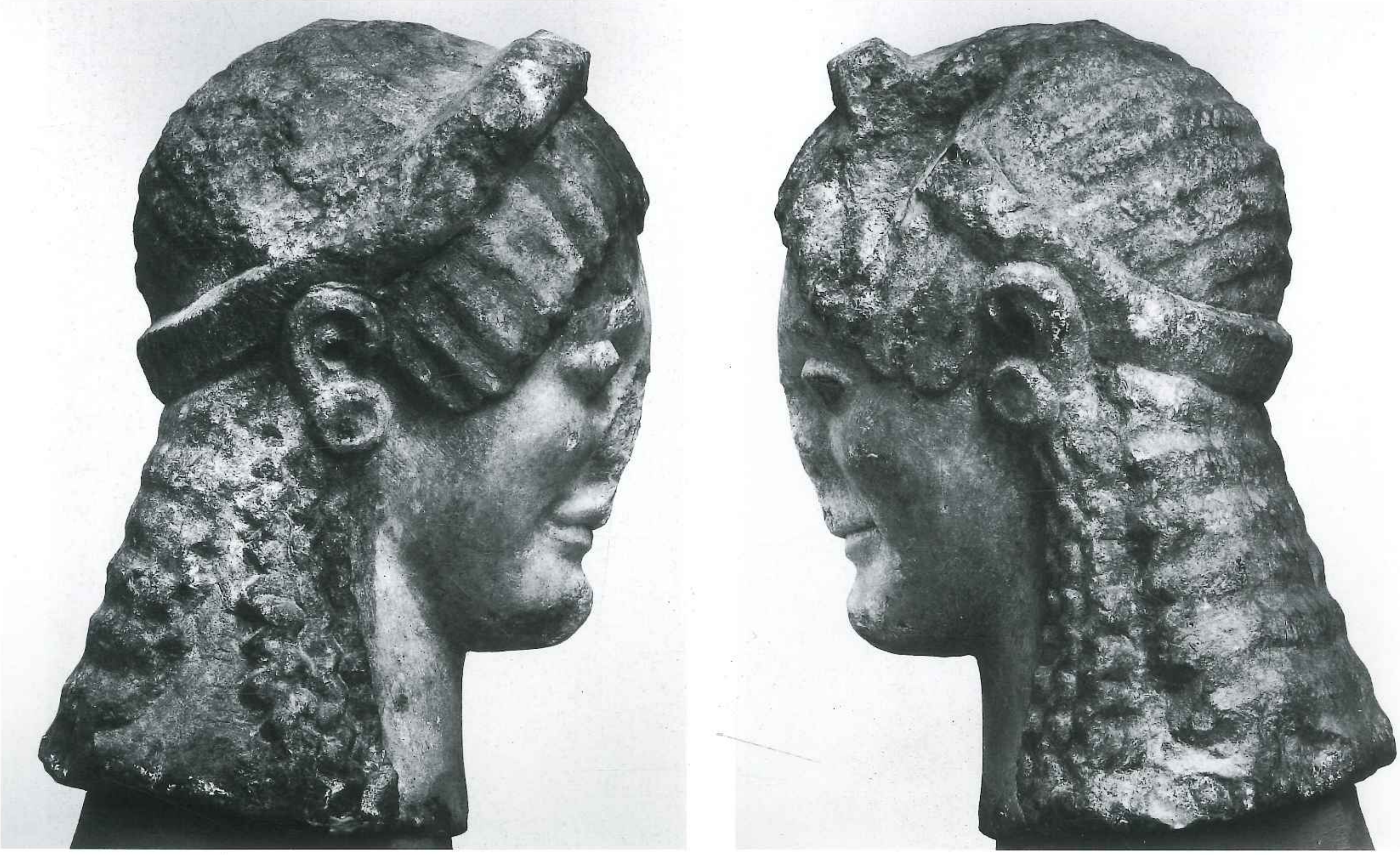

650


616

Akropolis Museum 649, 650, and 616

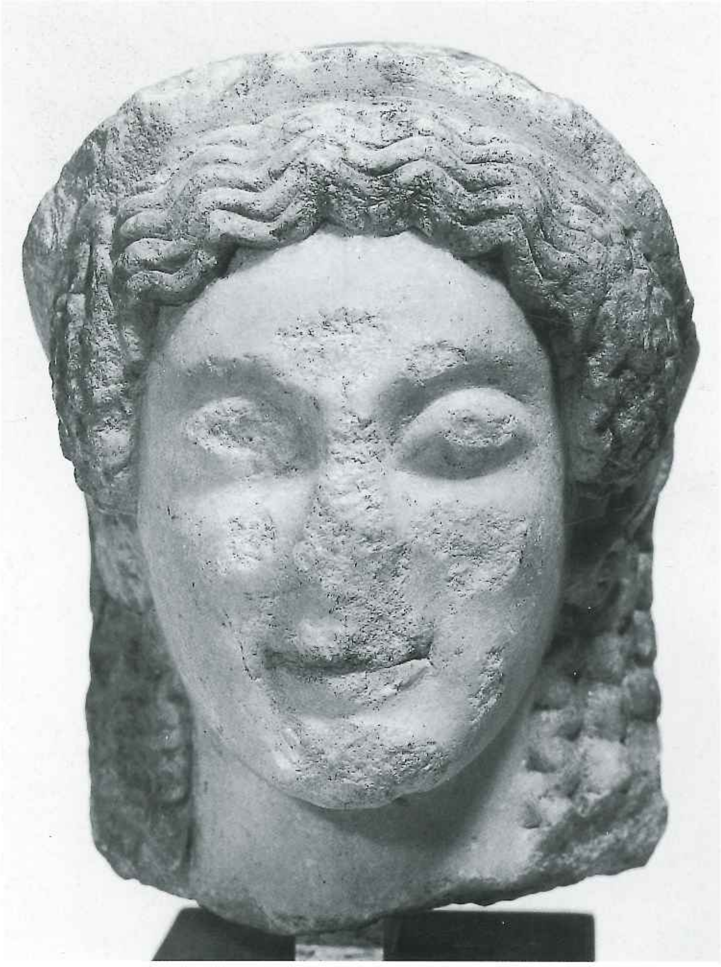


a

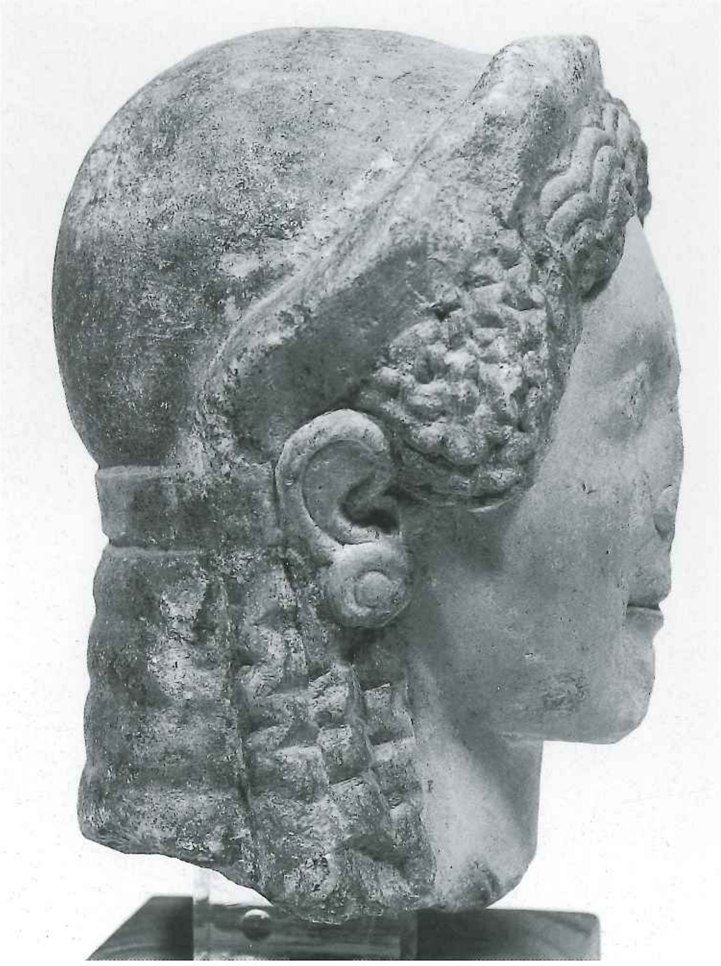


b c

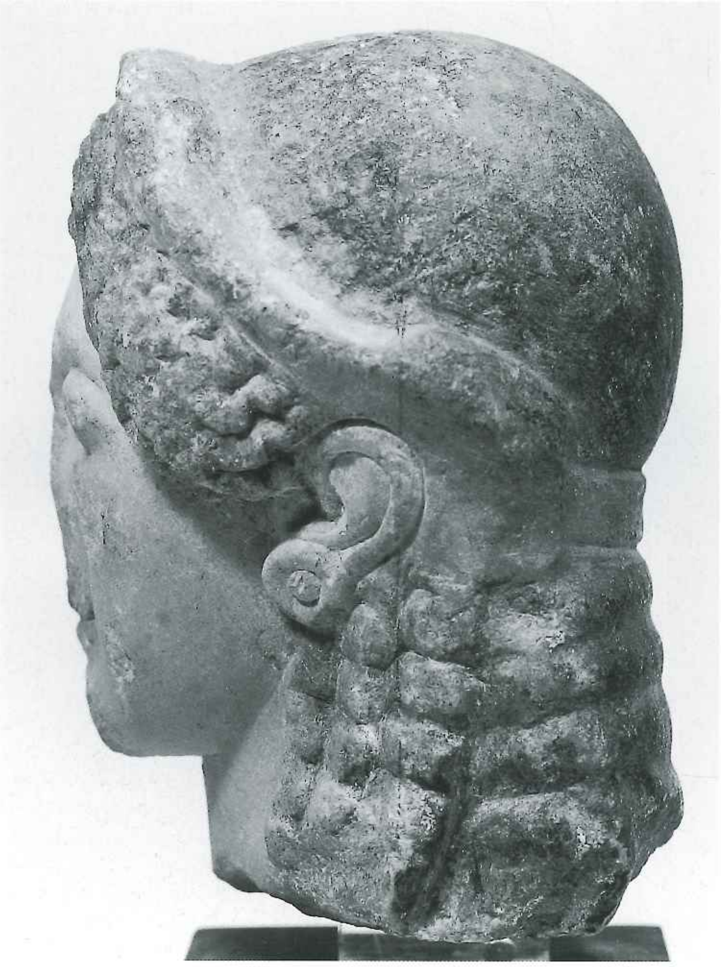
Akropolis Museum 651



a

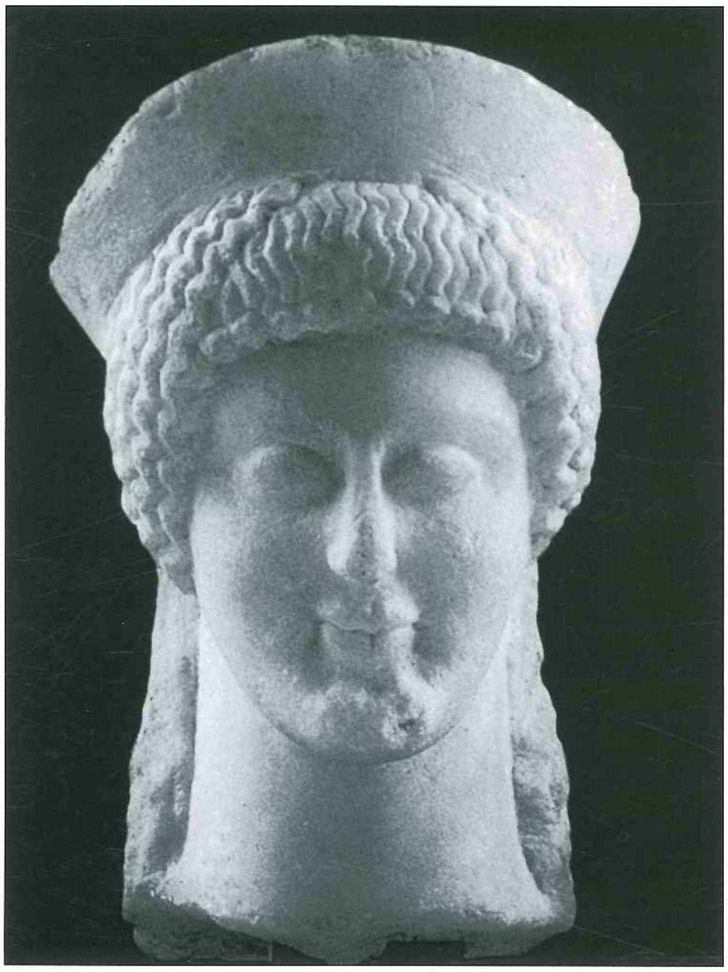


b

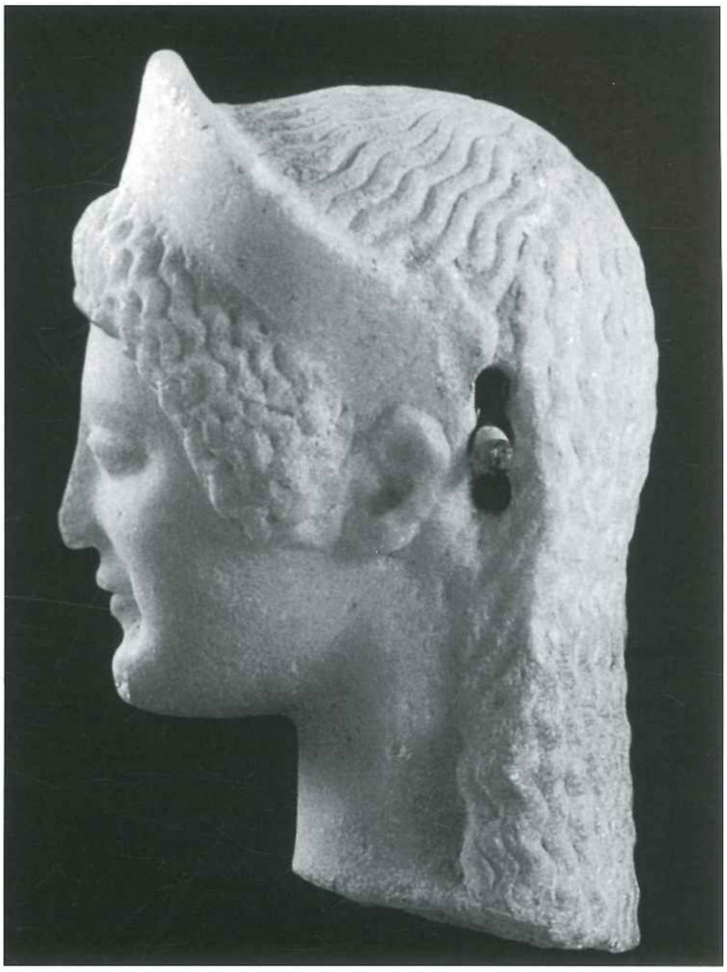


c

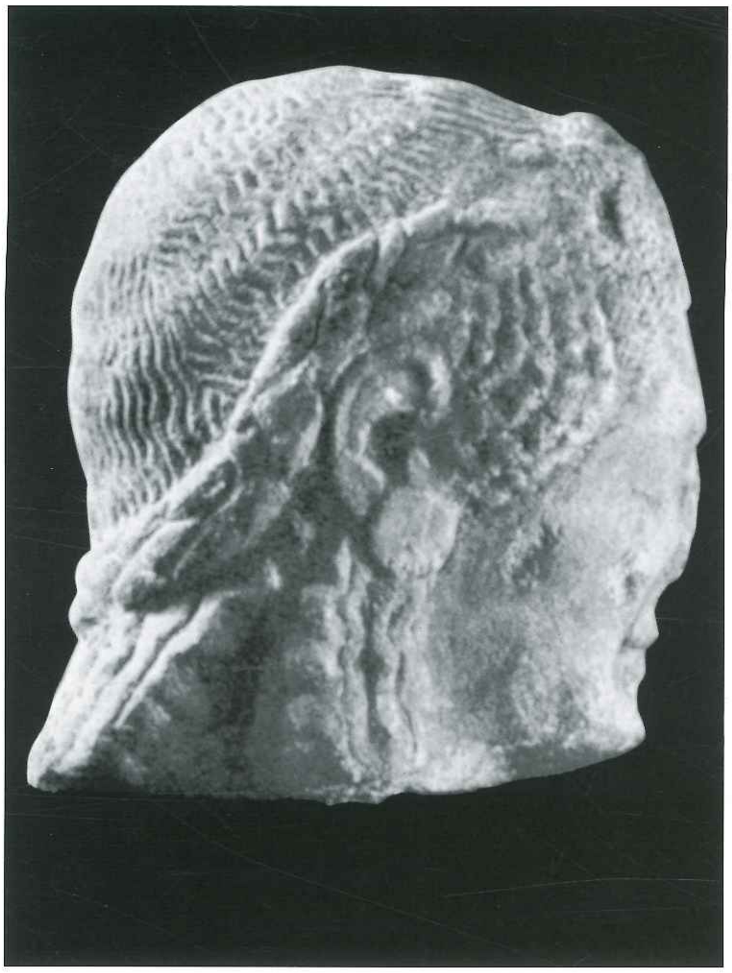
Akropolis Museum 648



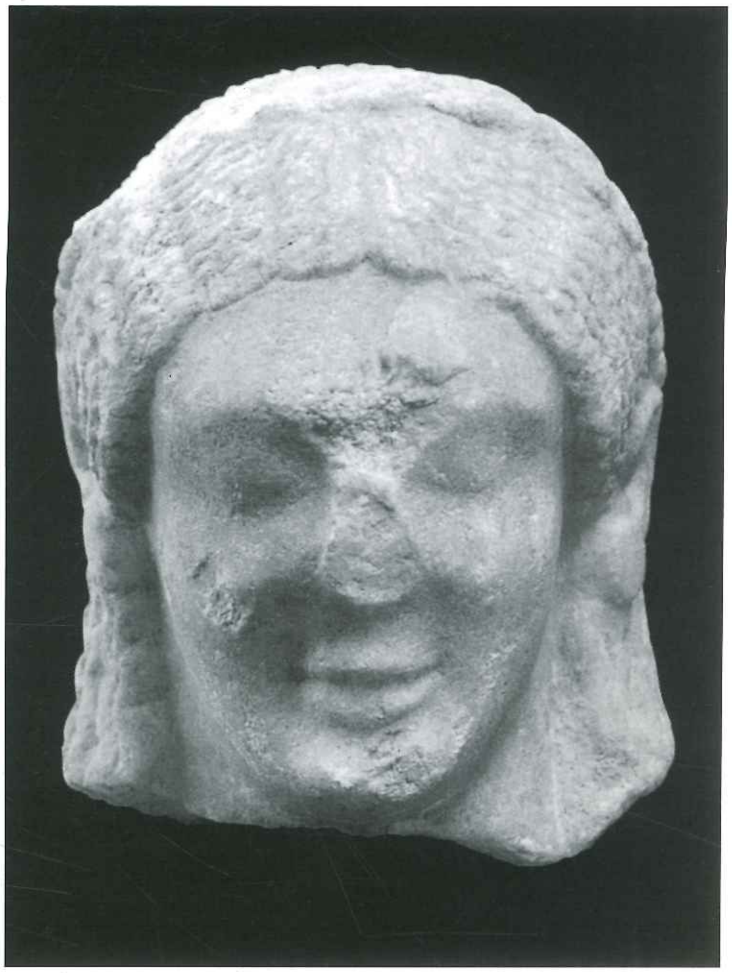
640 a



640 b

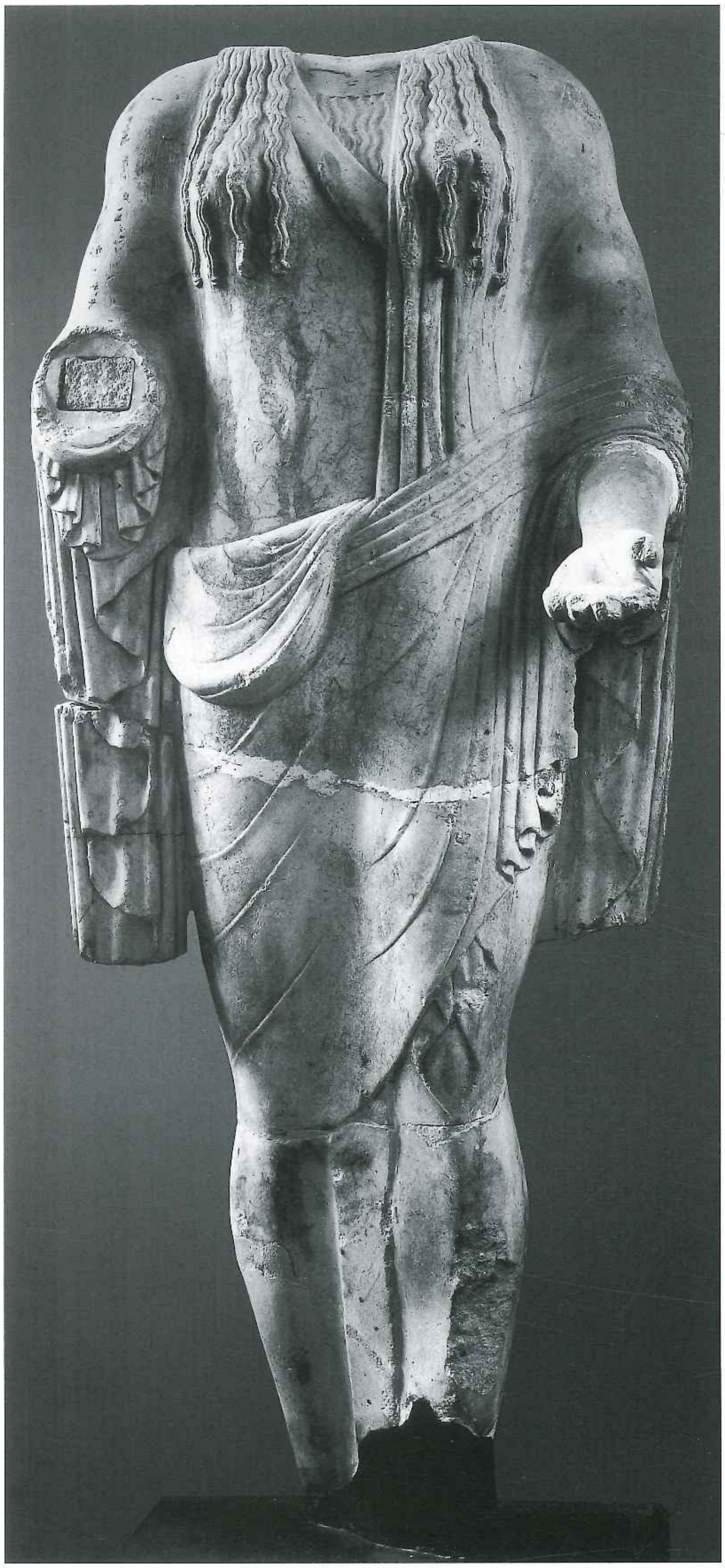


664 a

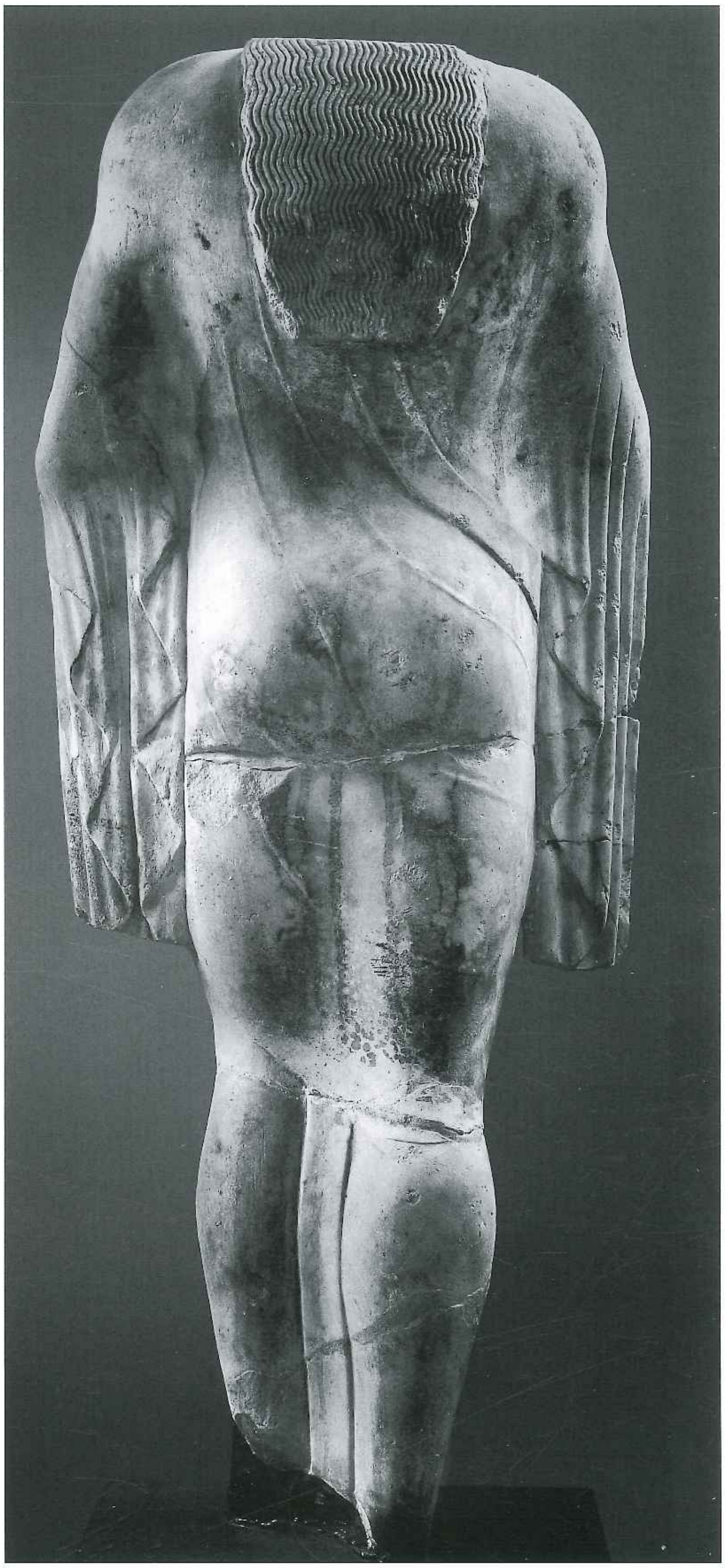


664 b

Akropolis Museum 640 and 664

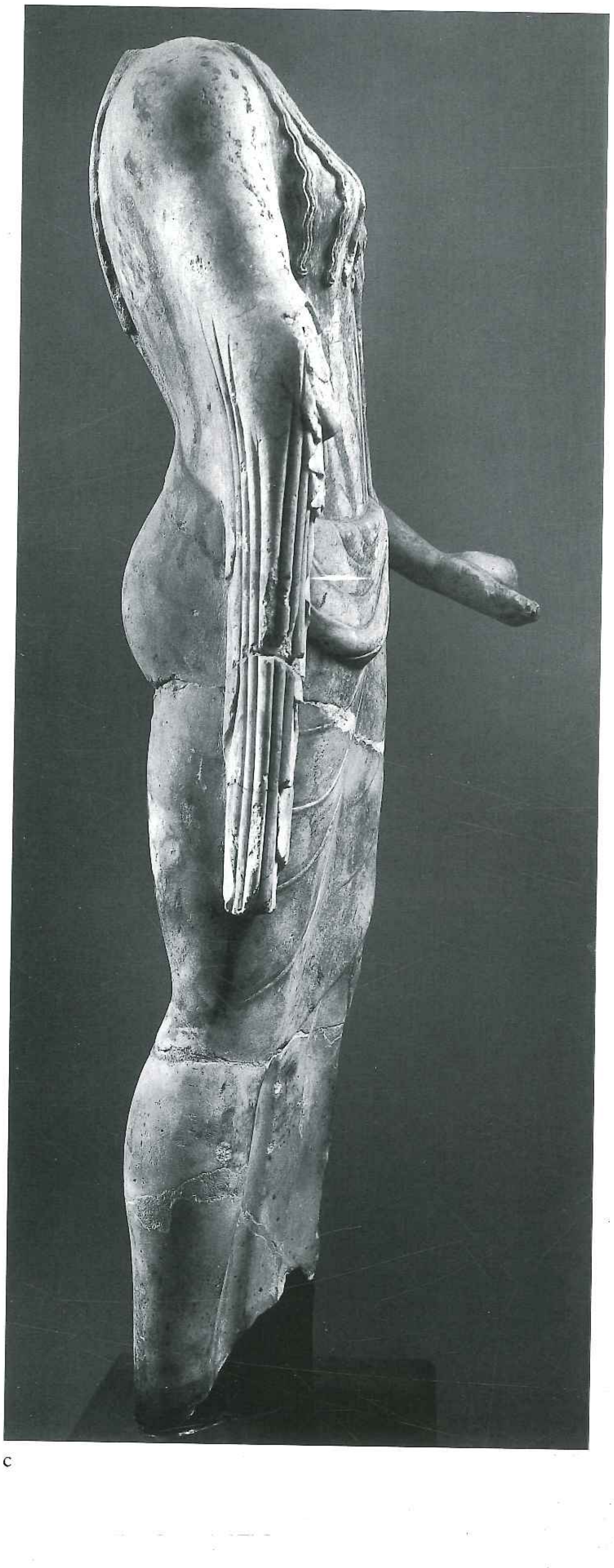


a

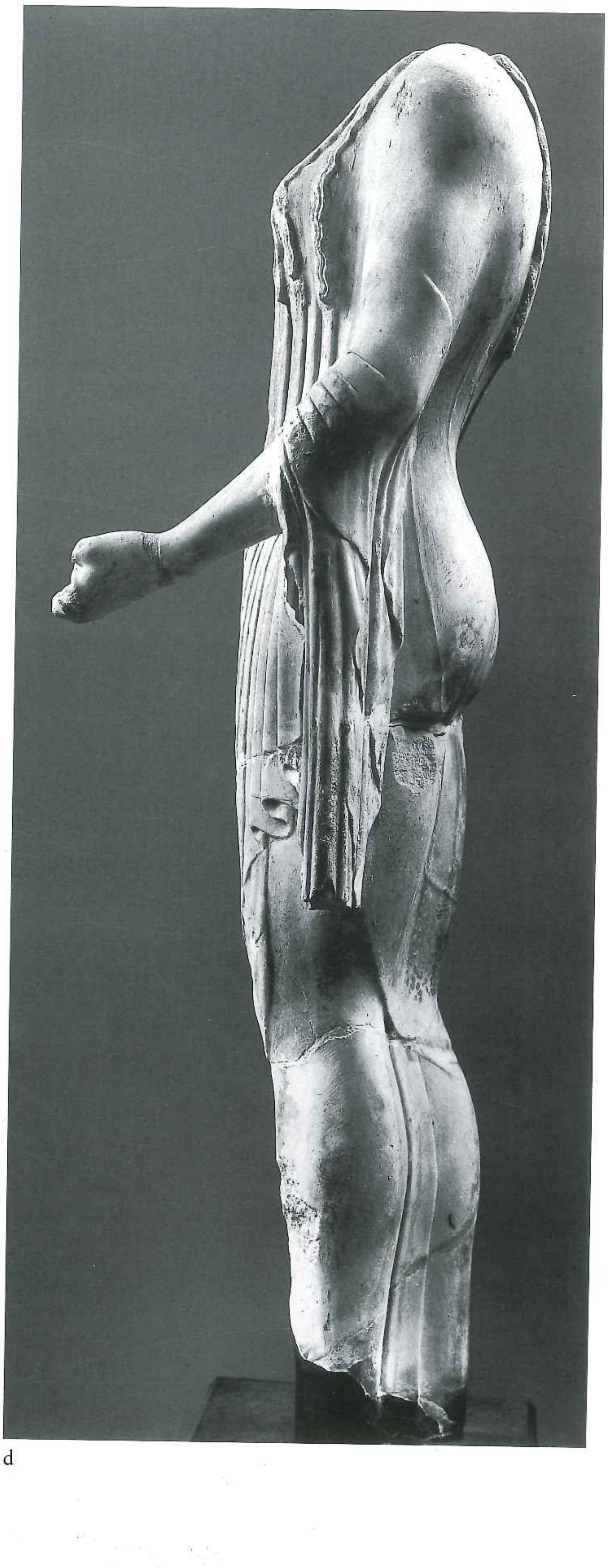


b

Akropolis Museum 615

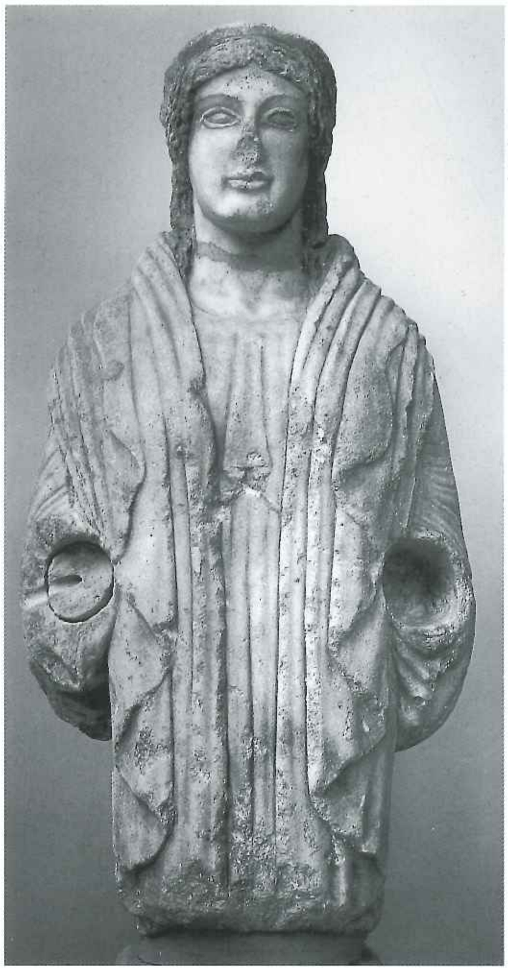


c

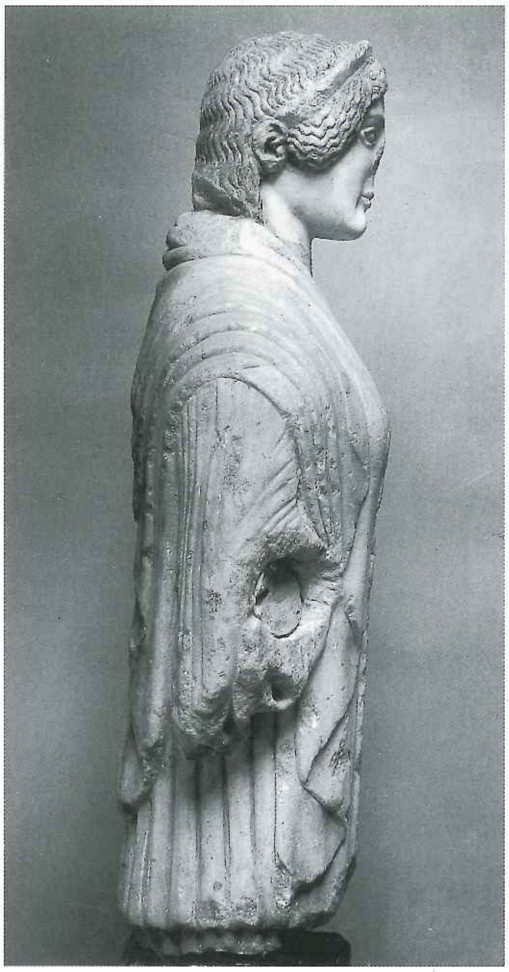


d

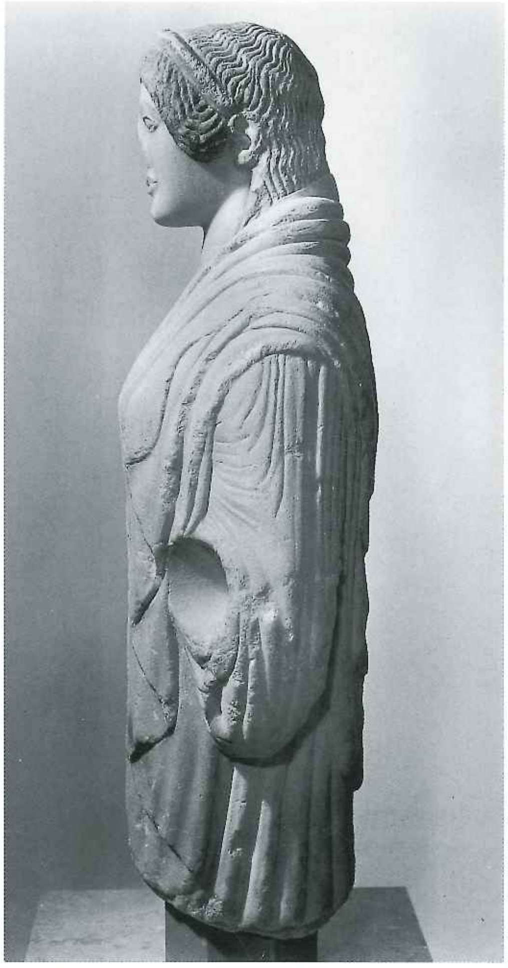
Akropolis Museum 615



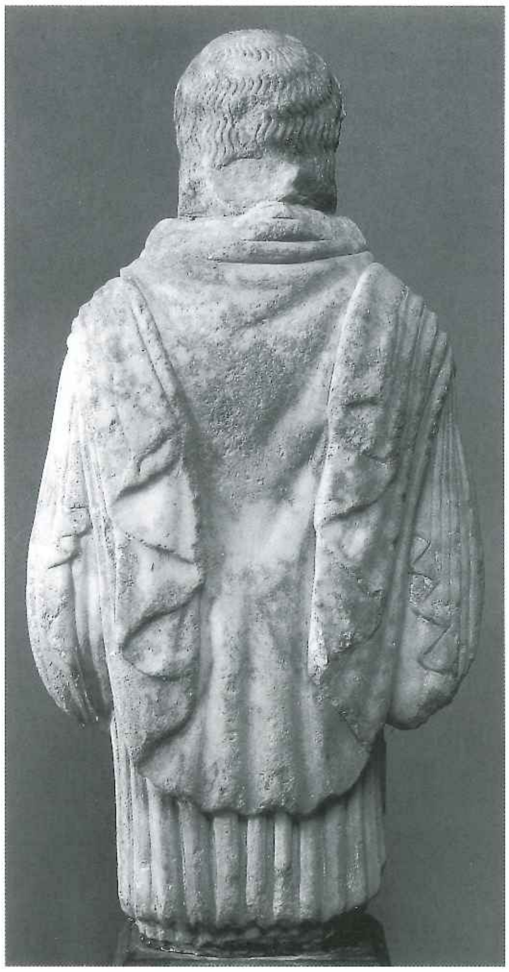
688 a



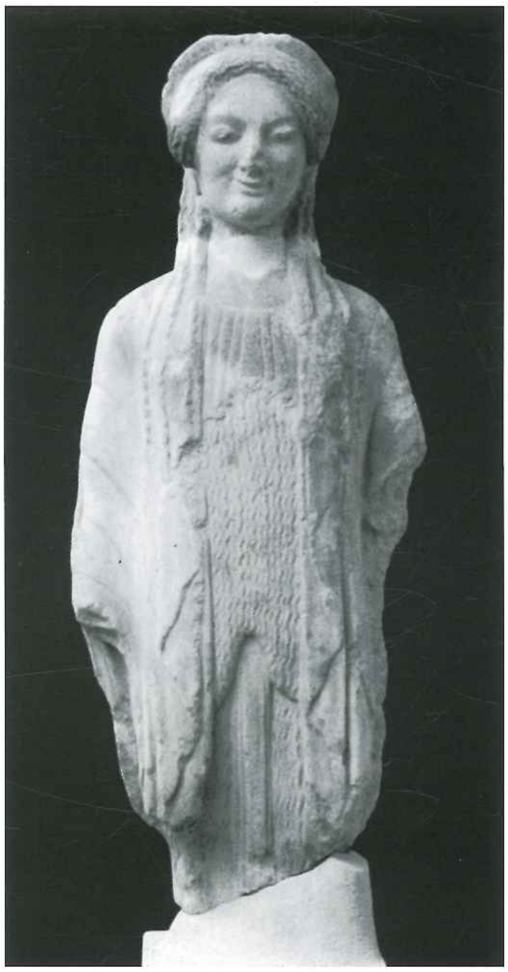
688 b



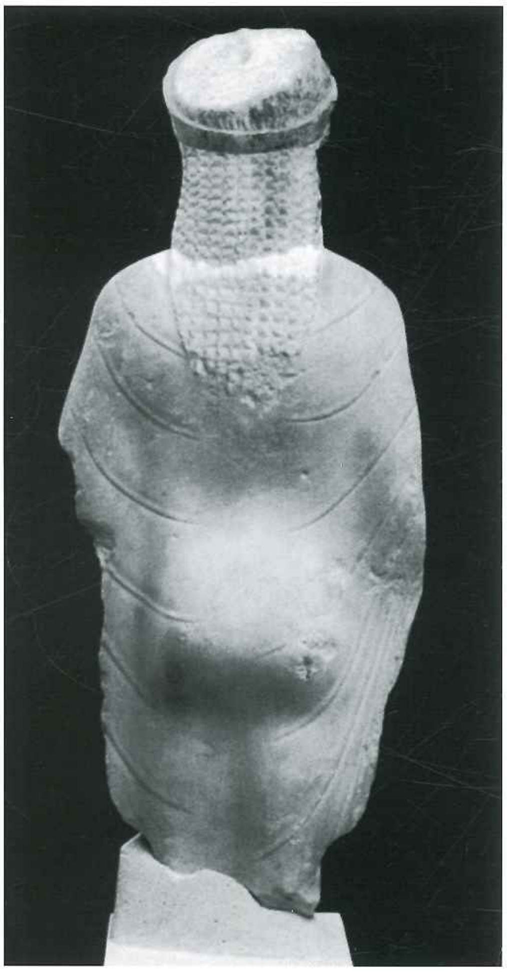
688 c



688 d

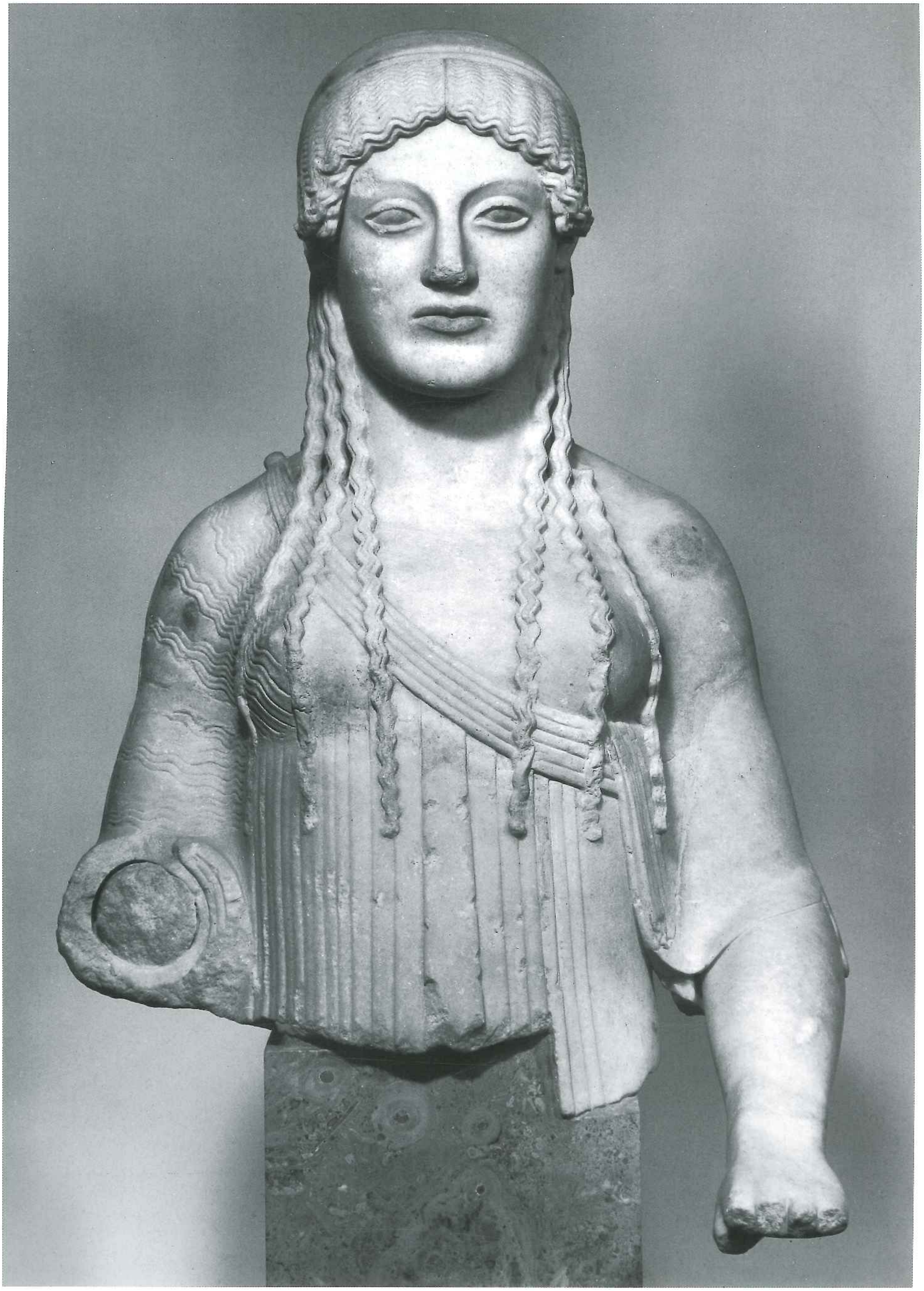


687 a



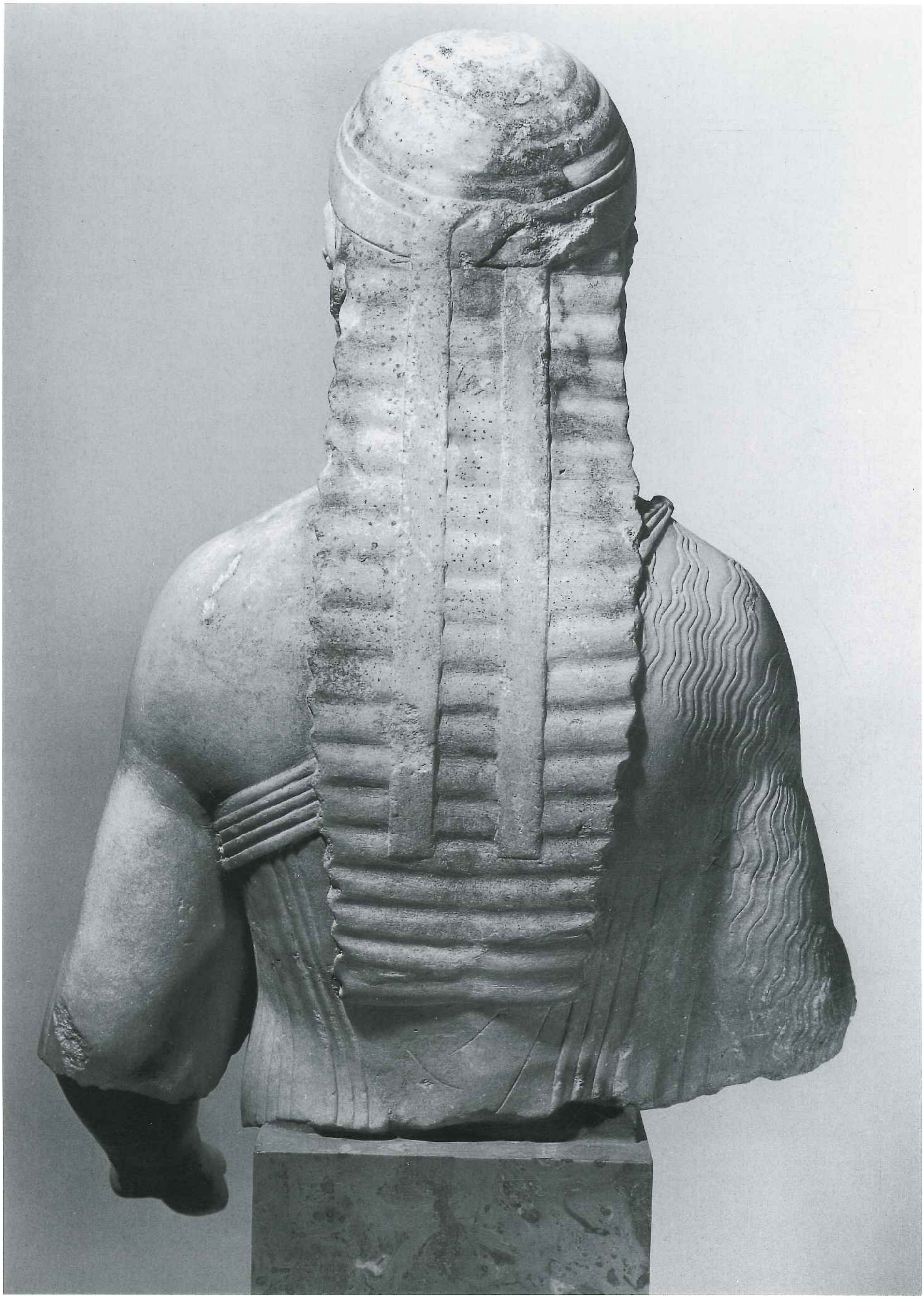
687 b

Akropolis Museum 688 and 687



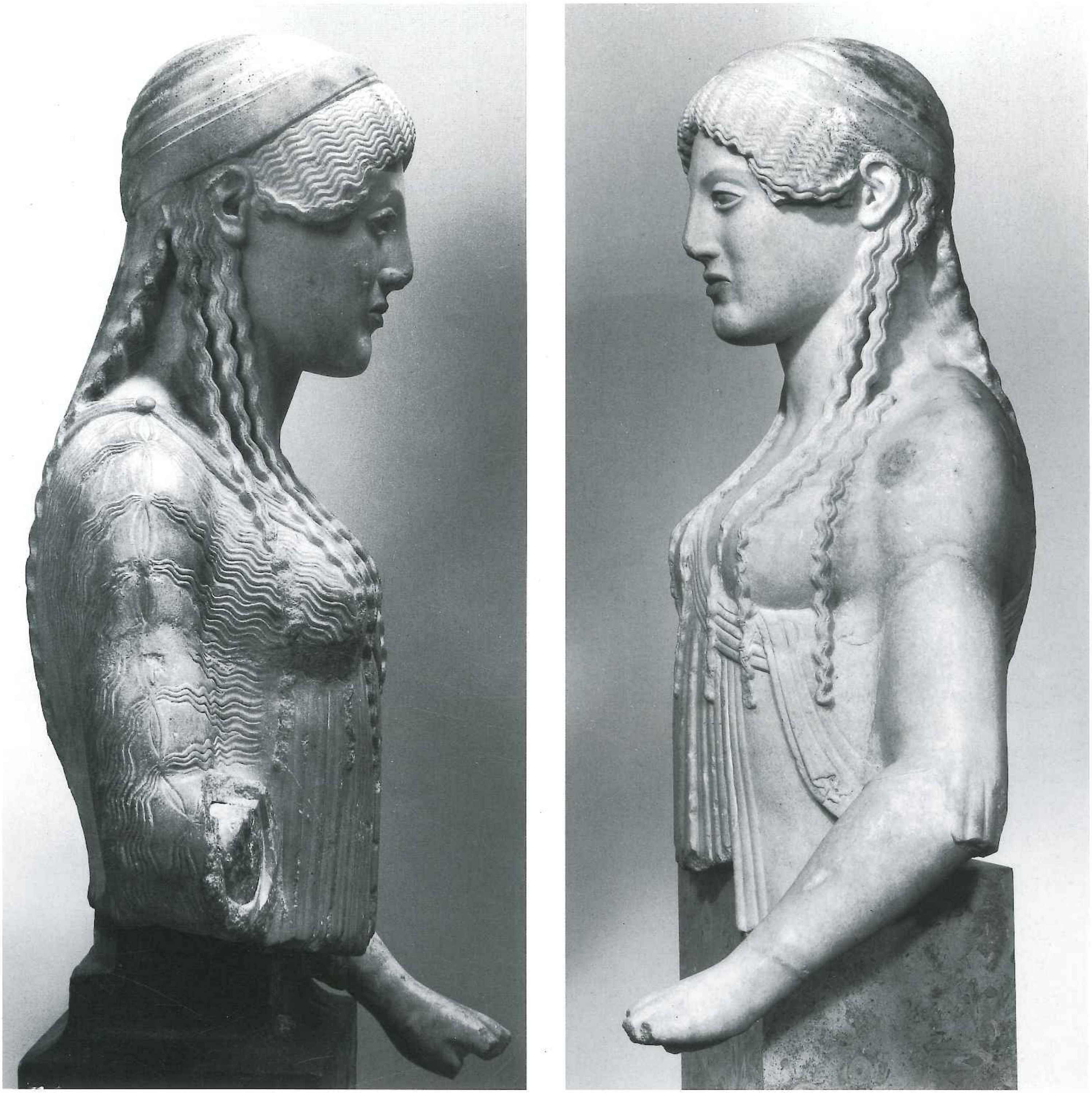
a

Akropolis Museum 686



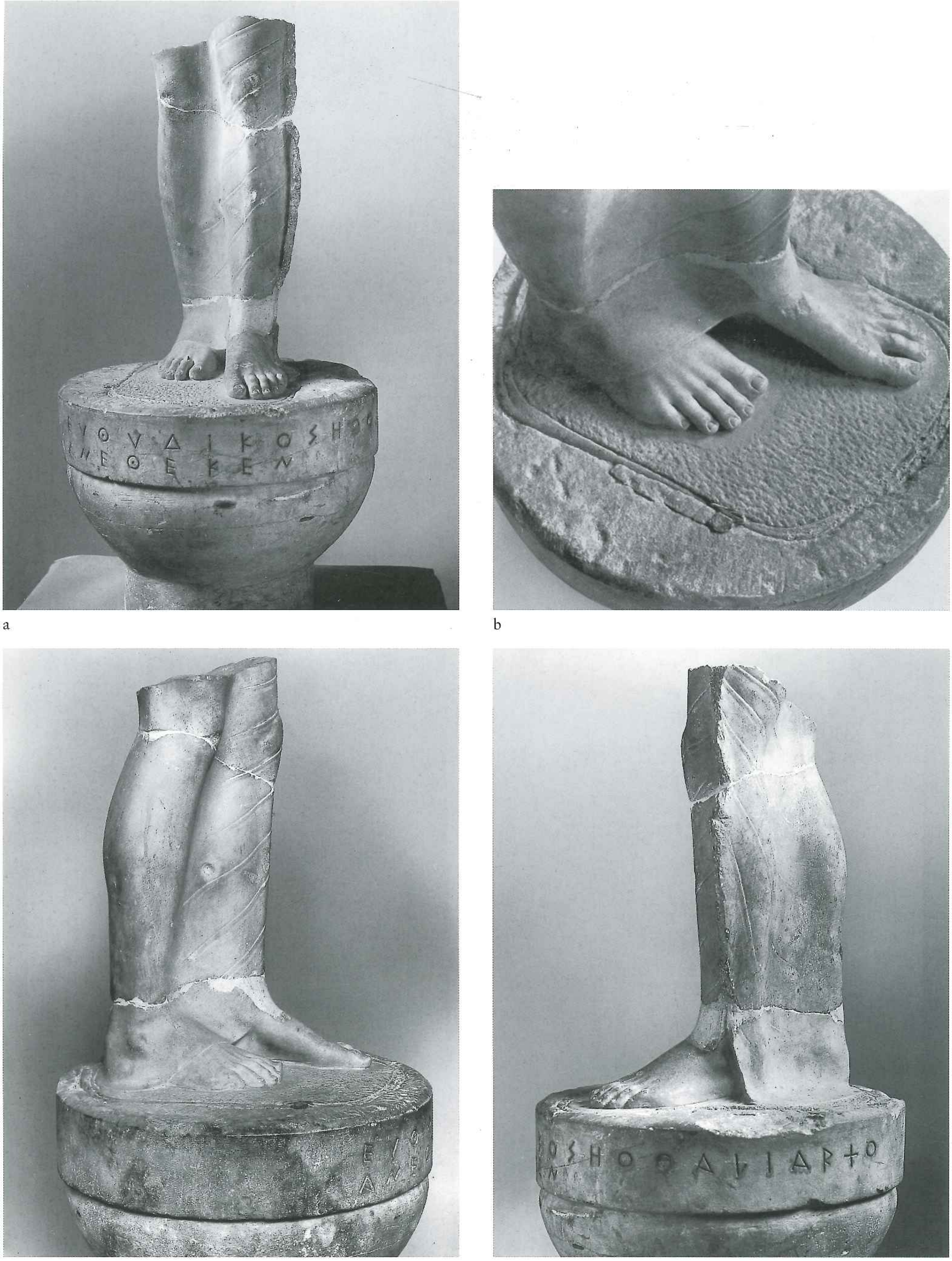
b

Akropolis Museum 686



c d

Akropolis Museum 686



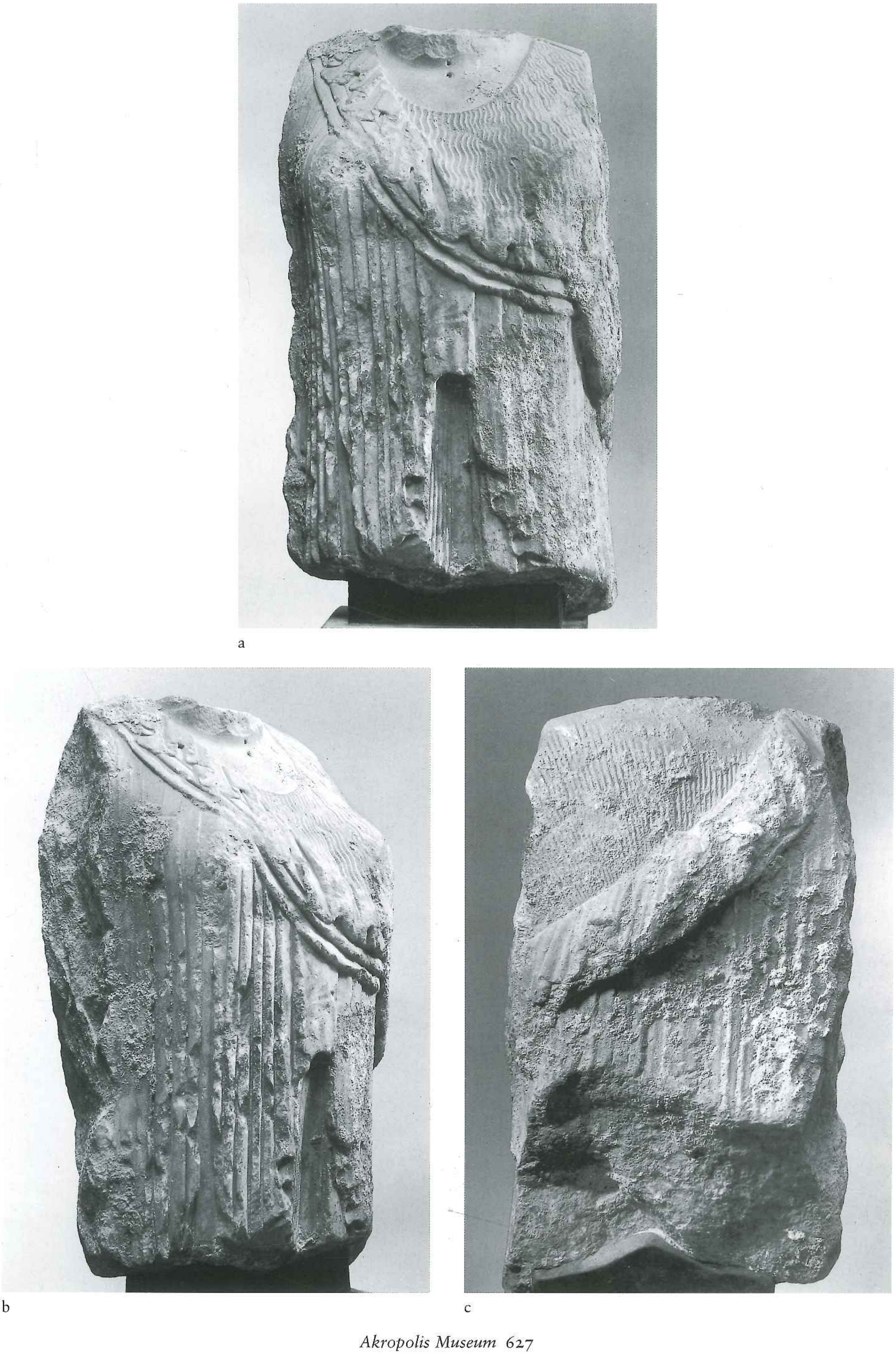
a

b

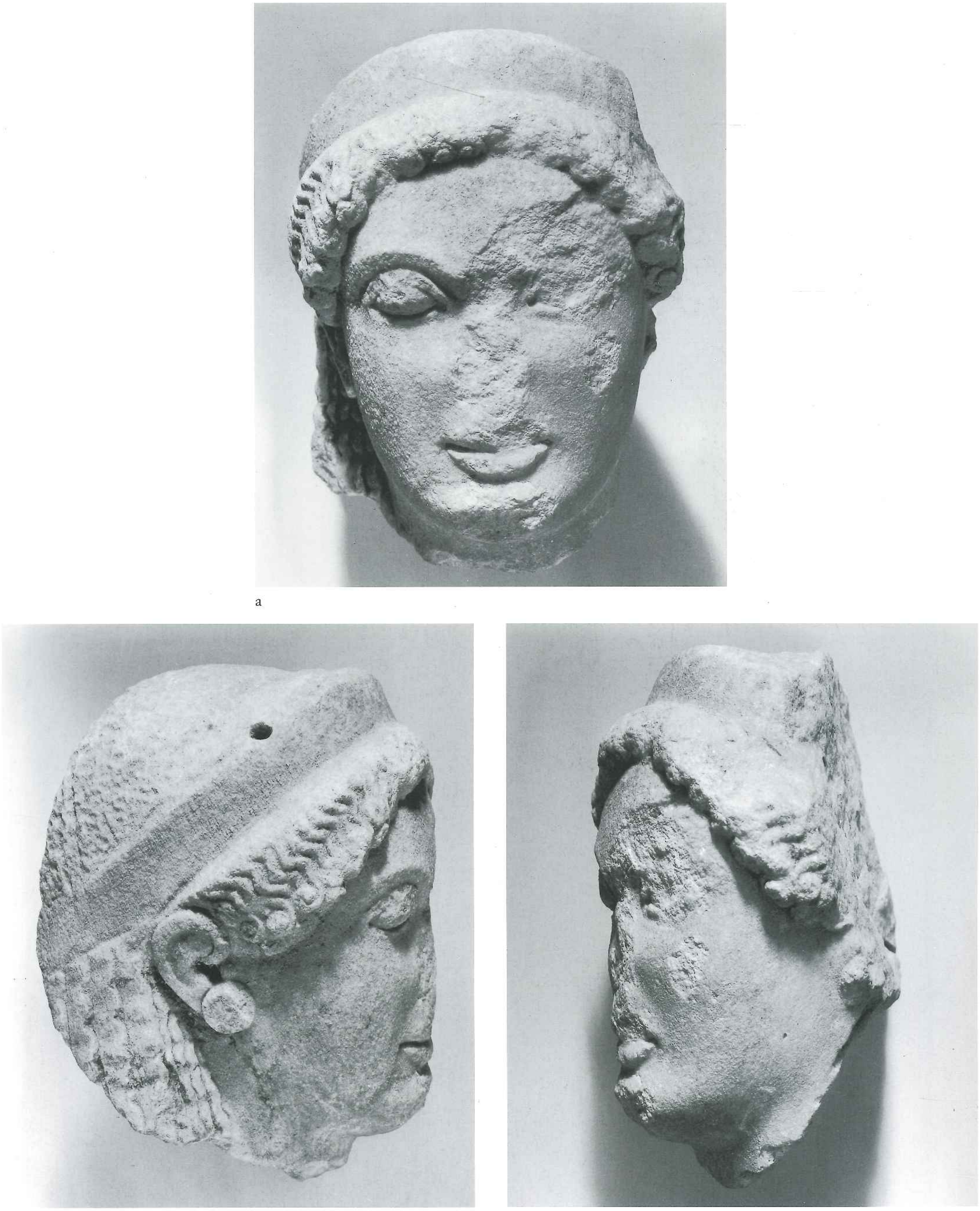
c

d

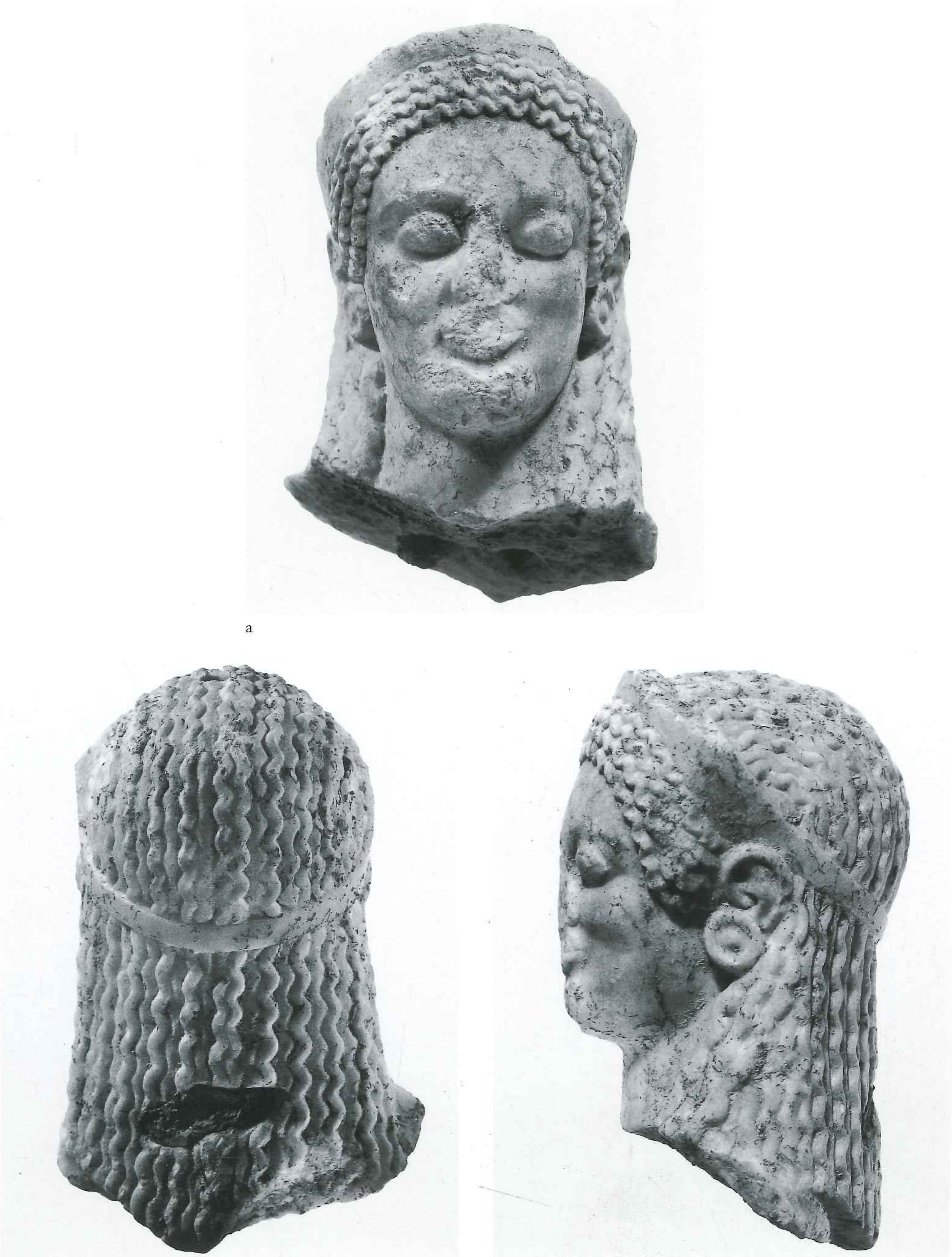
Akropolis Museum 609



Akropolis Museum 627



Agora, Museum S1071 (73)

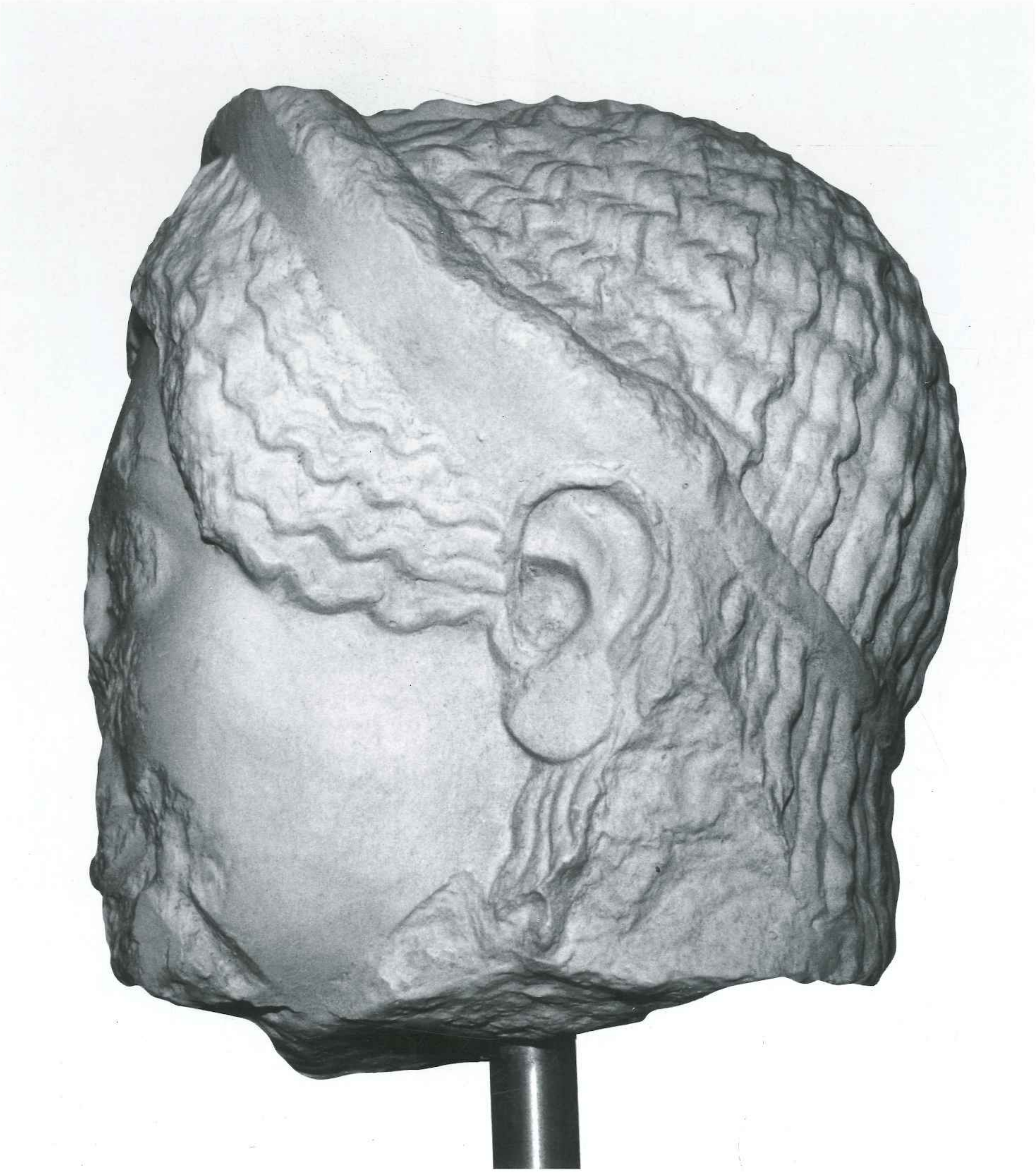


a

b

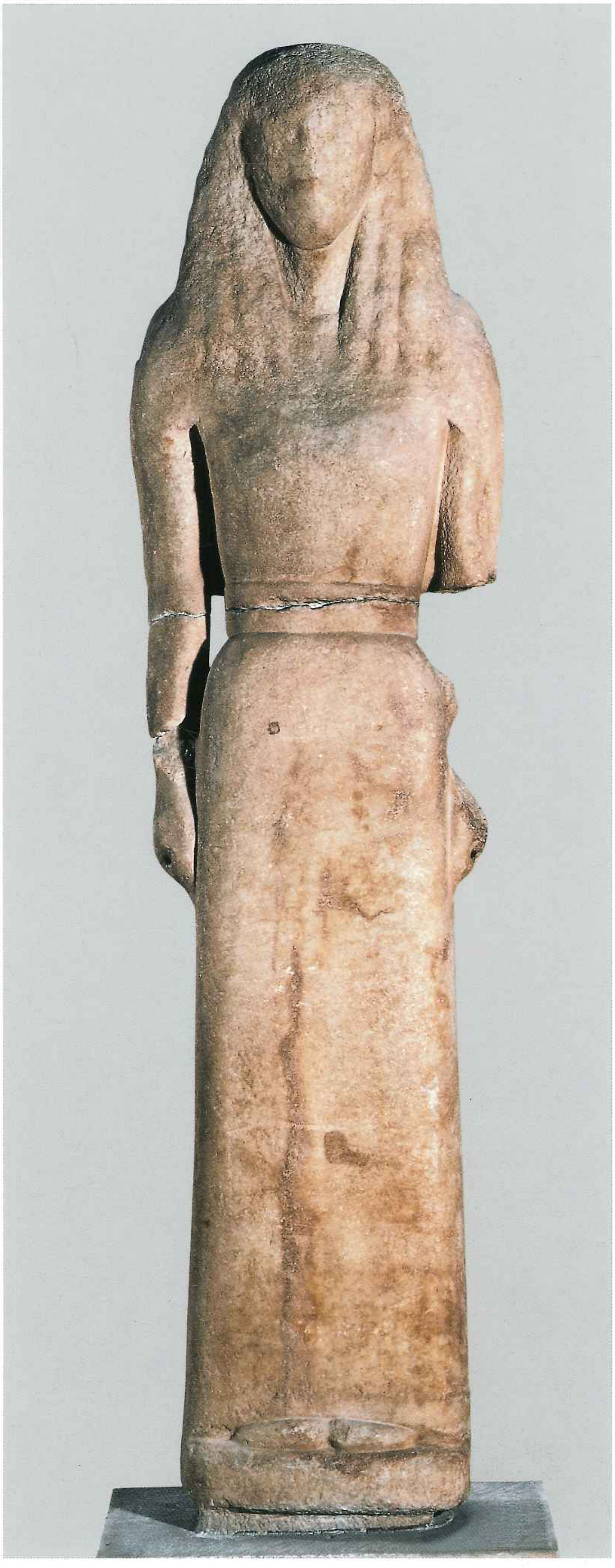
c

Agora, Museum S2476 (73A)

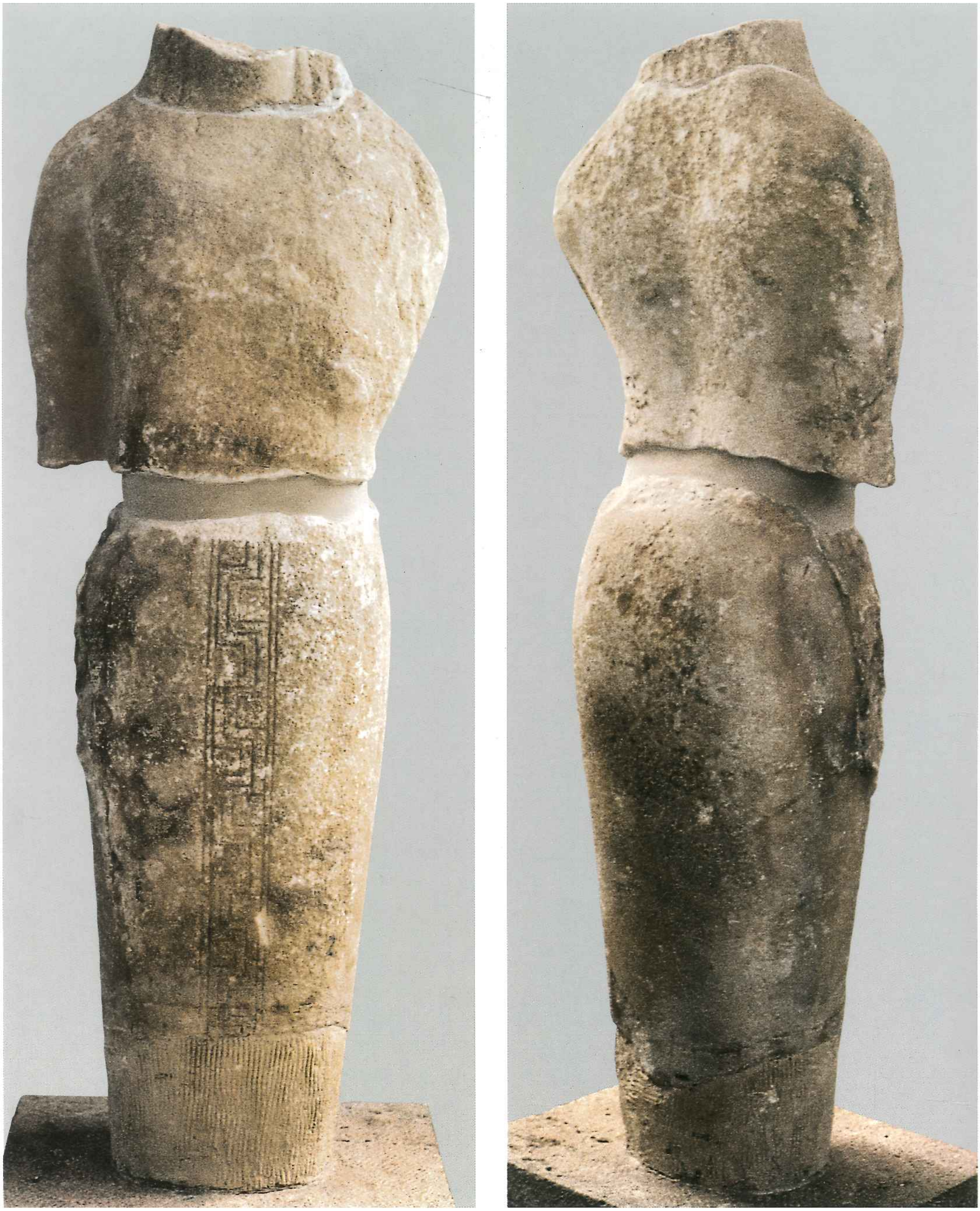


Aiane, Museum 7474

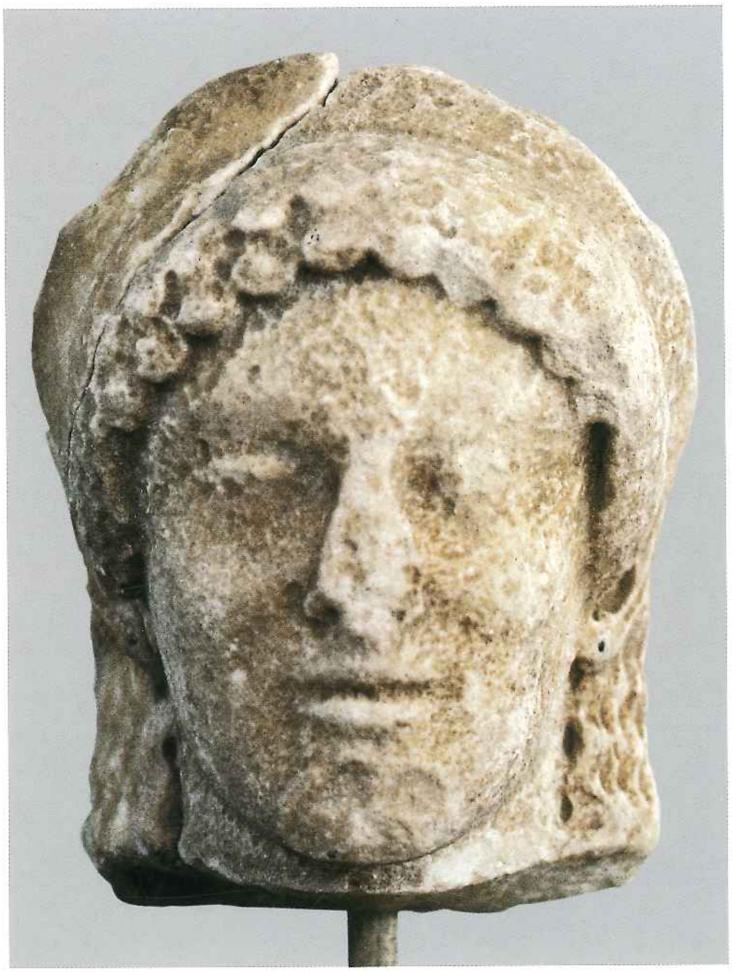
COLOURED PLATES



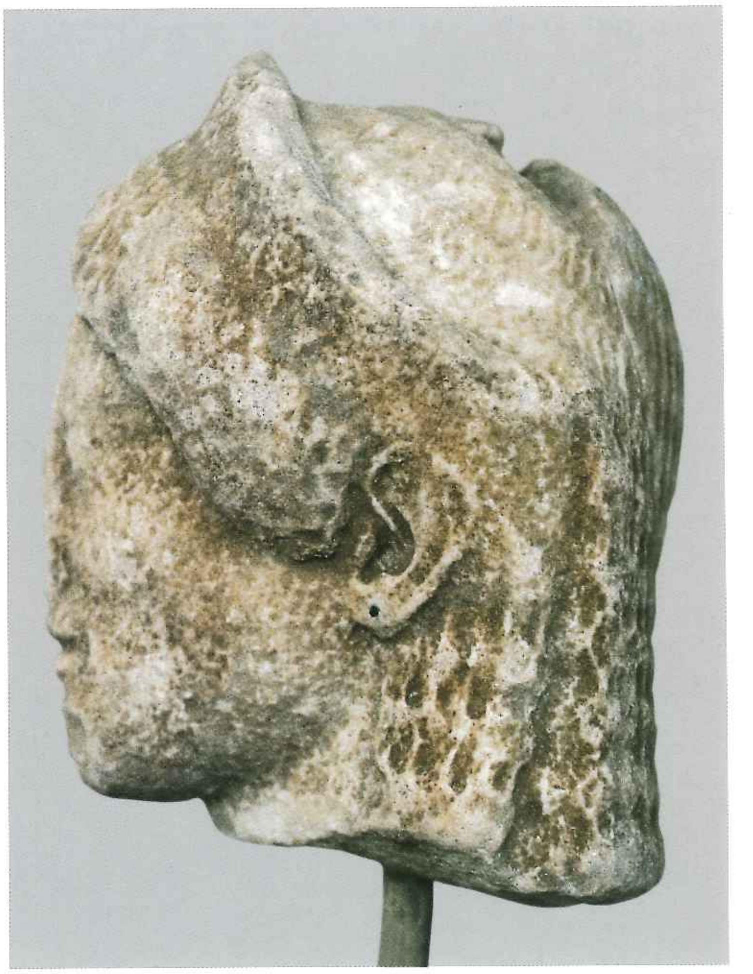
Athens, National Museum 1


a b

Delos, Museum A 4062



A 4945 a



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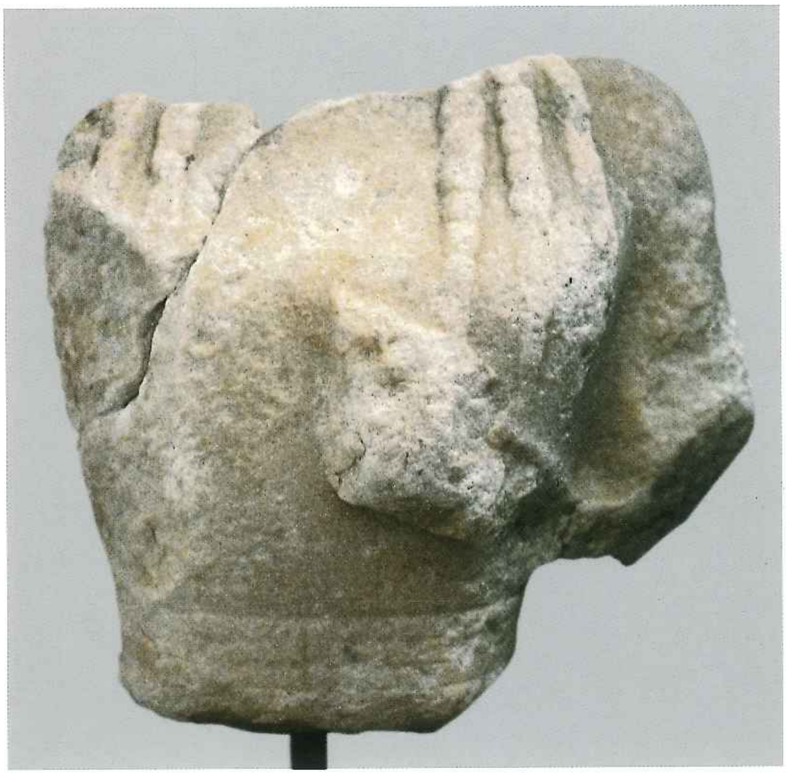
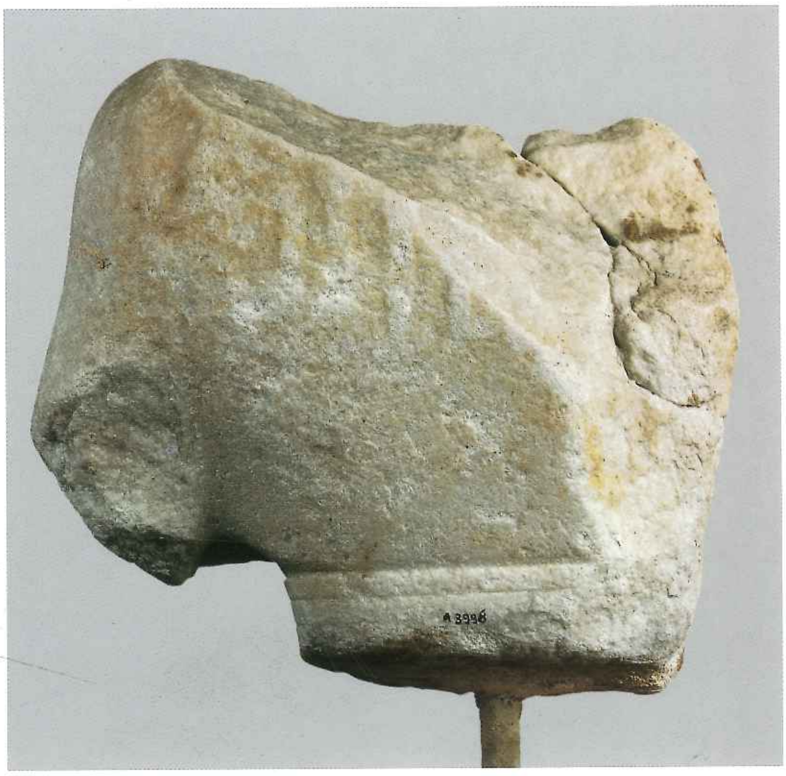
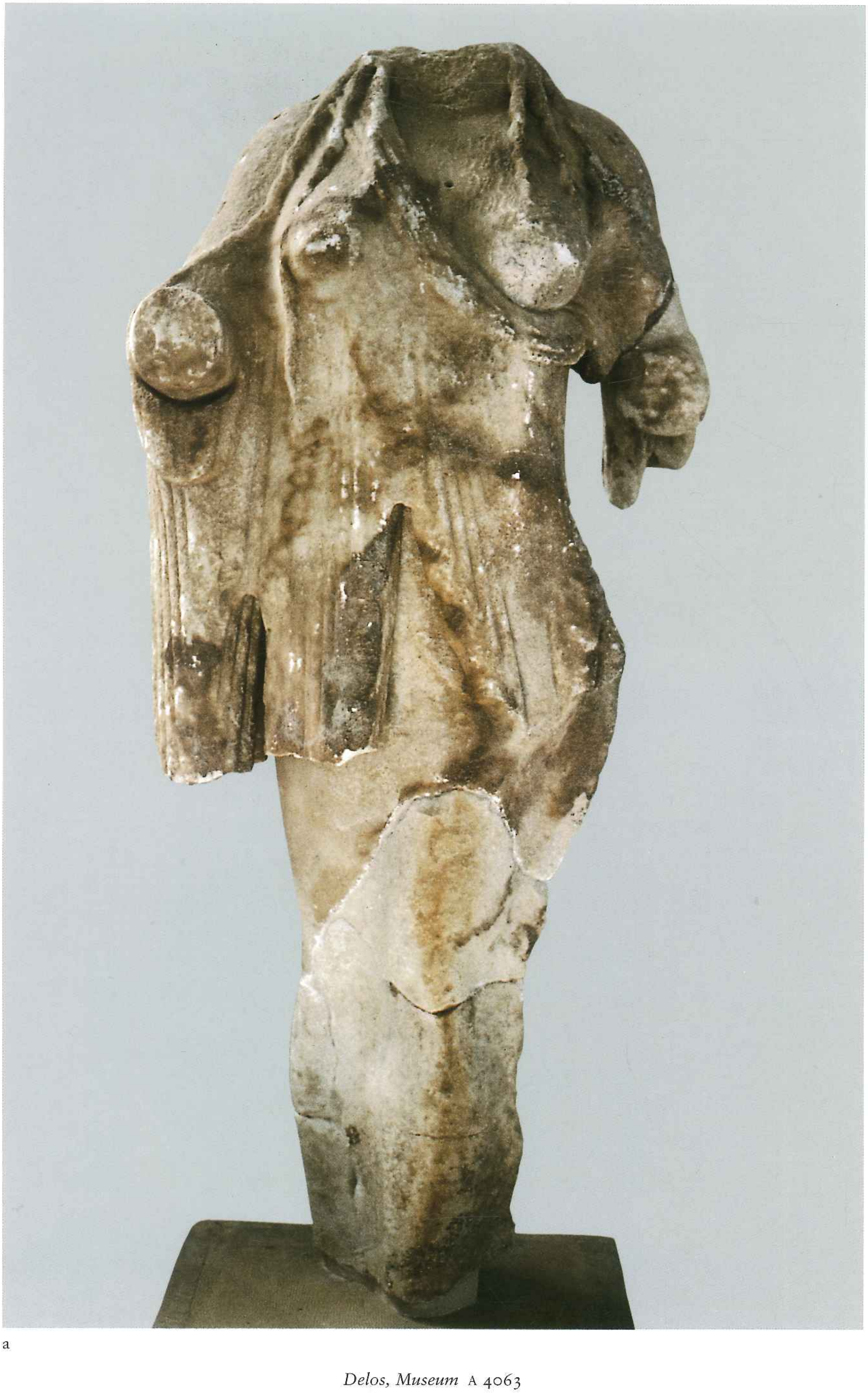


A 3996 a



A 3996 b

Delos, Museum A 4945 and A 3996



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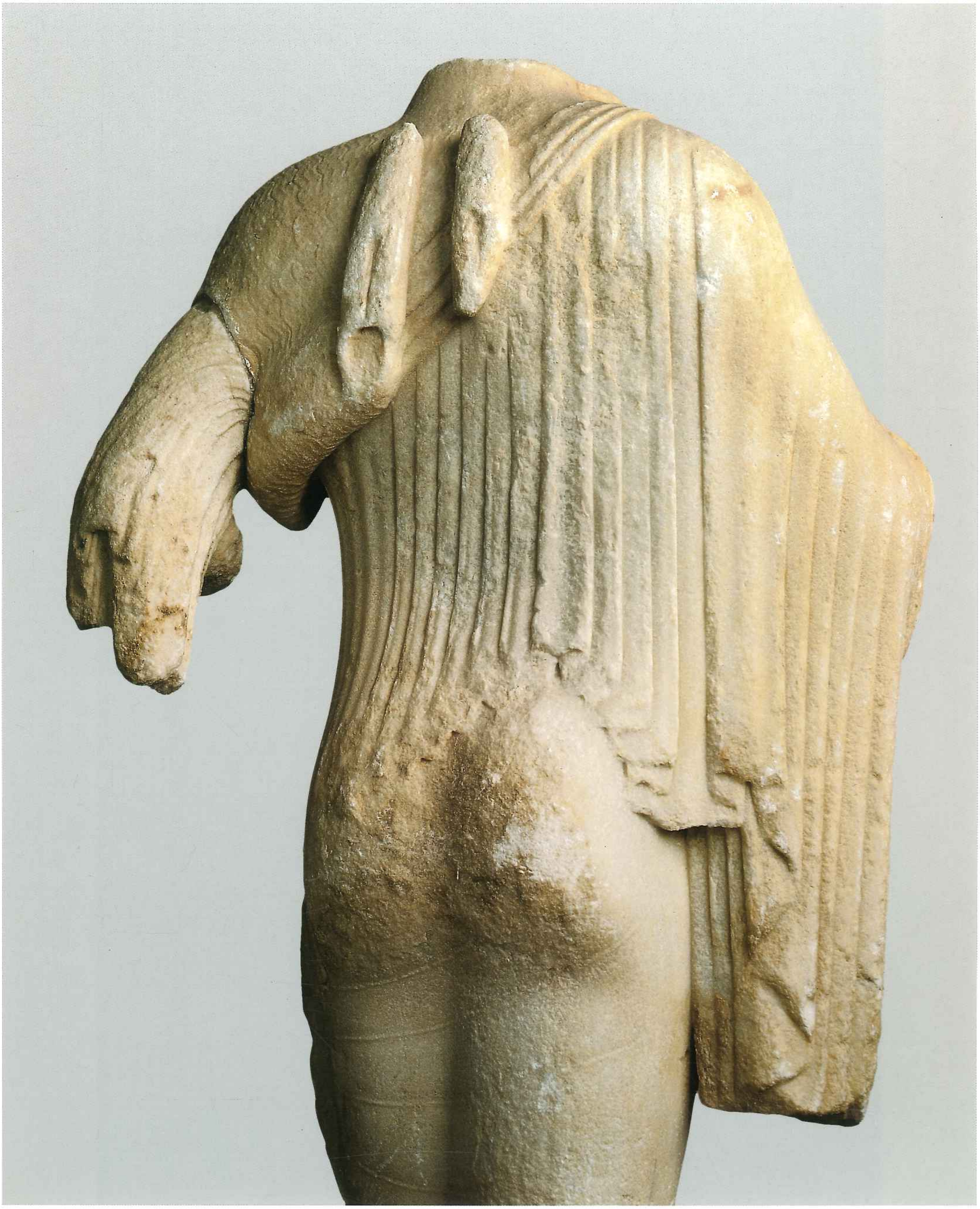
Delos, Museum A 4063



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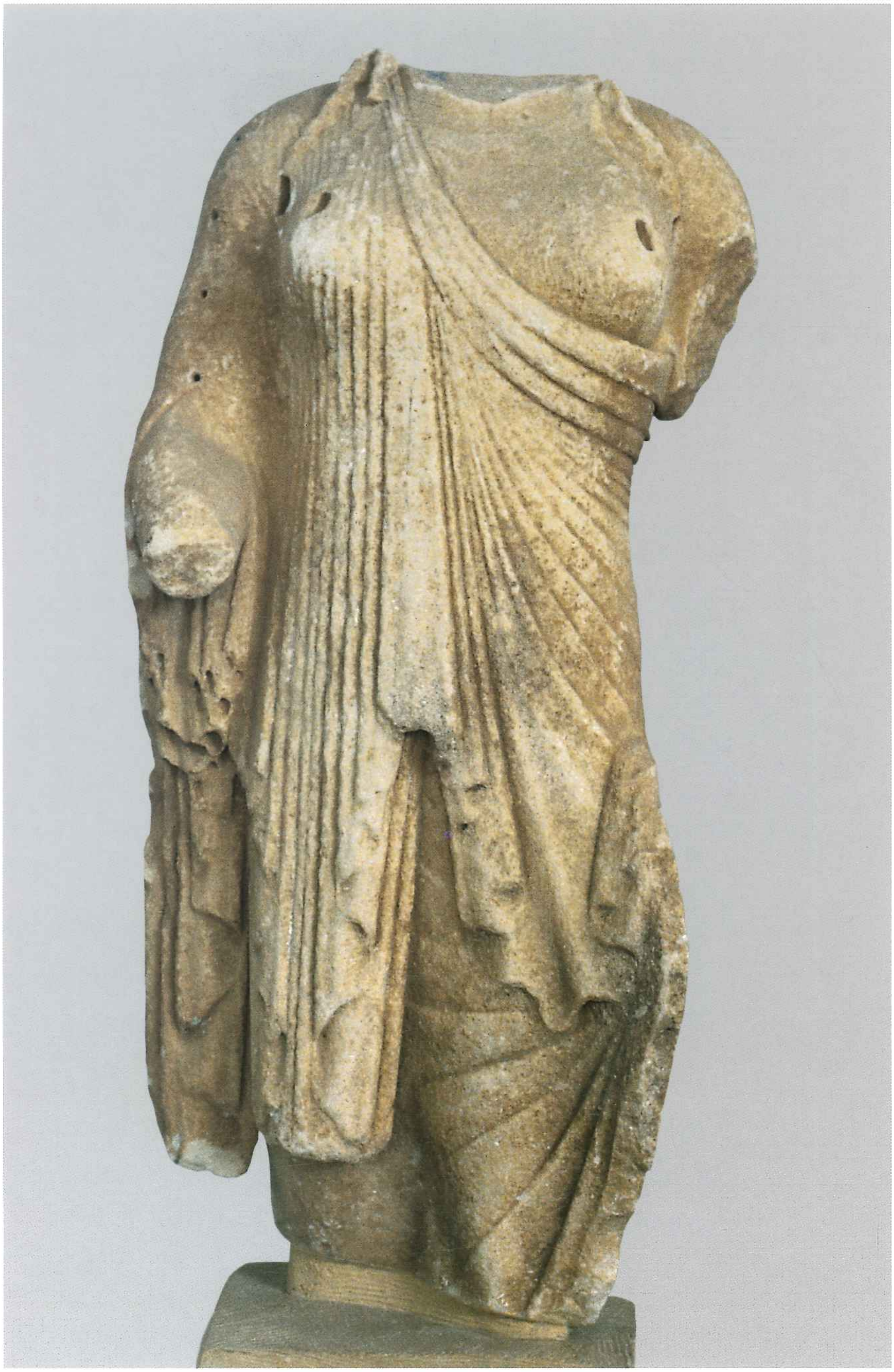
Delos, Museum A 4063



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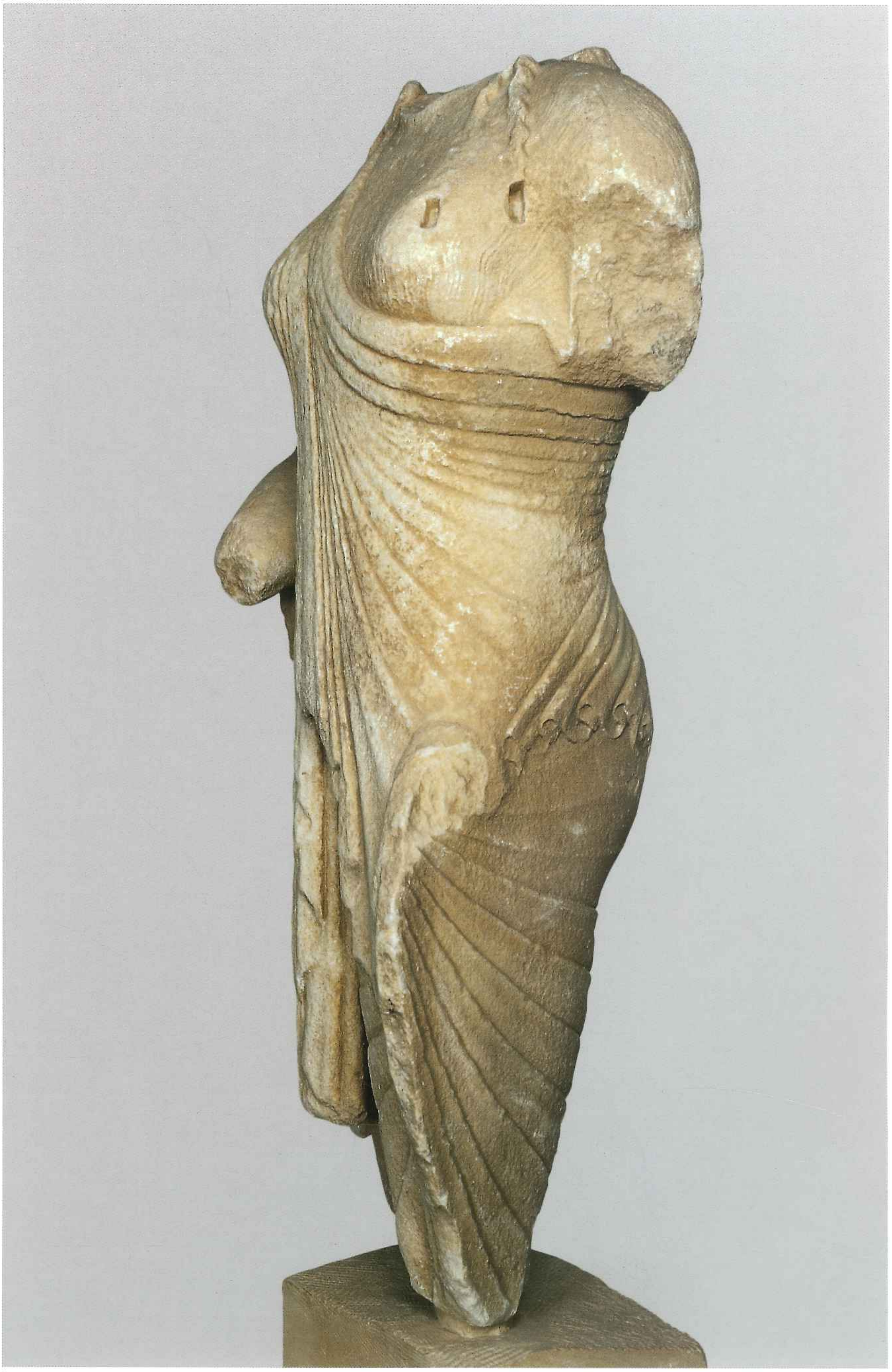
Delos, Museum A 4064



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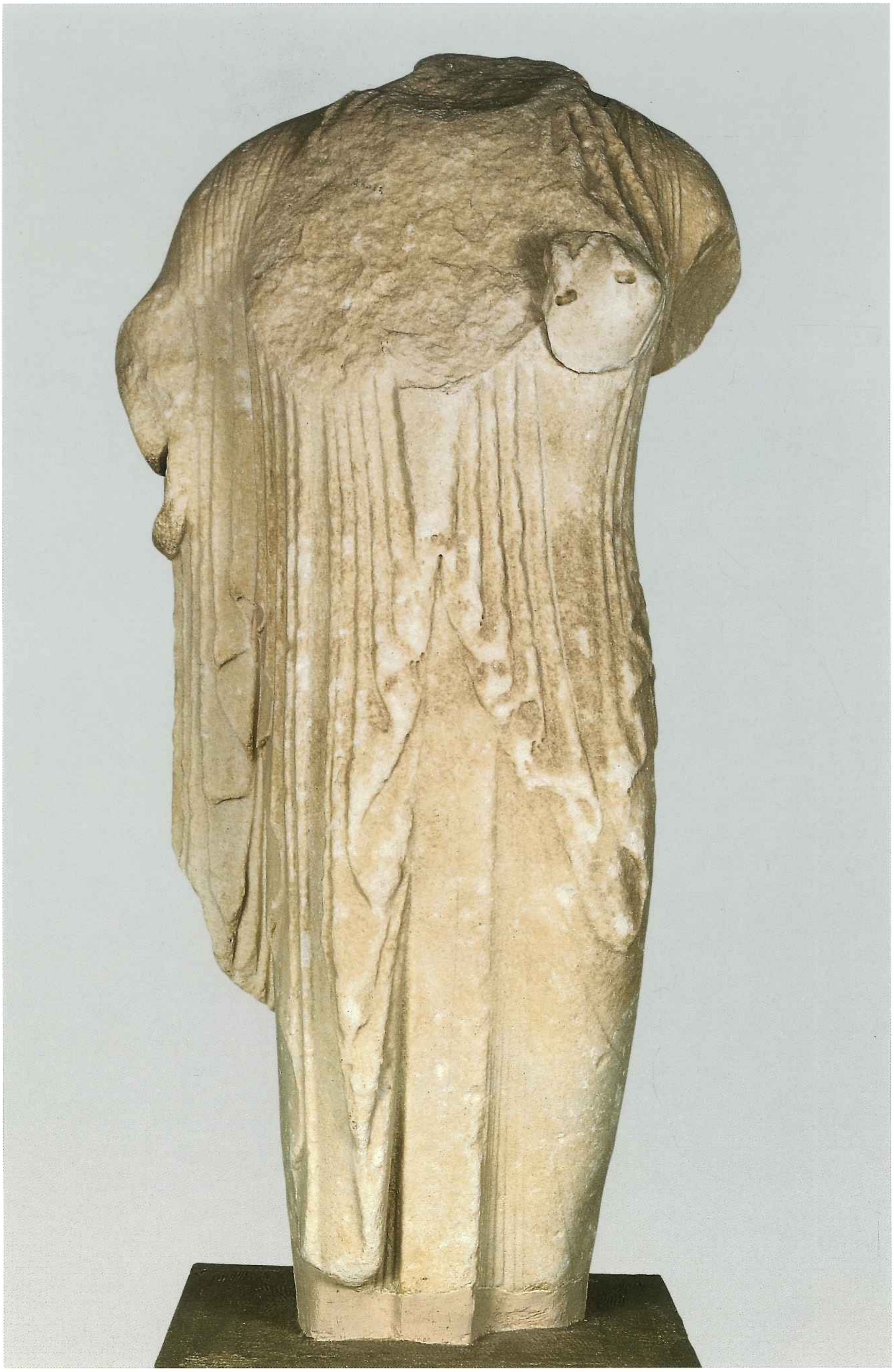

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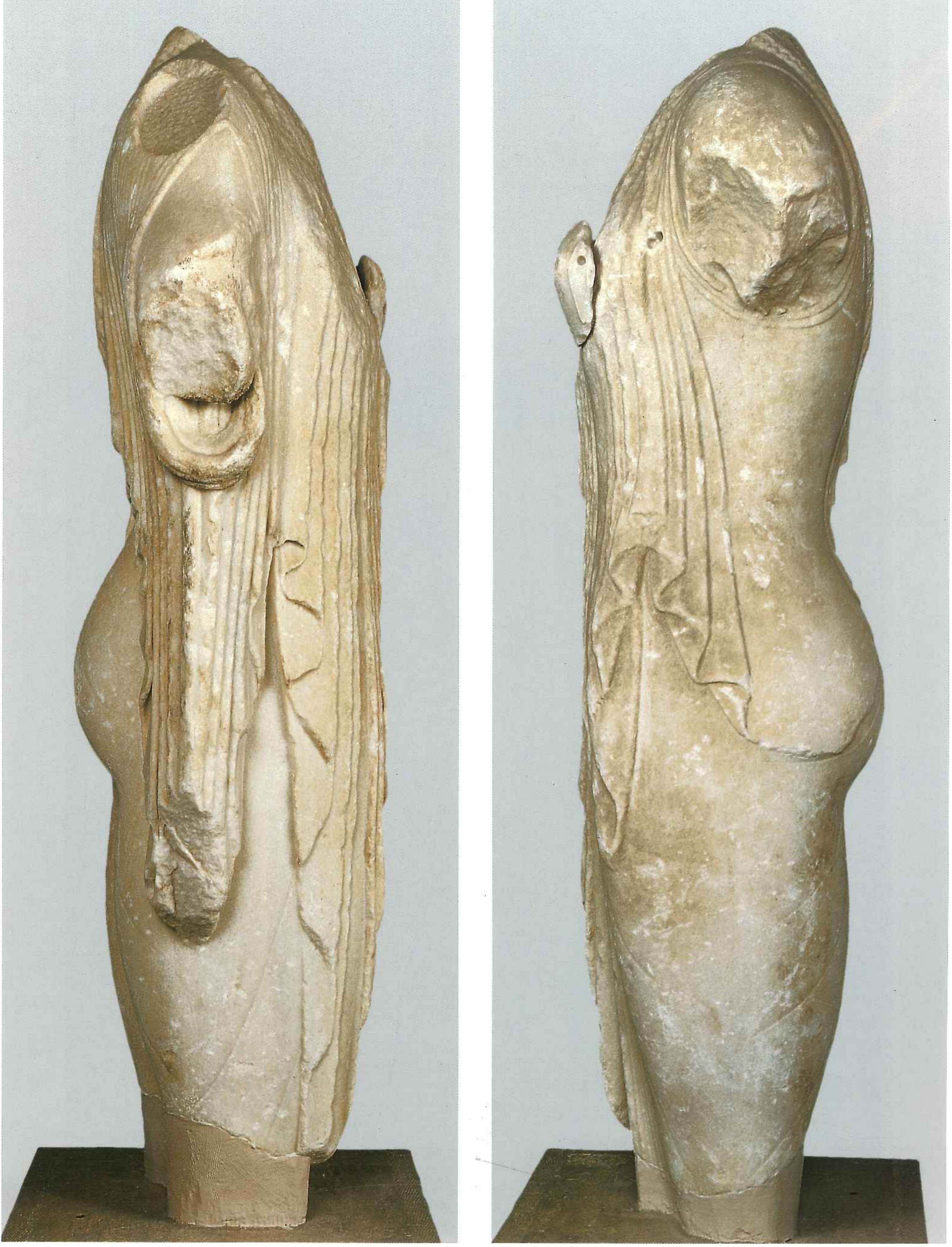
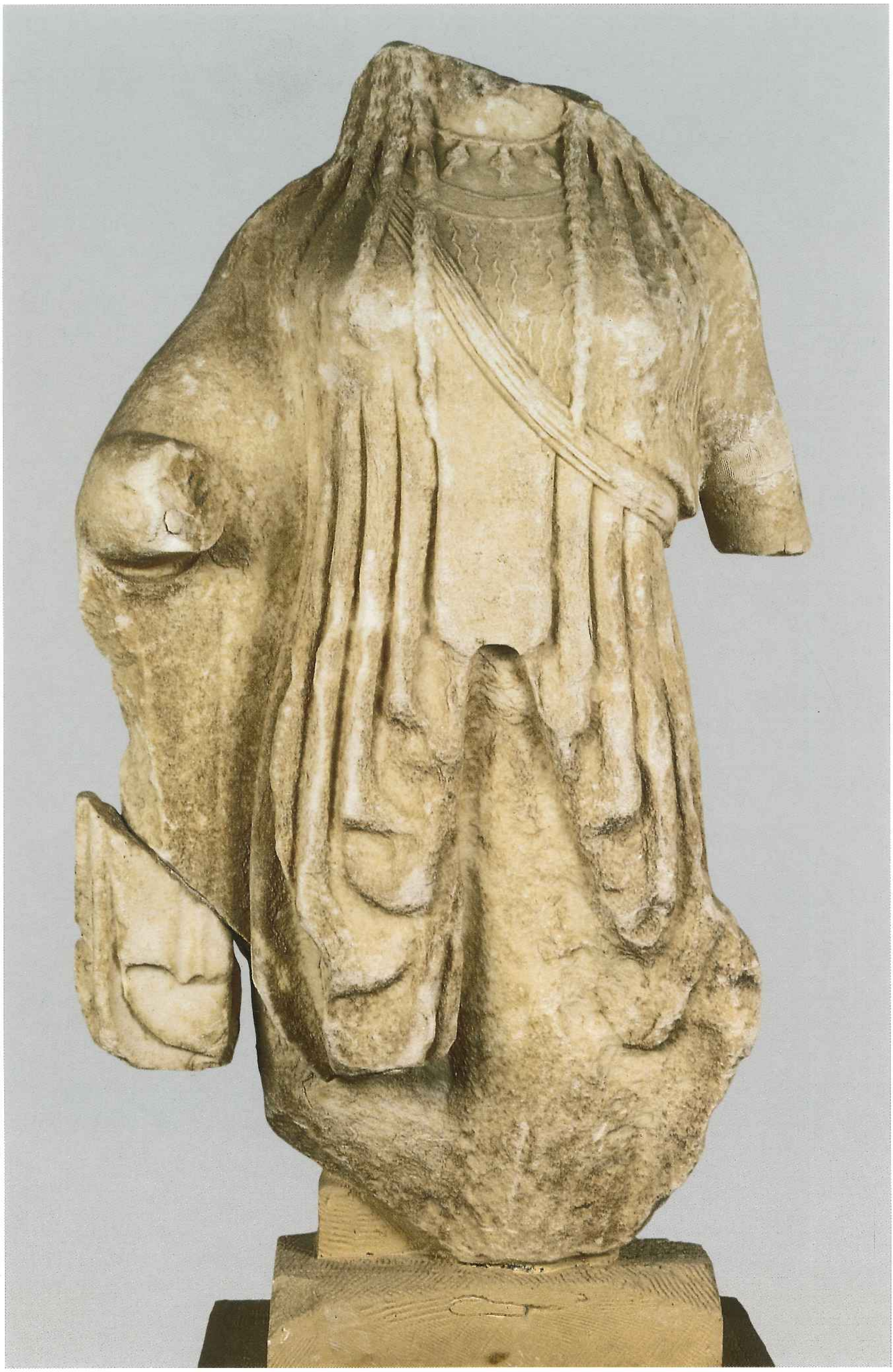


Delos, Museum A 4065



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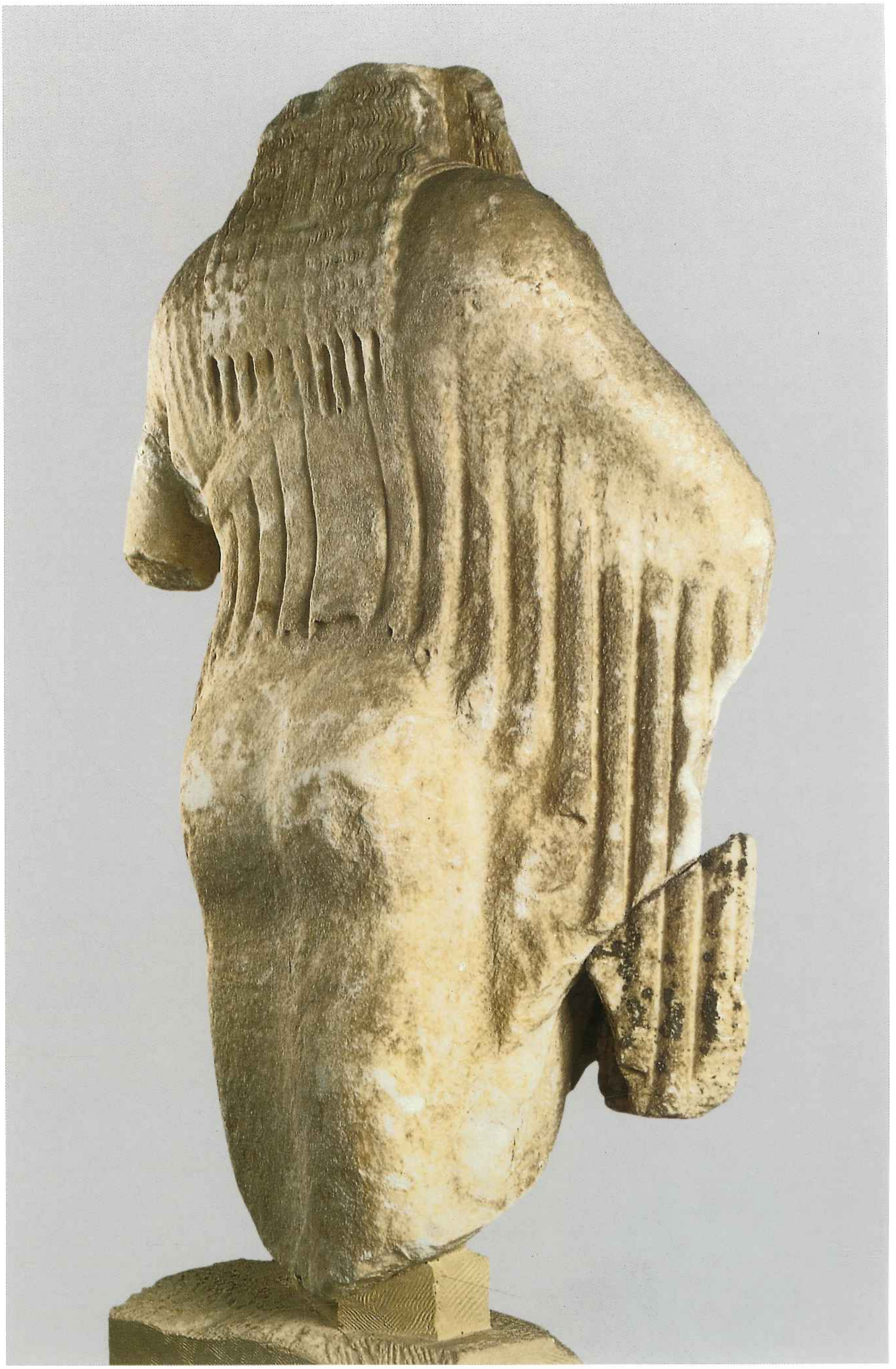
Delos, Museum A 4067



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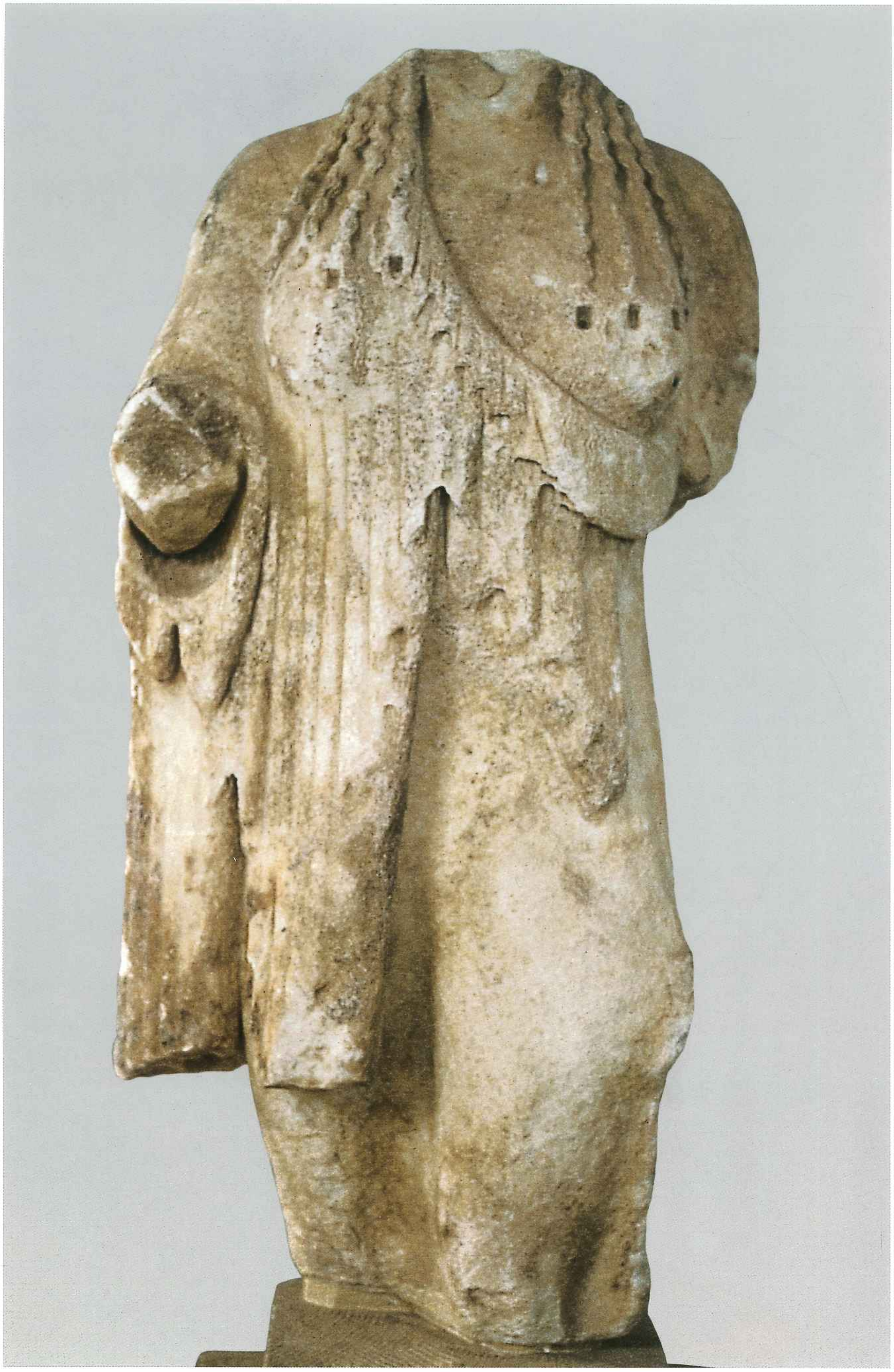
Delos, Museum A 4067



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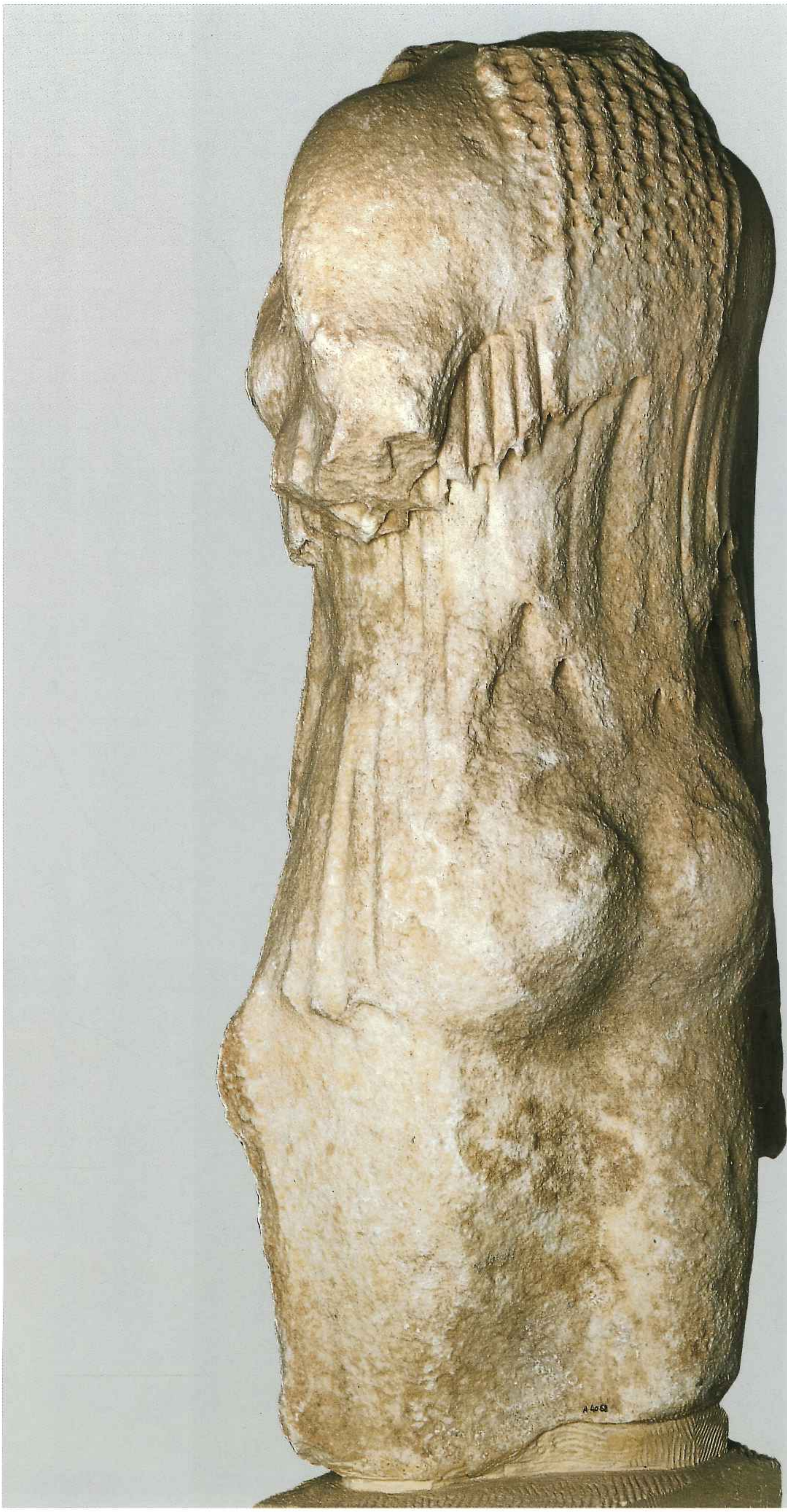
Delos, Museum A 4068



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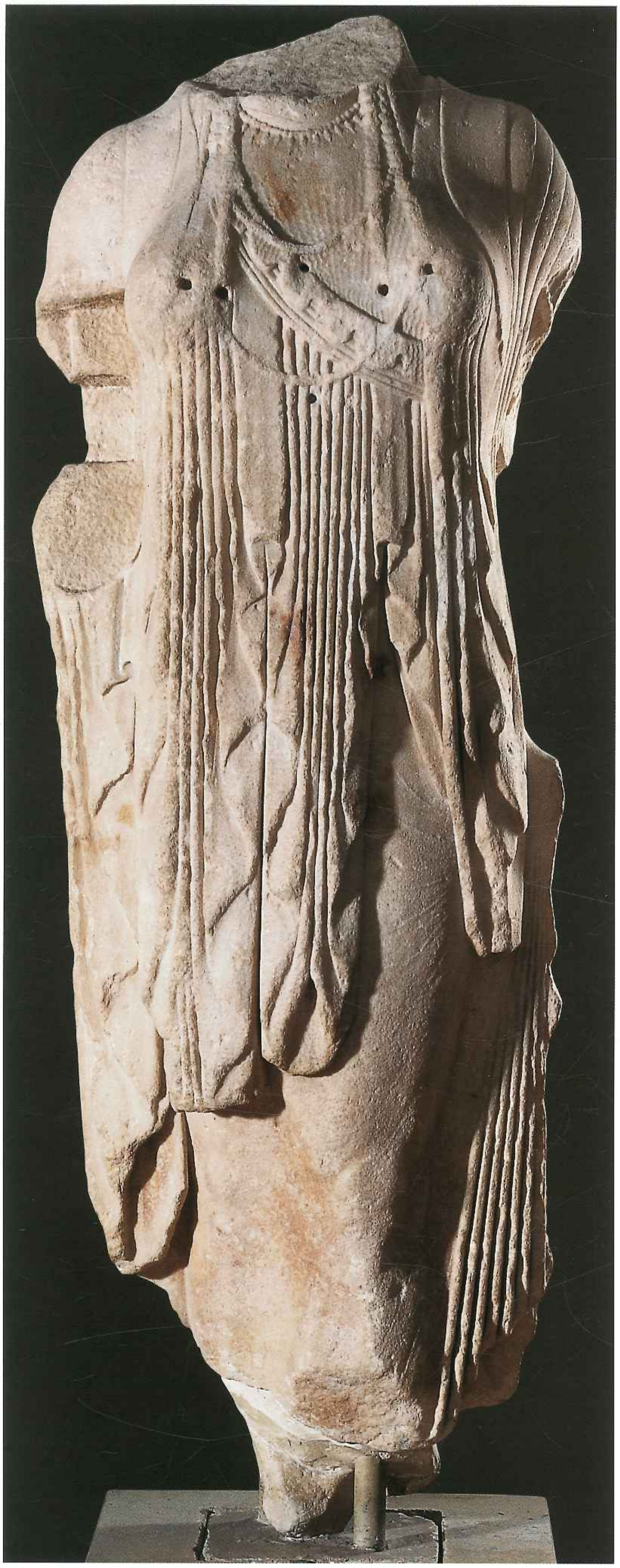
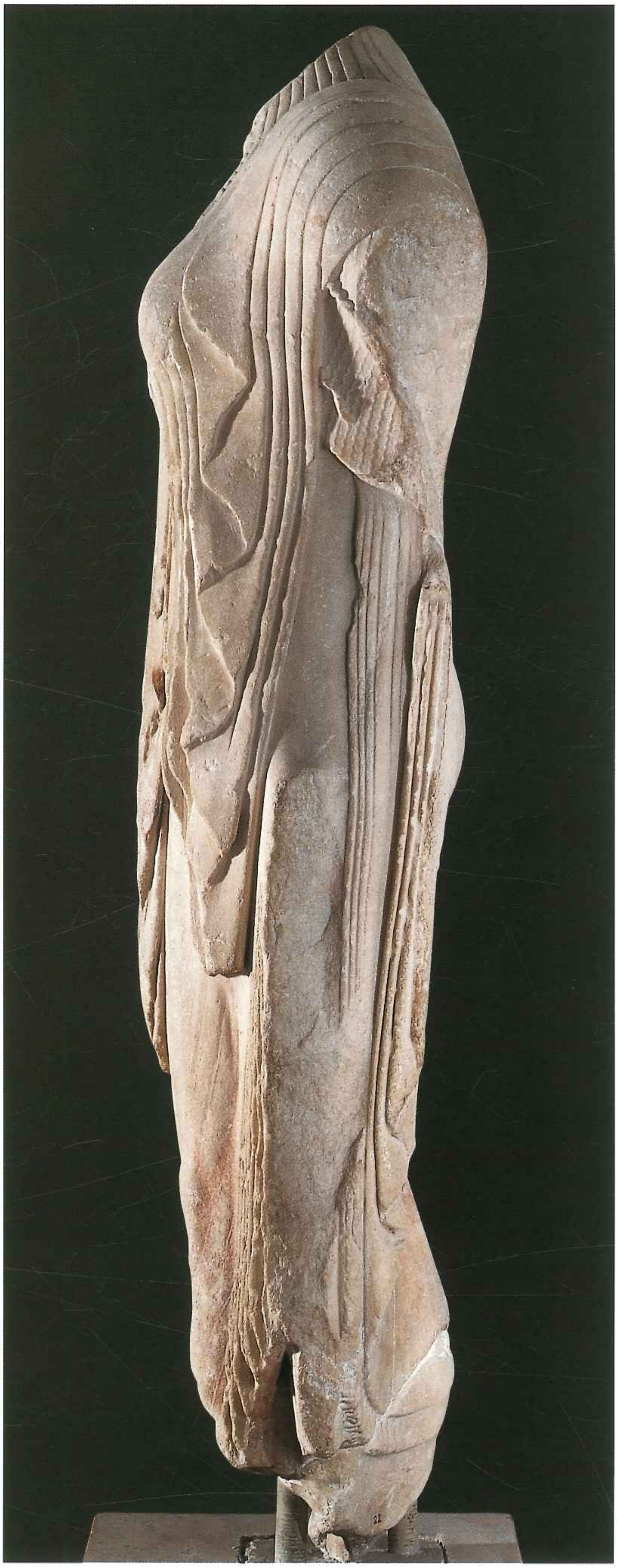


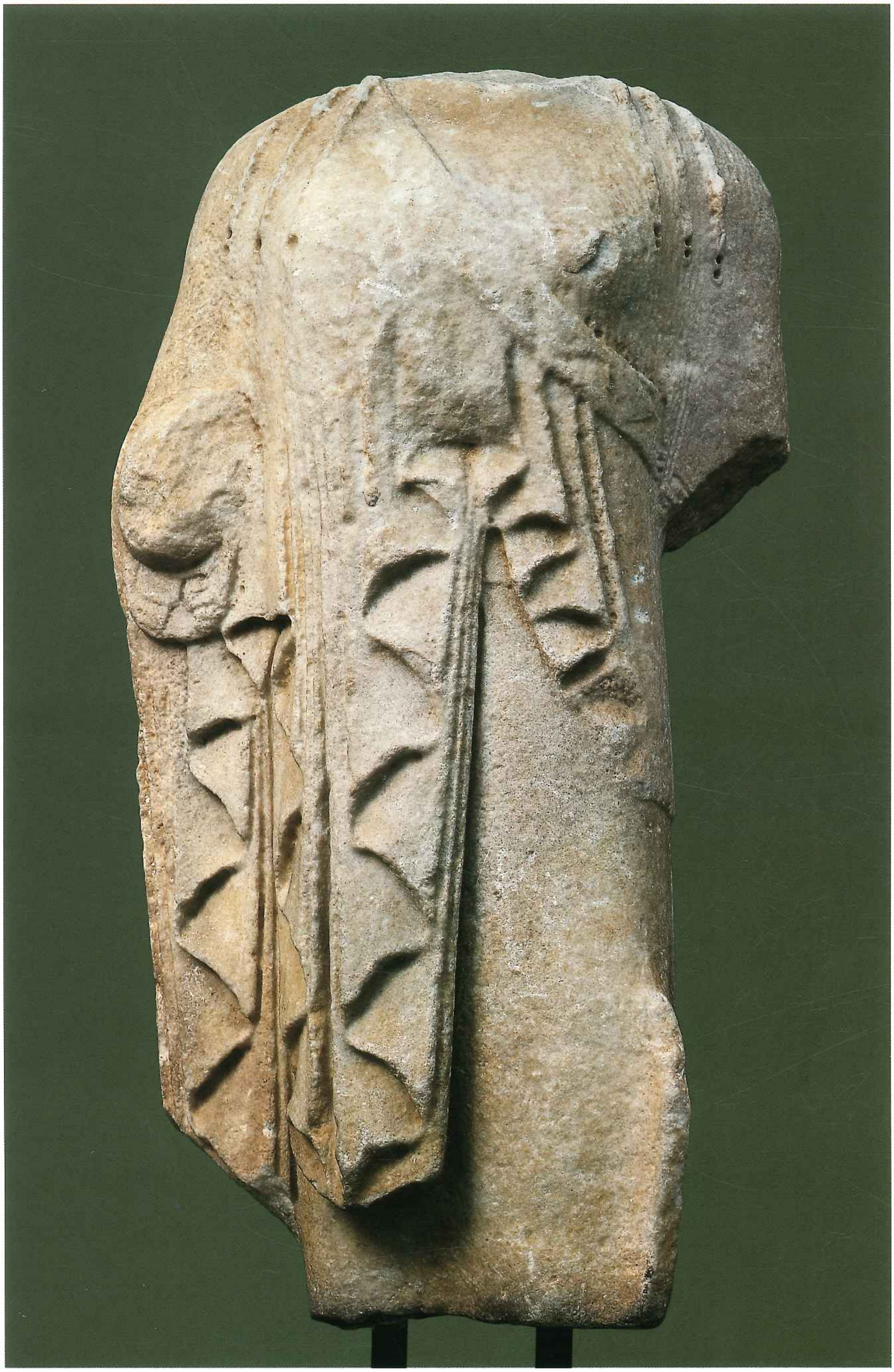
a

Athens, National Museum 22



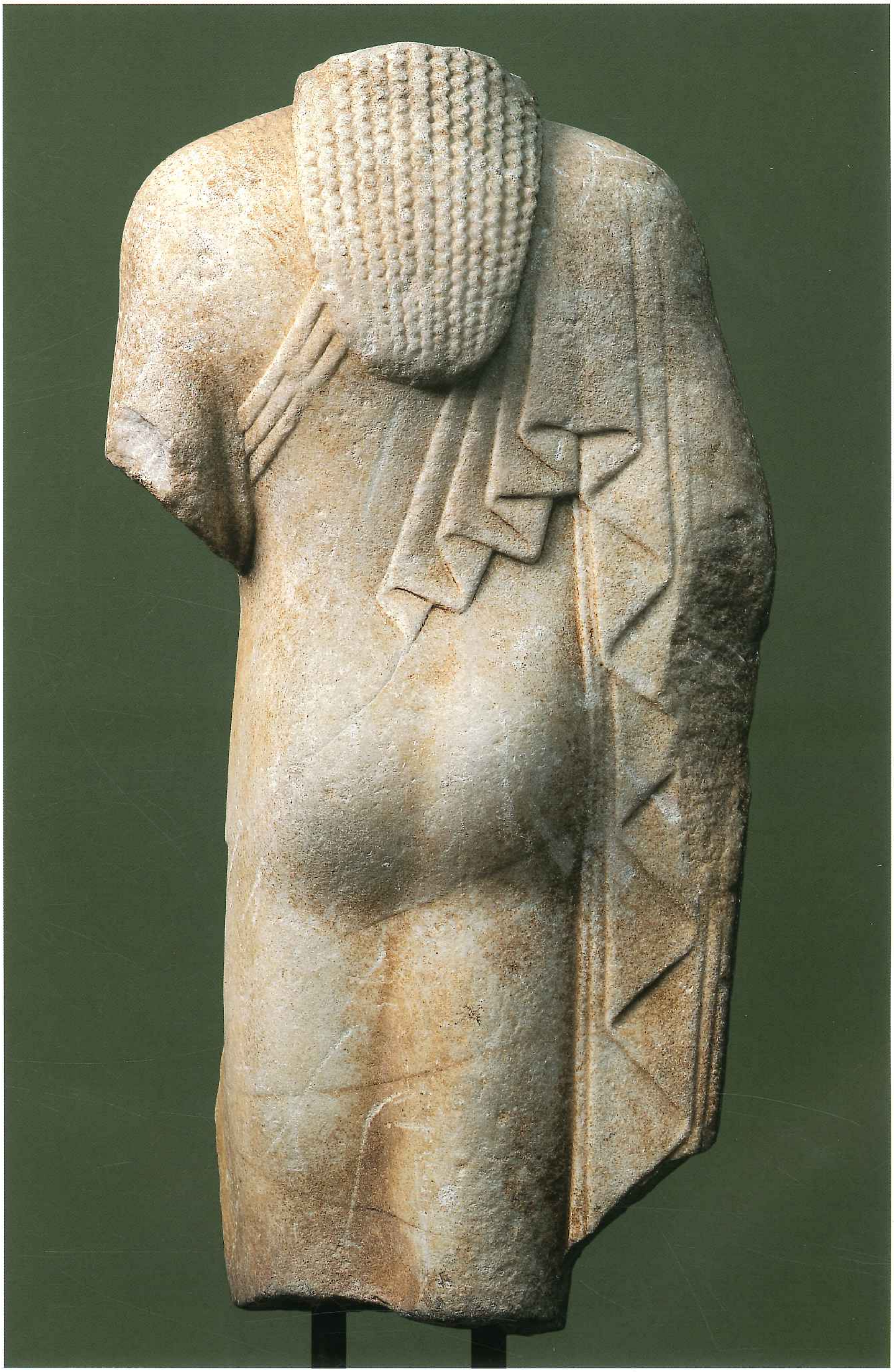
b

Athens, National Museum 22



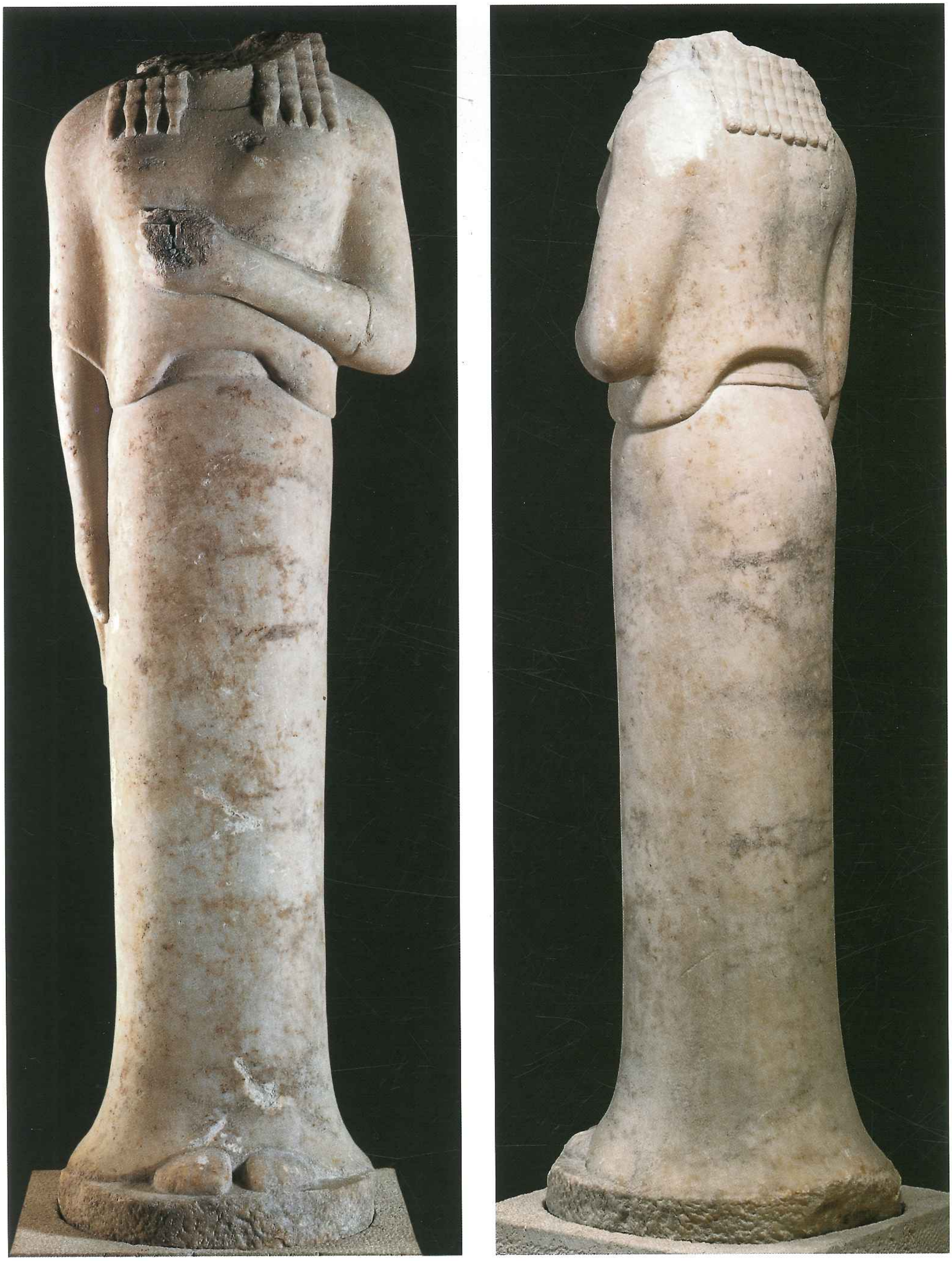
a

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1544



b

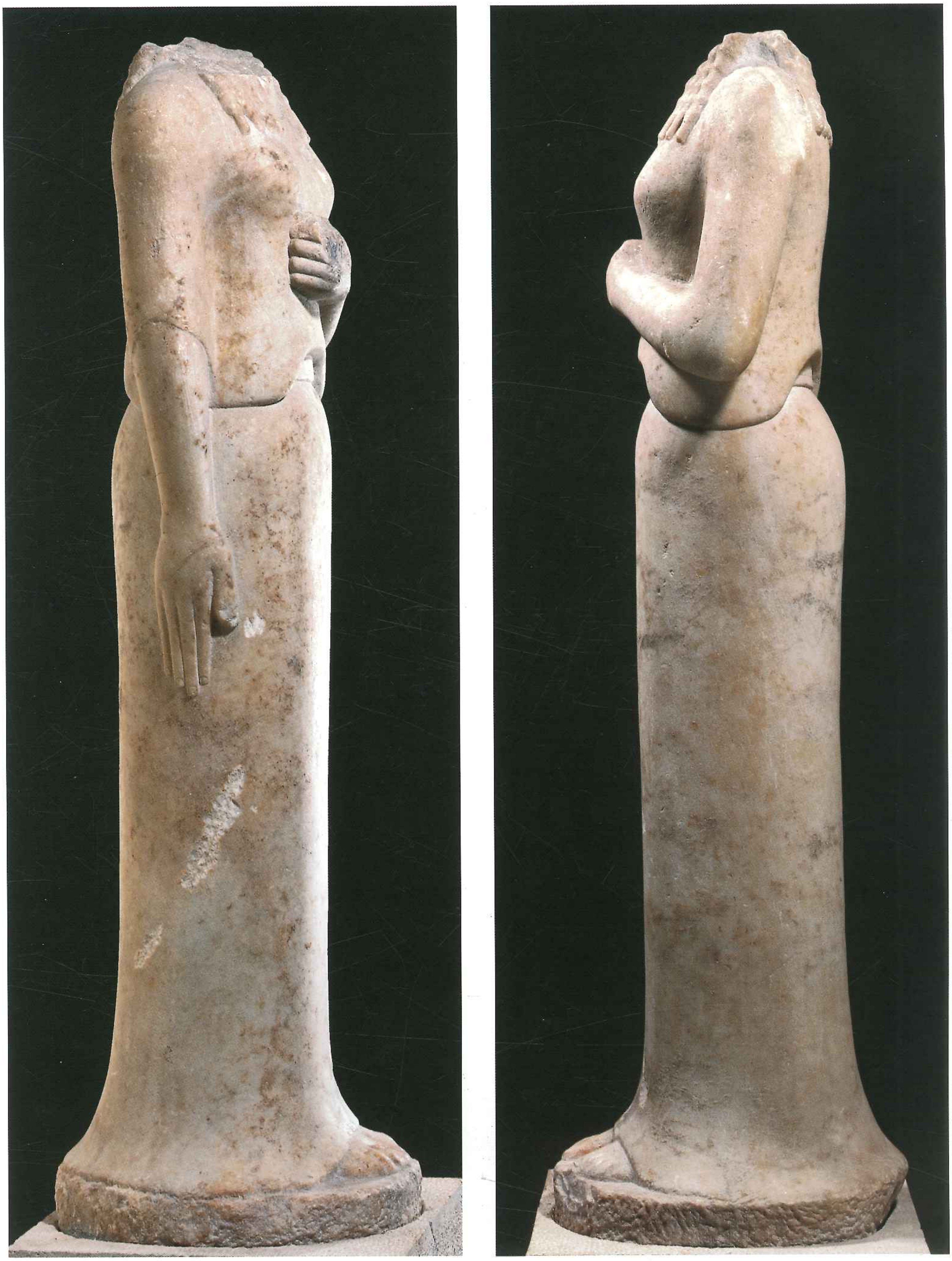
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1544



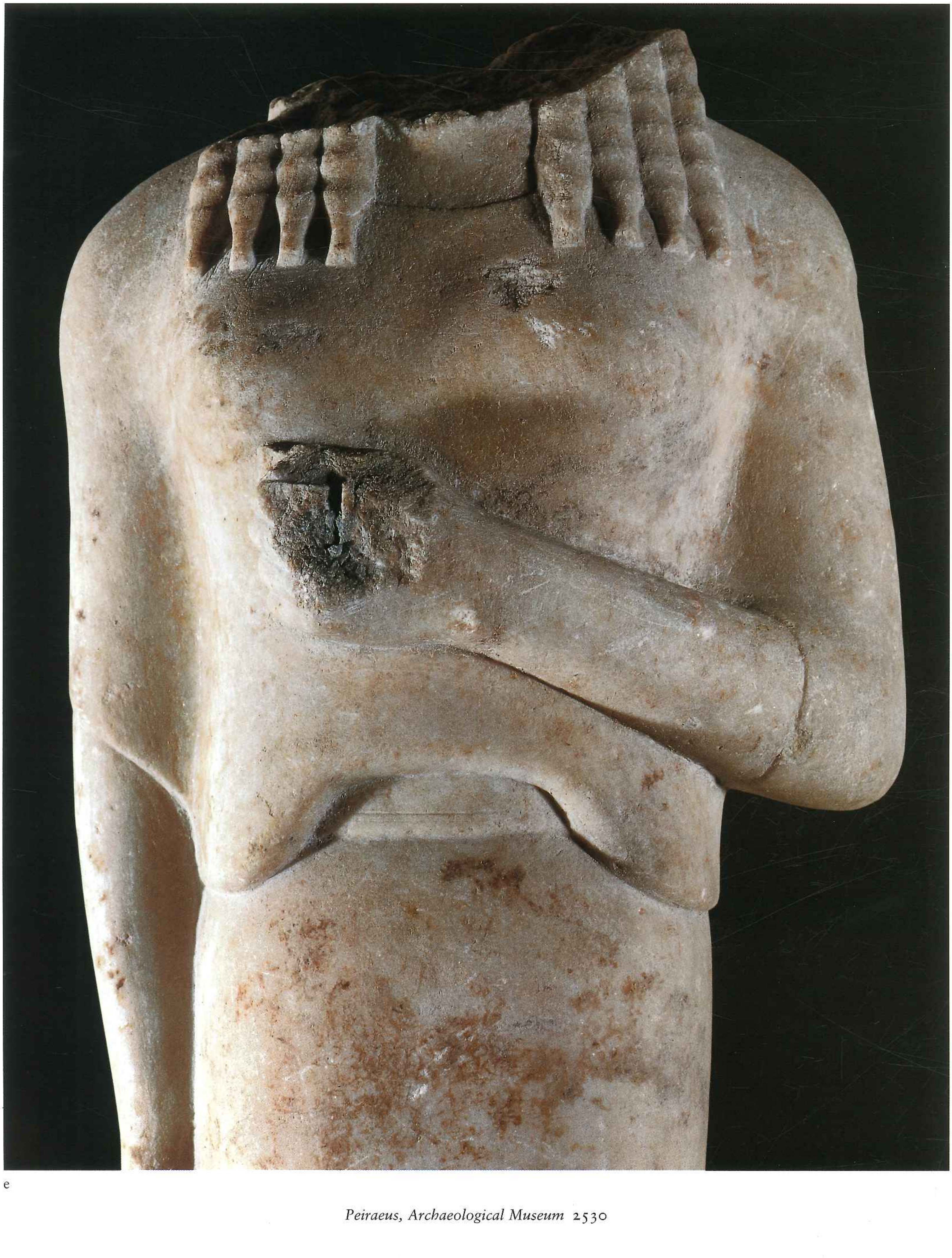
a

b

Peiraeus, Archaeological Museum 2530



Peiraeus, Archaeological Museum 2530



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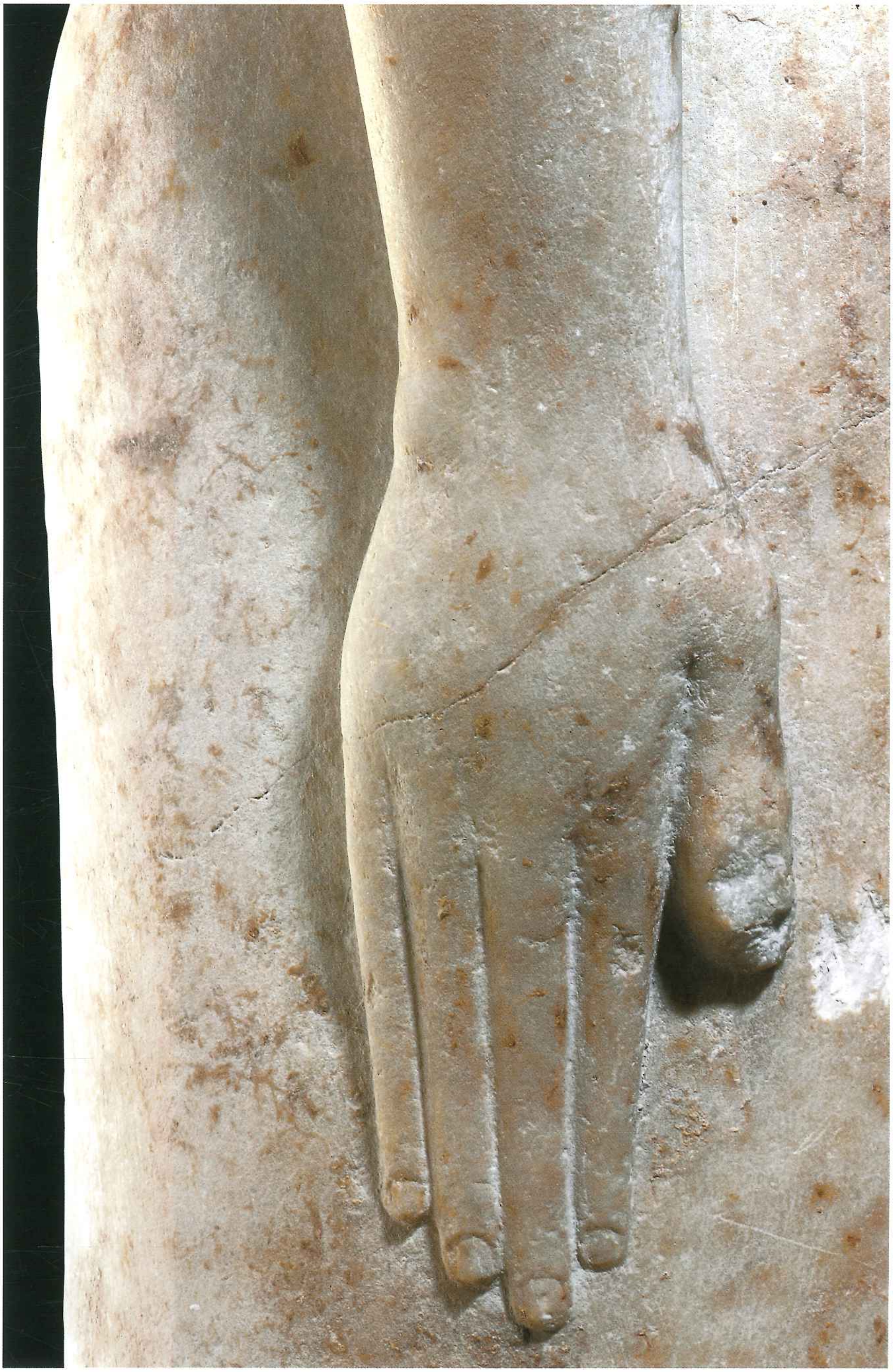
Peiraeus, Archaeological Museum 2530



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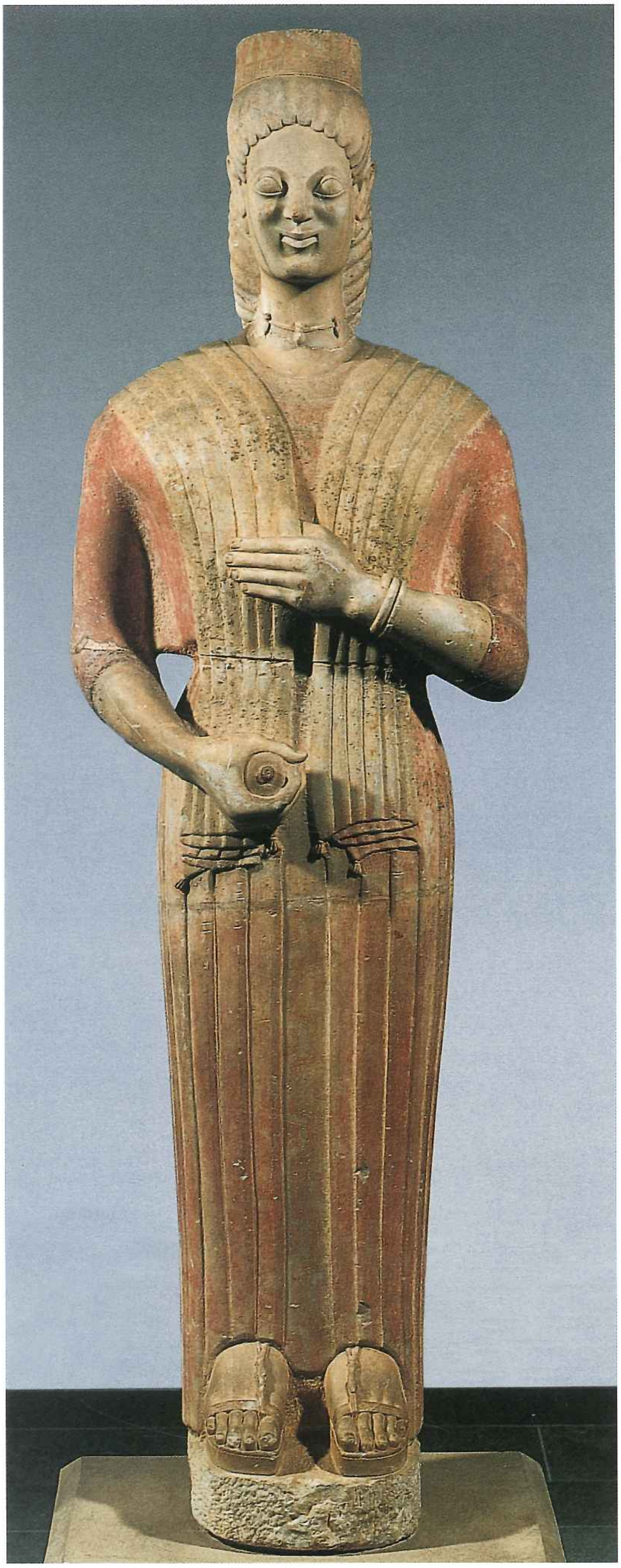
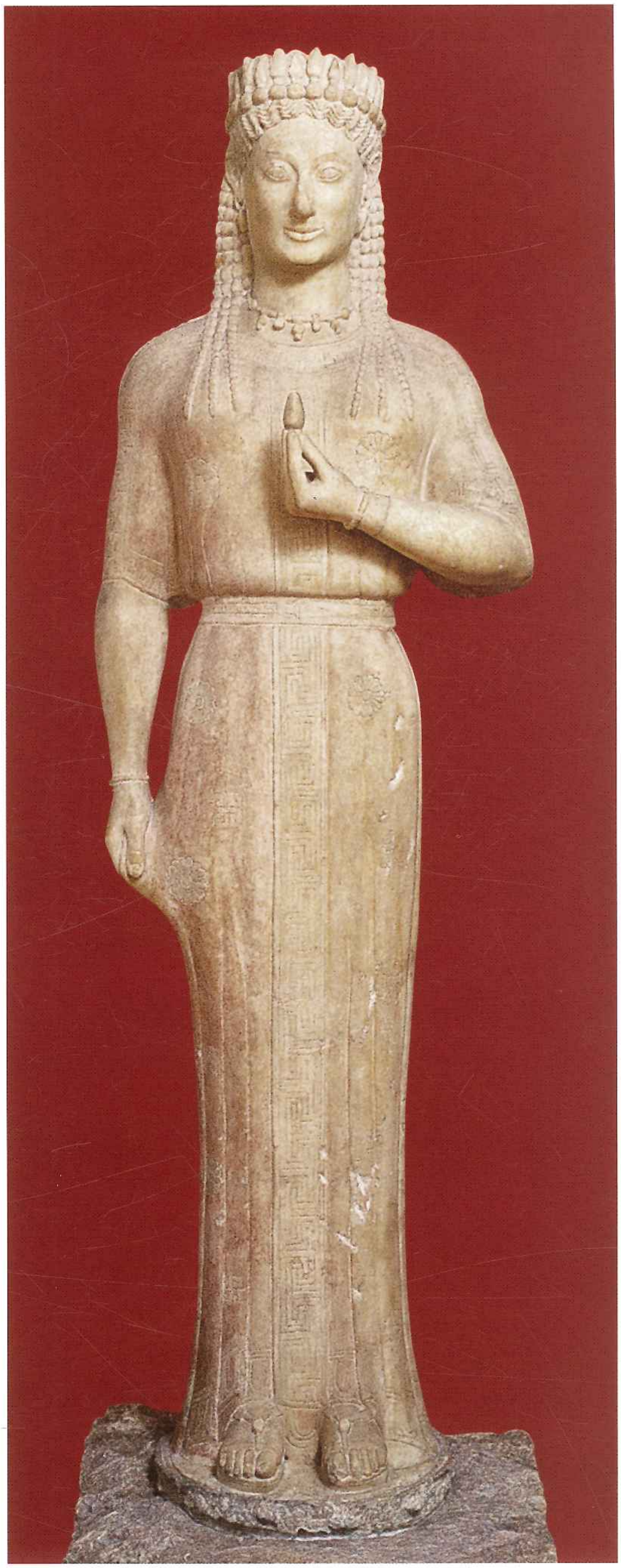
Peiraeus, Archaeological Museum 2530

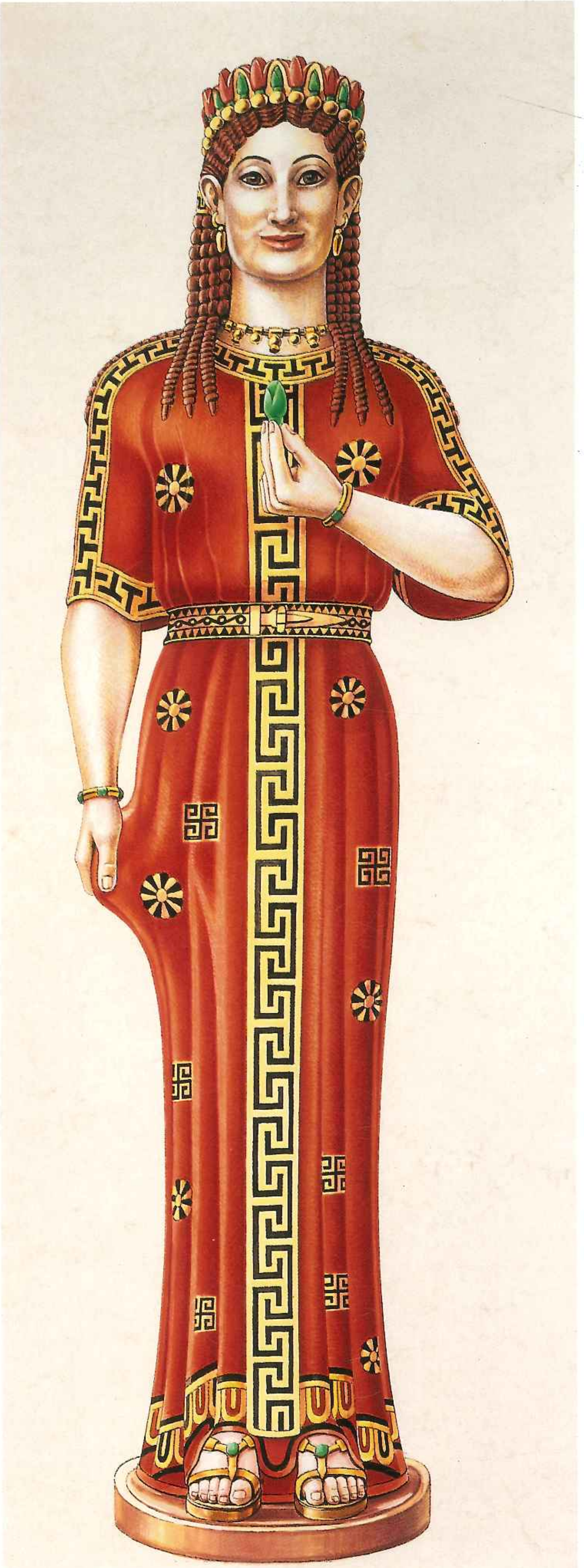


Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 1800



a

Athens, National Museum 4889



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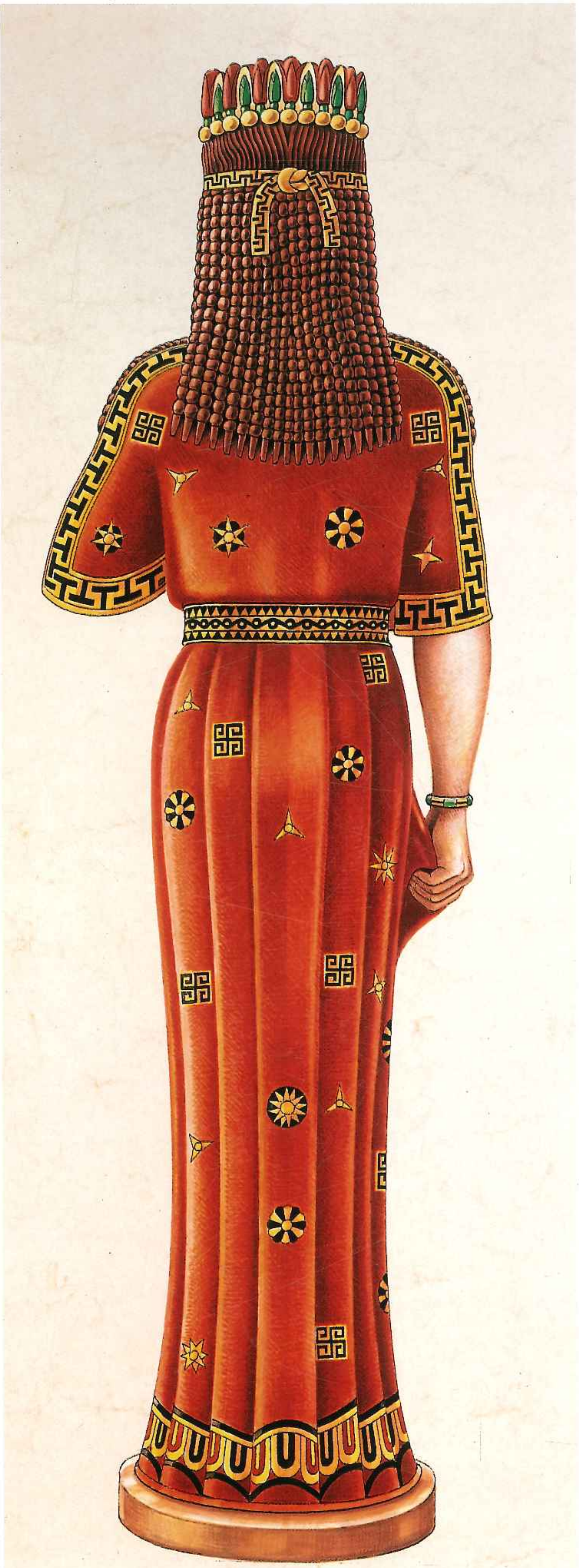
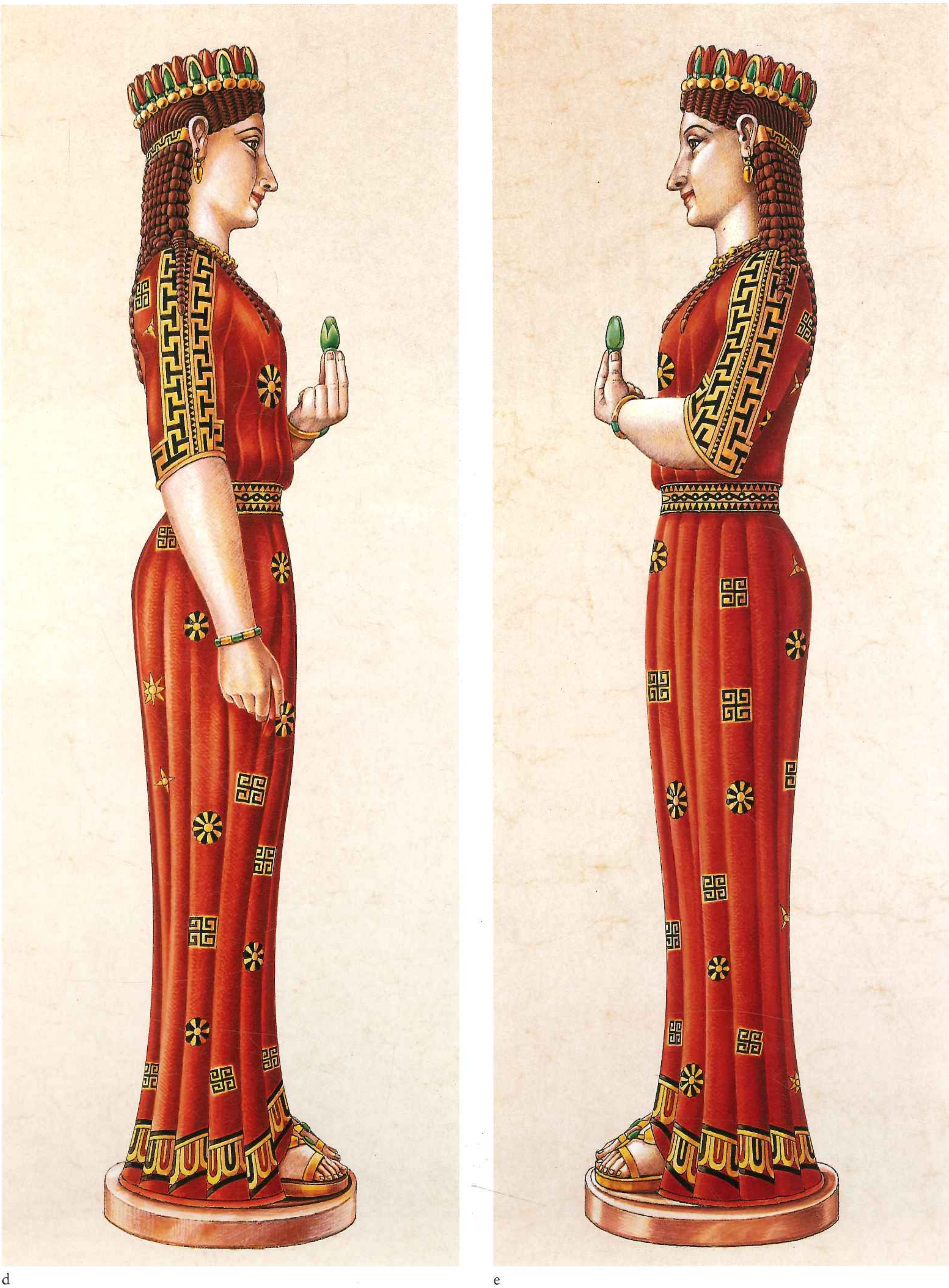


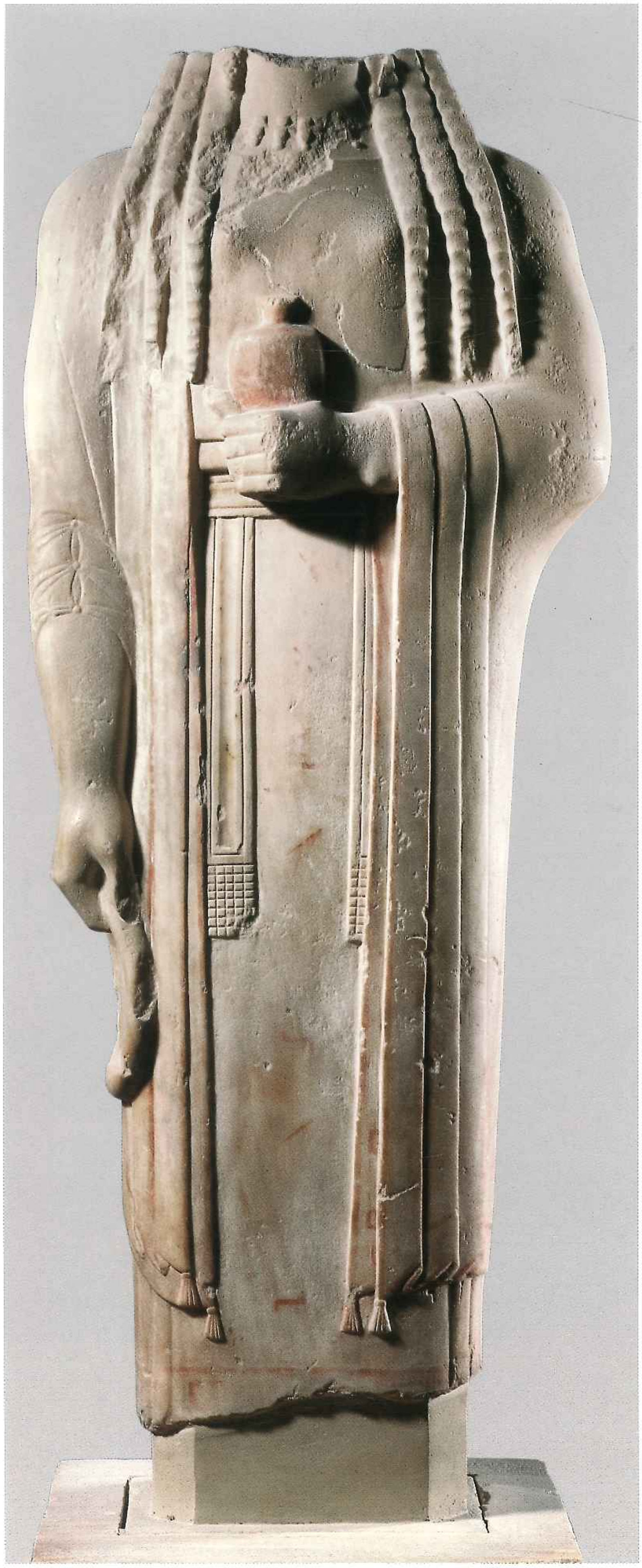
c

Athens, National Museum 4889, reconstruction drawing



d e

Athens, National Museum 4889, reconstruction drawing



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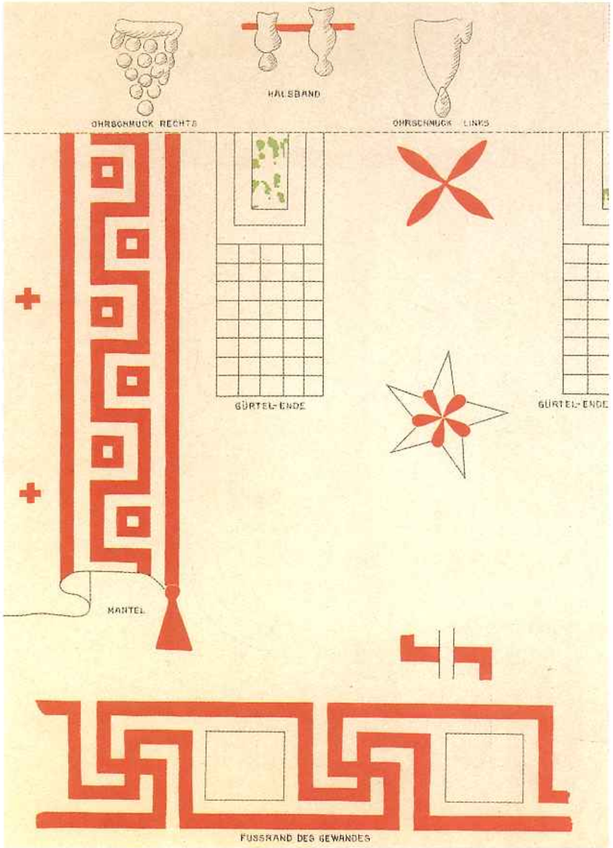
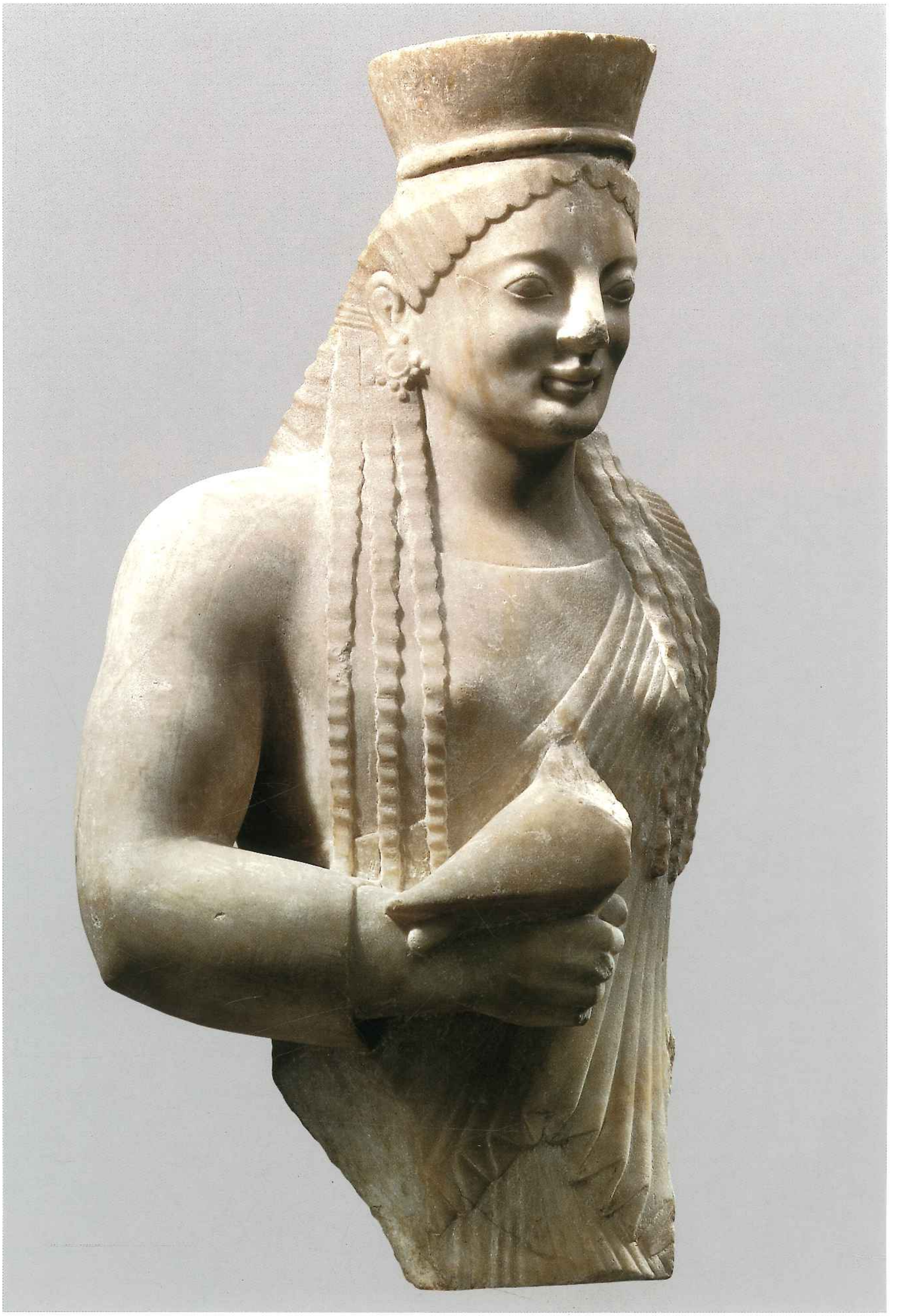
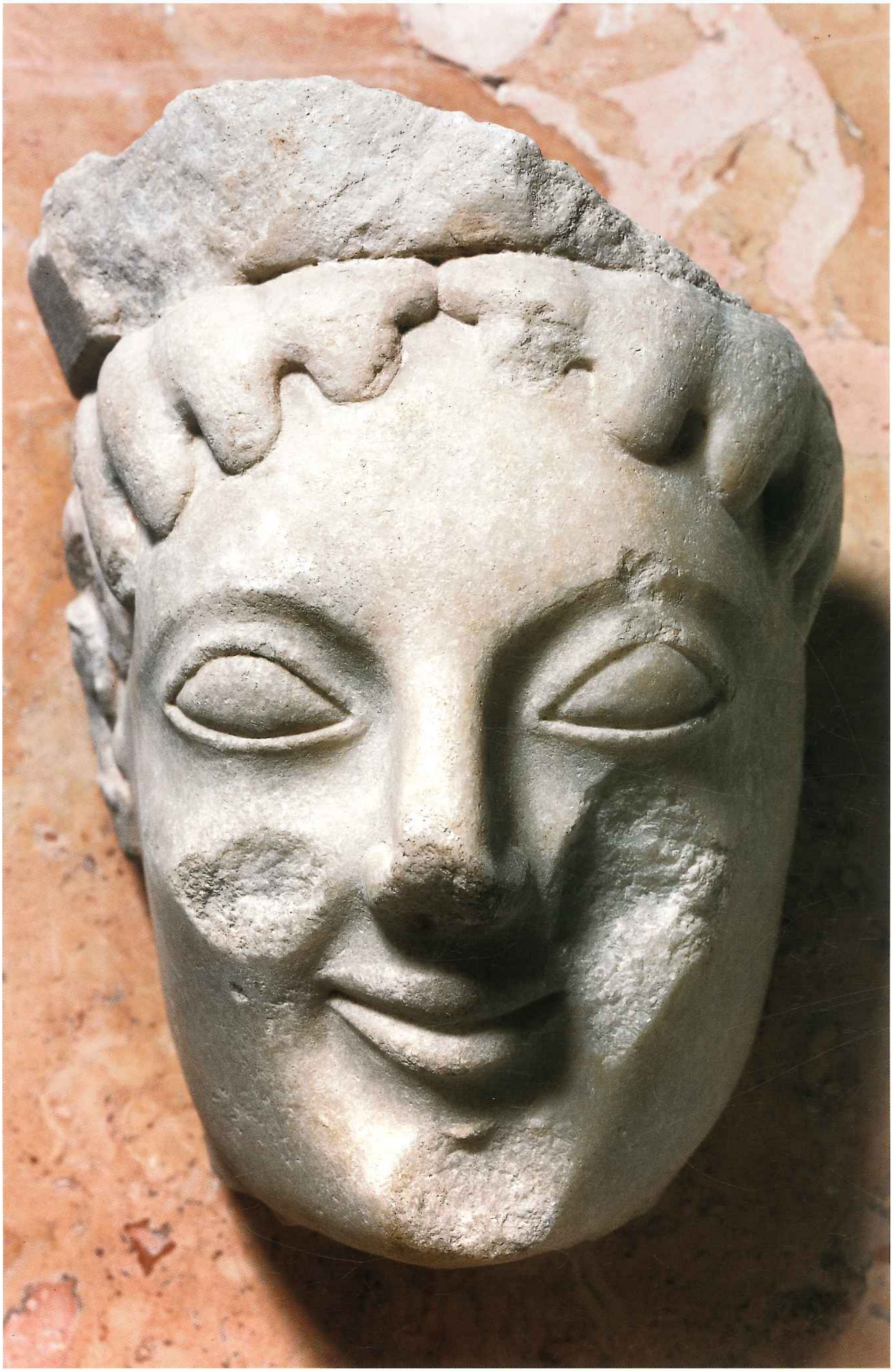

OHRSCHMUCK RECHTS
HALSBAND
OHRSCHMUCK LINKS
GÜRTEL-ENDE
GÜRTEL-ENDE
MANTEL
FUSSRAND DES GEWANDES

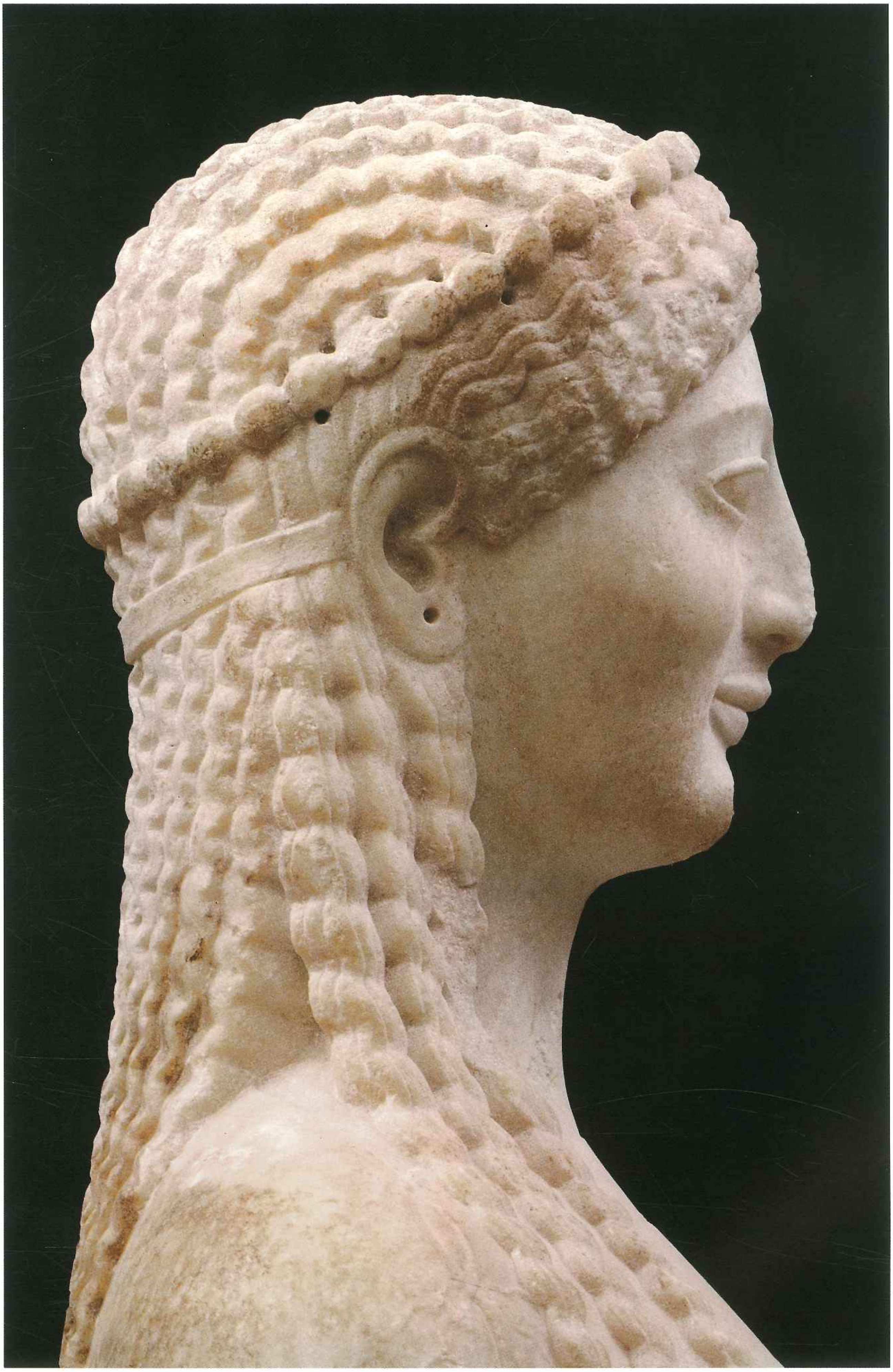
b



Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts 269

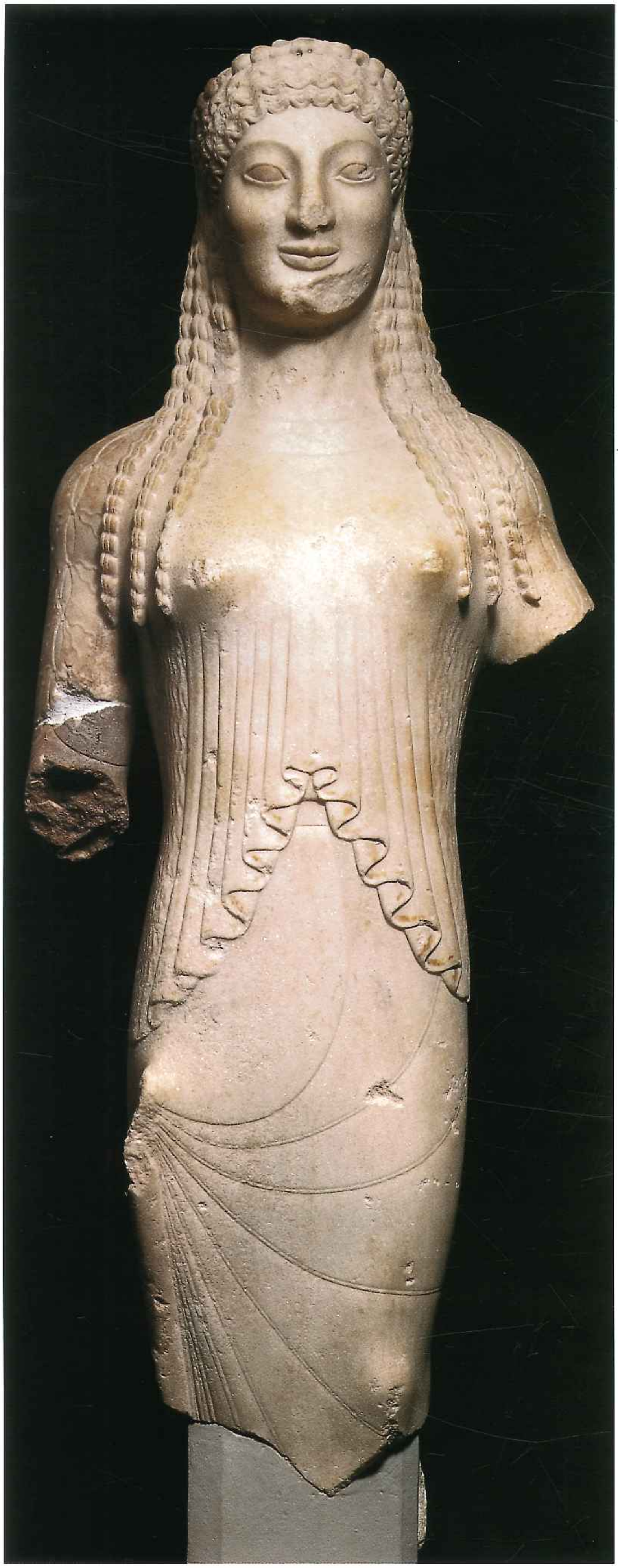


Athens, Akropolis Museum 654



a

Athens, Akropolis Museum 678



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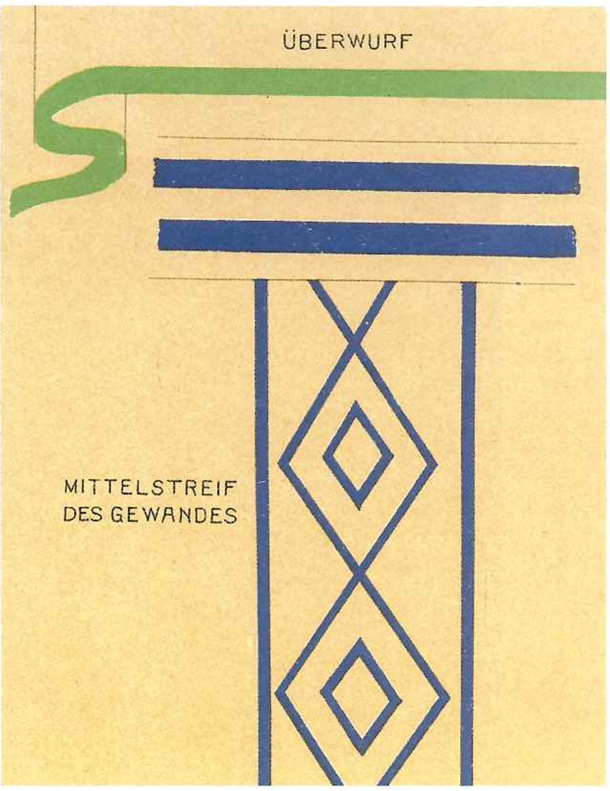
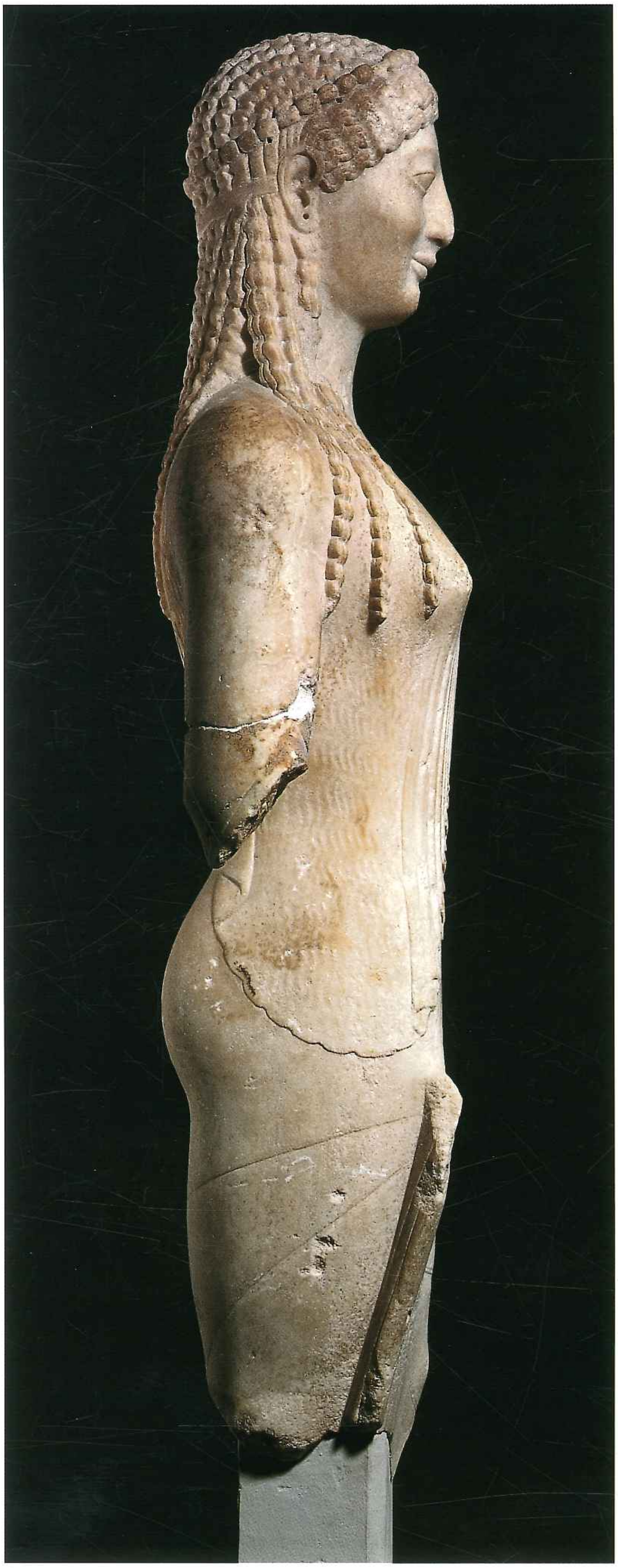


ÜBERWURF
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES

c

Athens, Akropolis Museum 678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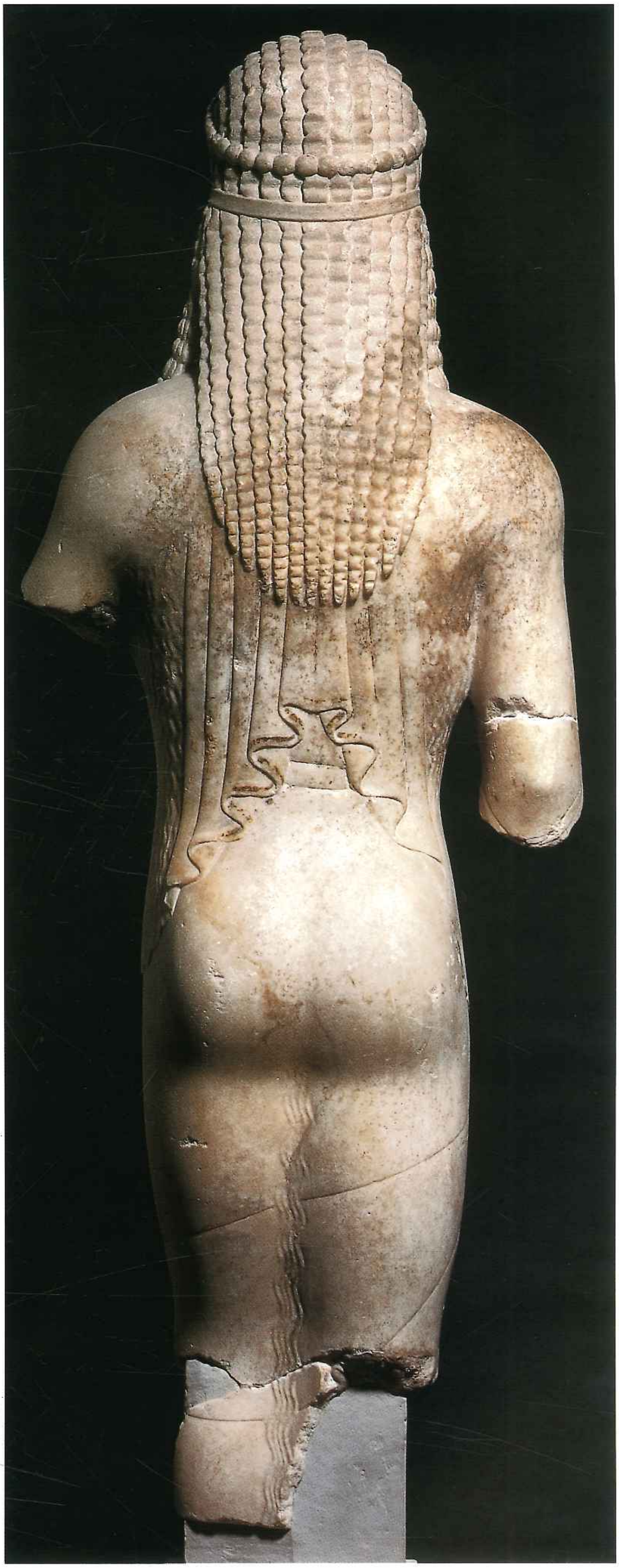
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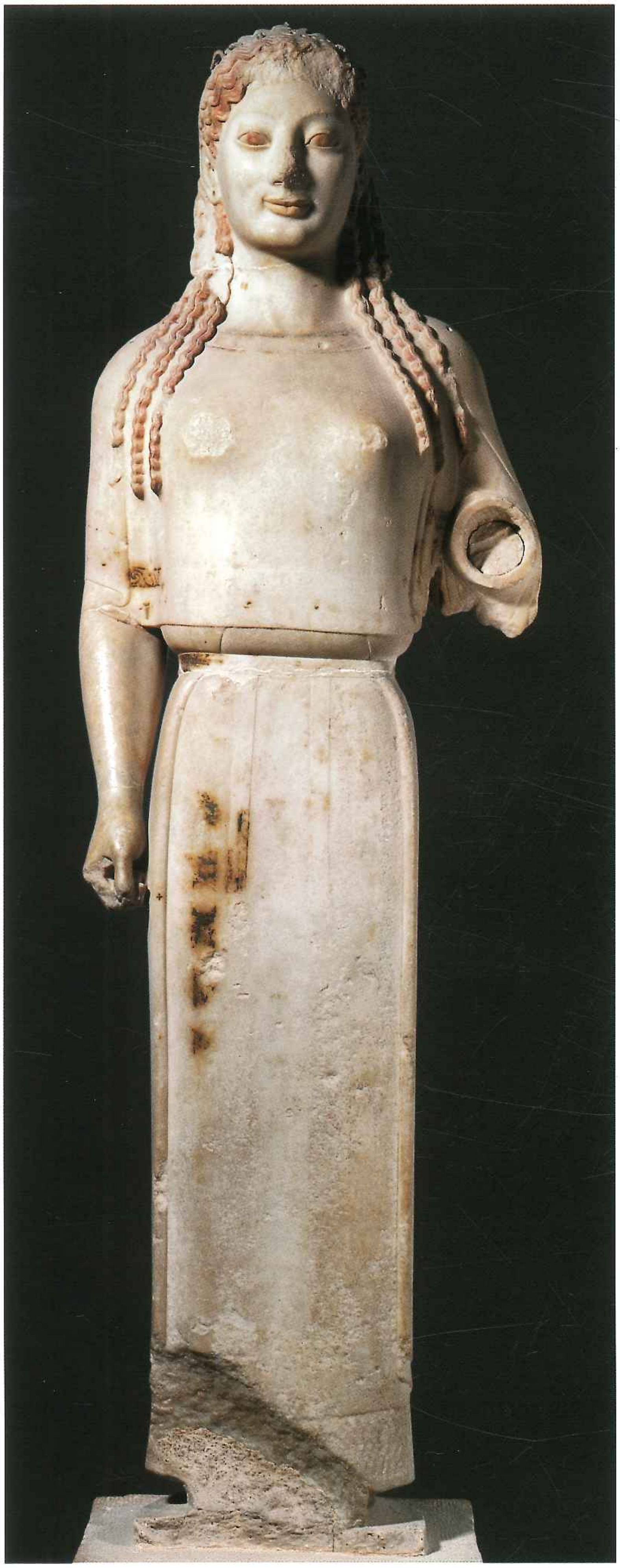
Athens, Akropolis Museum 678



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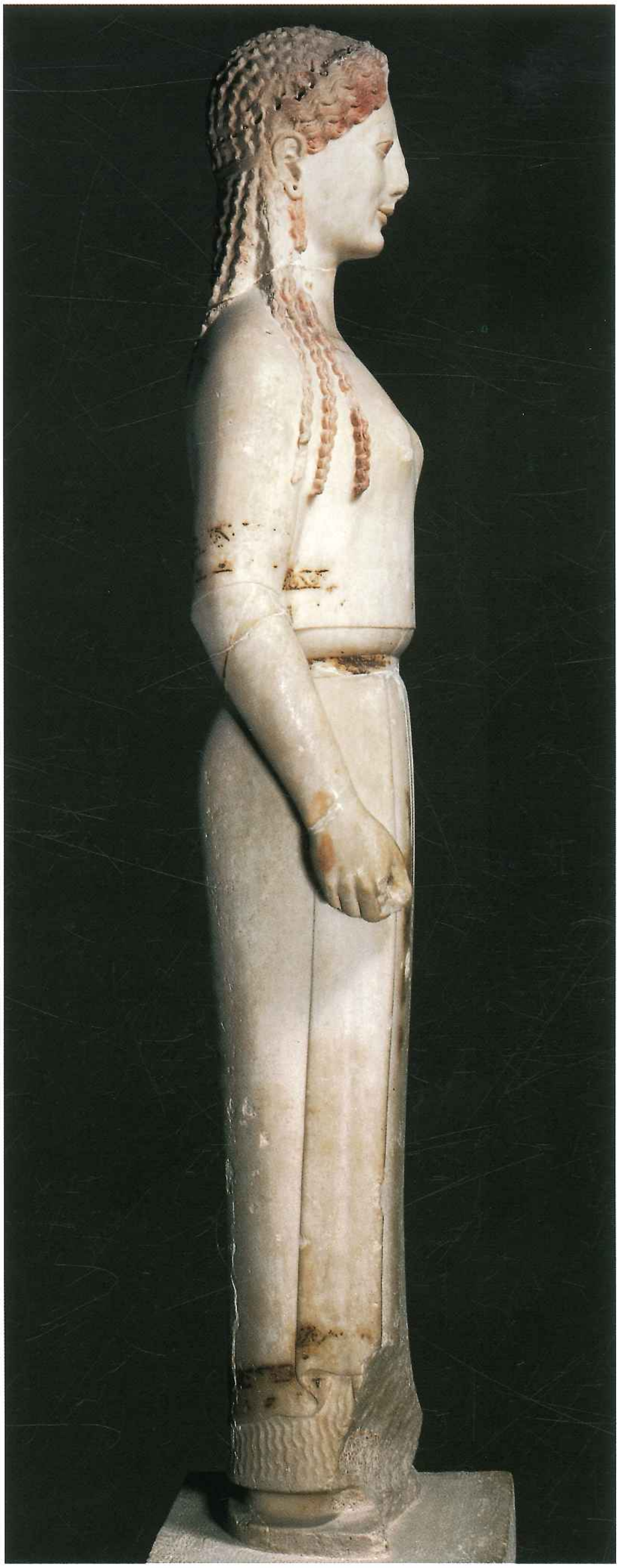
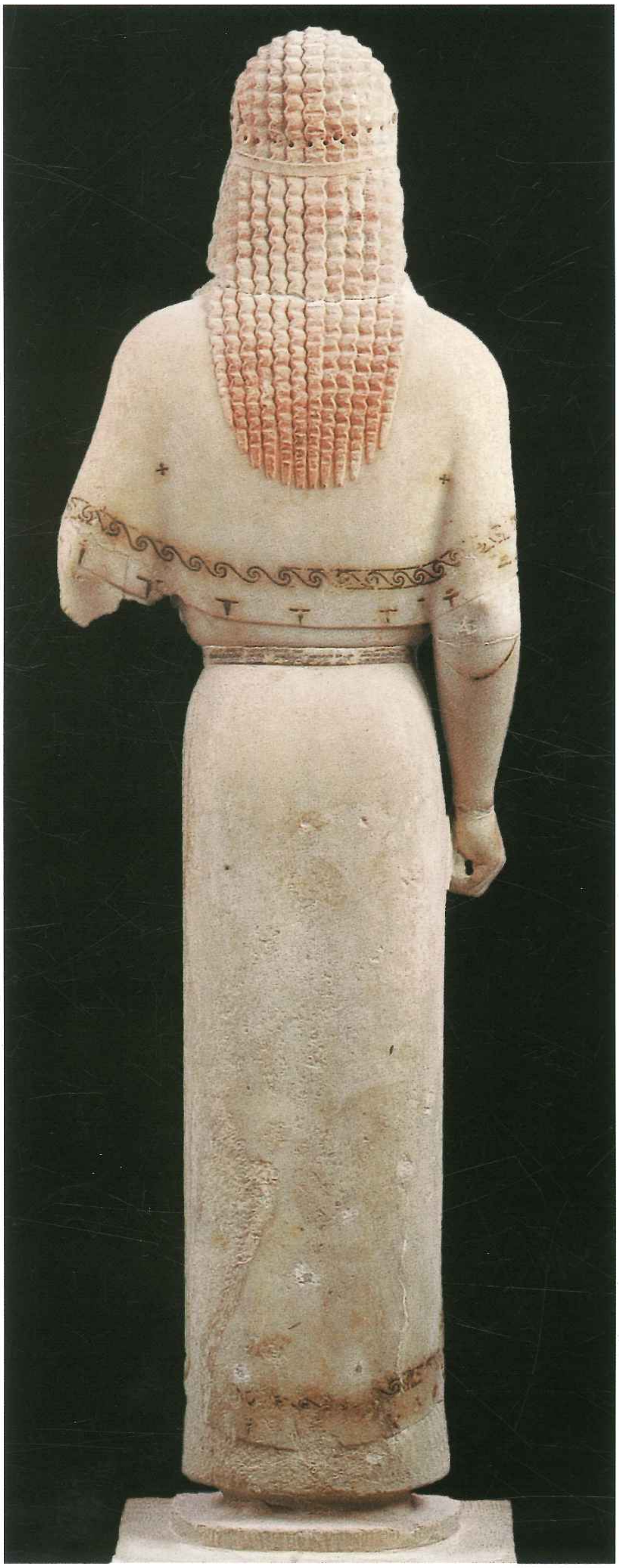


b

Athens, Akropolis Museum 679



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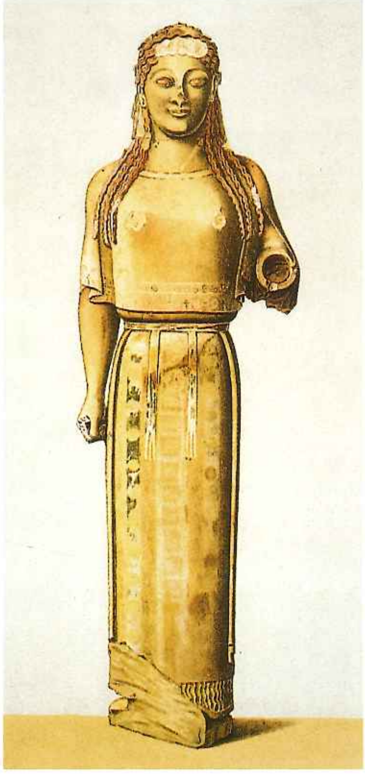

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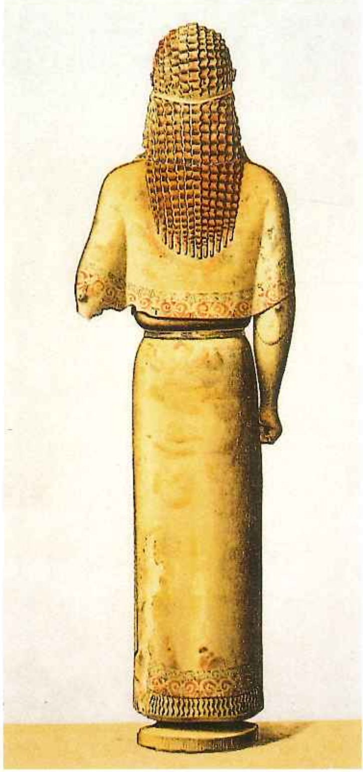

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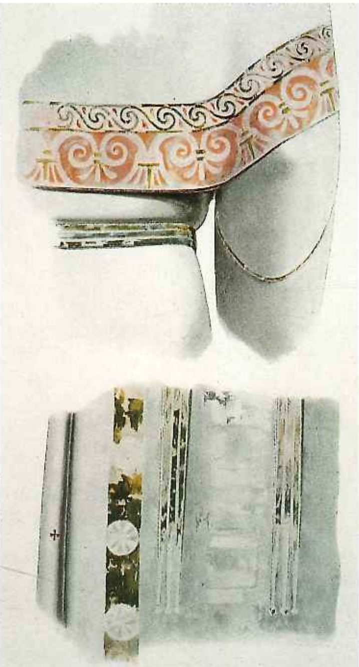

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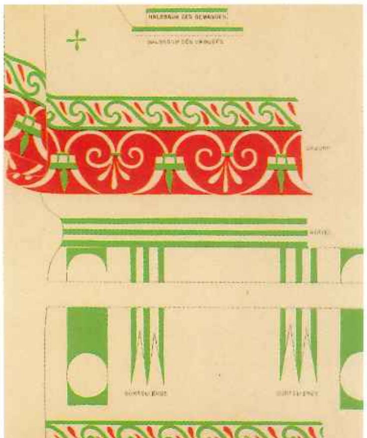
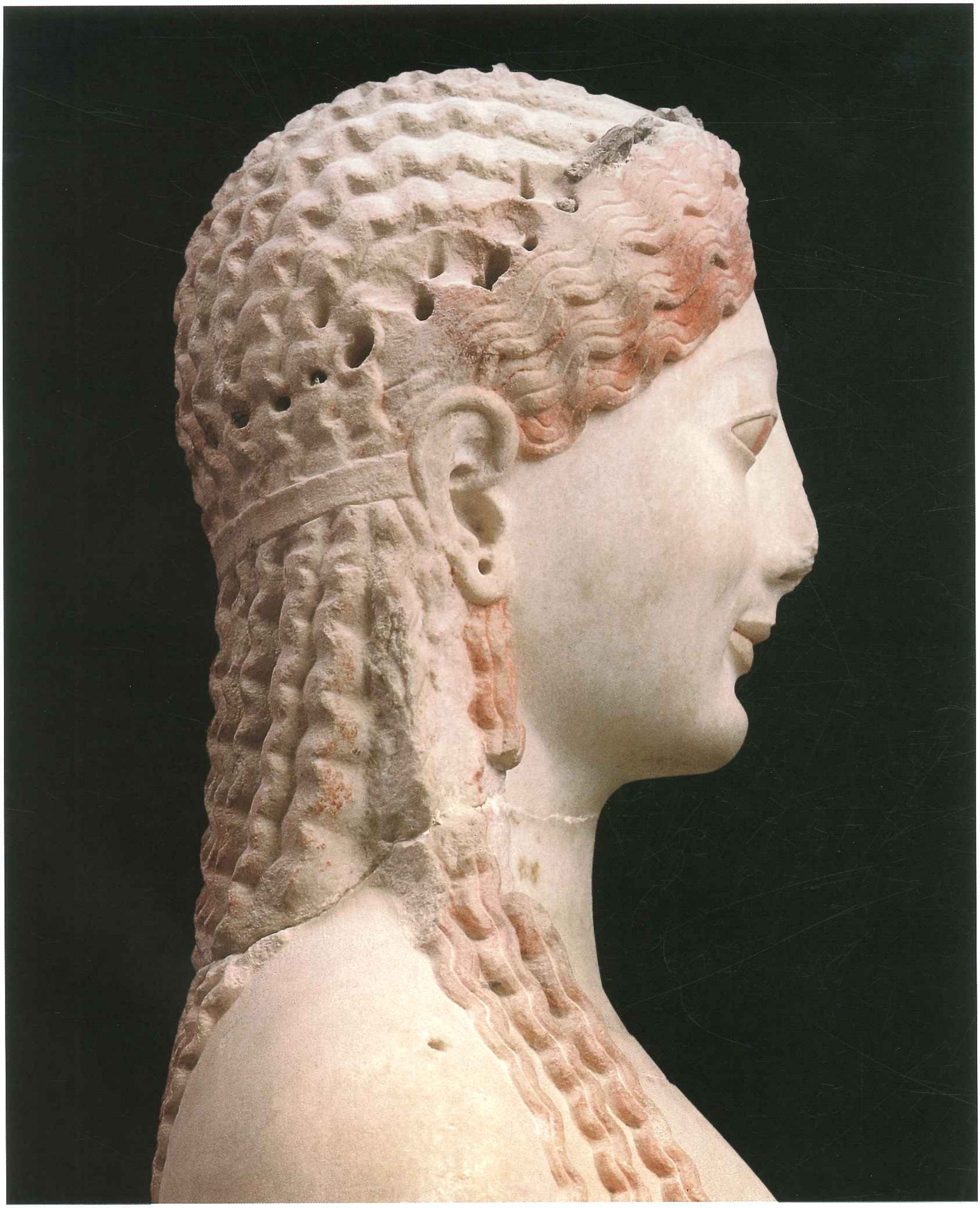

HALSSAUM DES GEWANDES

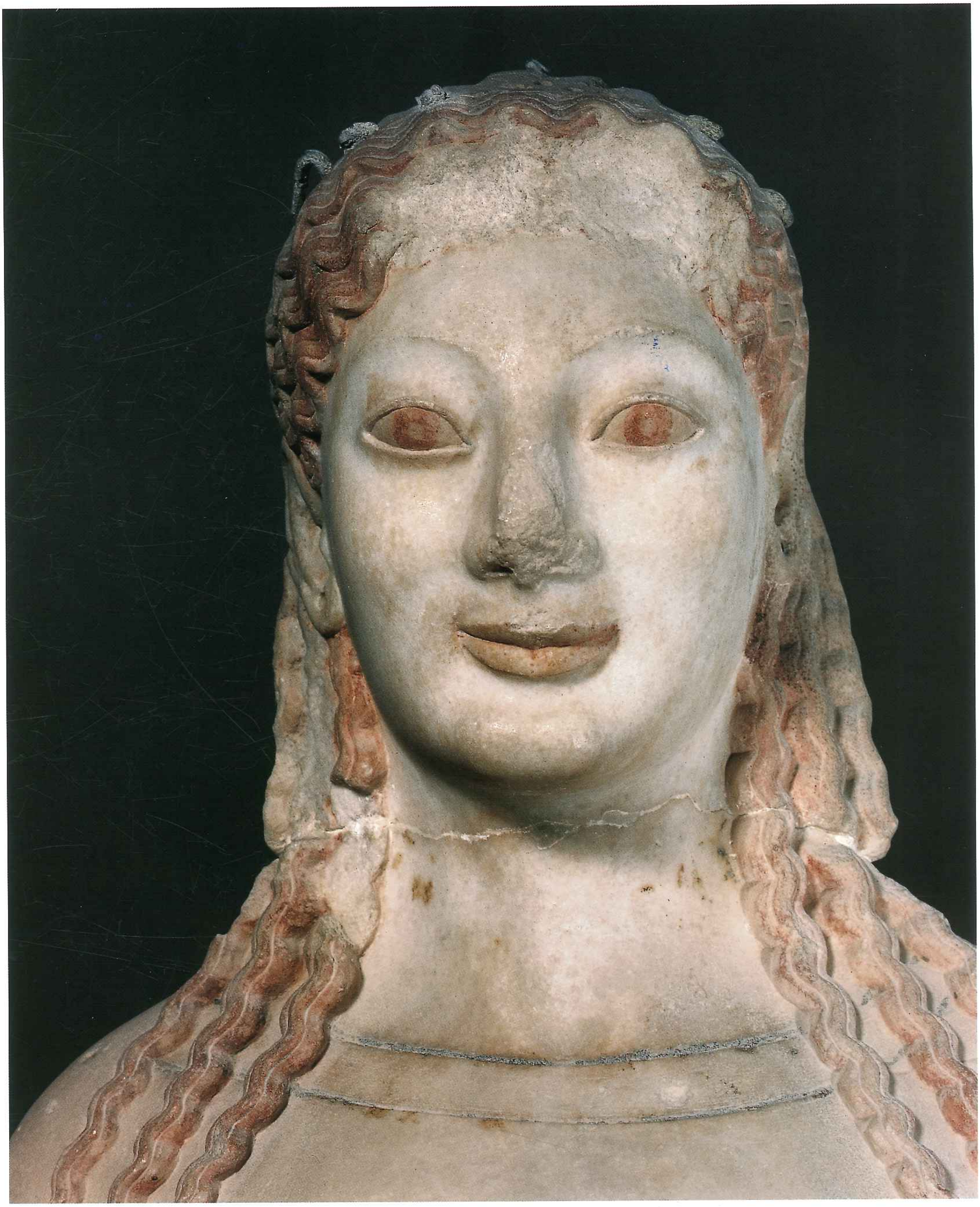
g

Athens, Akropolis Museum 679



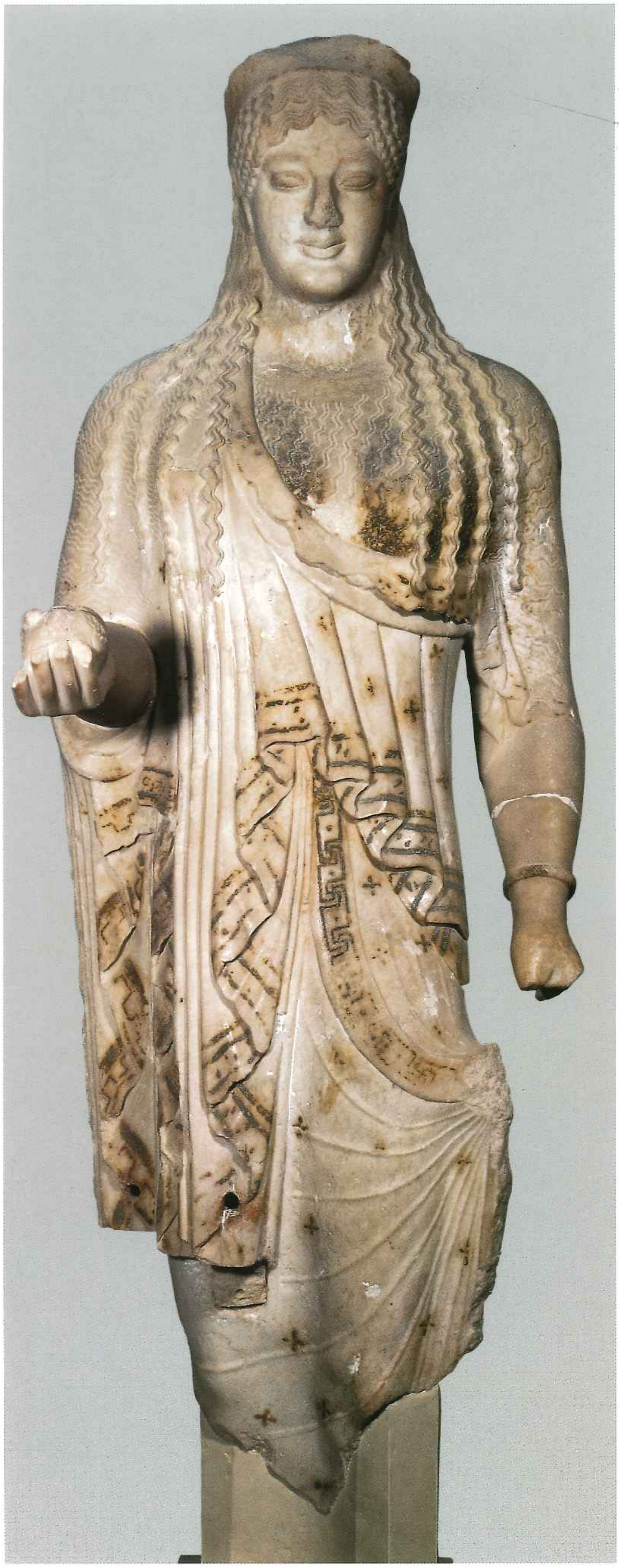
h

Athens, Akropolis Museum 679



i

Athens, Akropolis Museum 679



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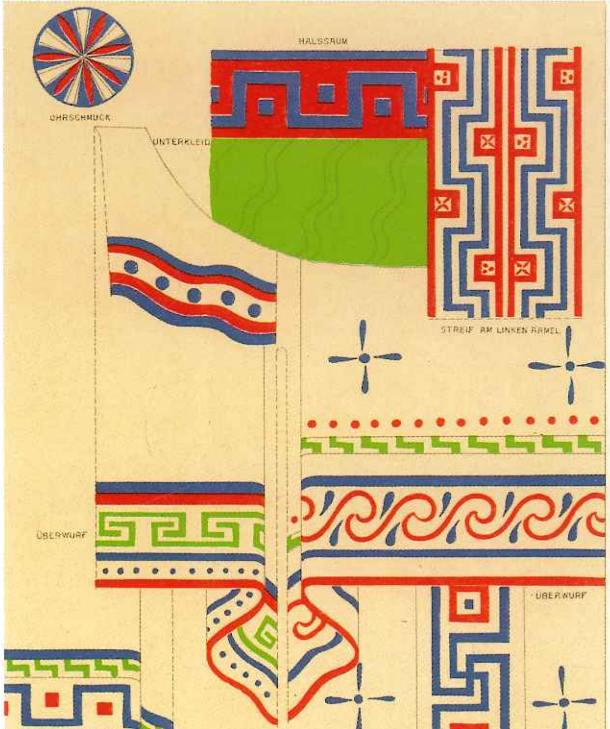
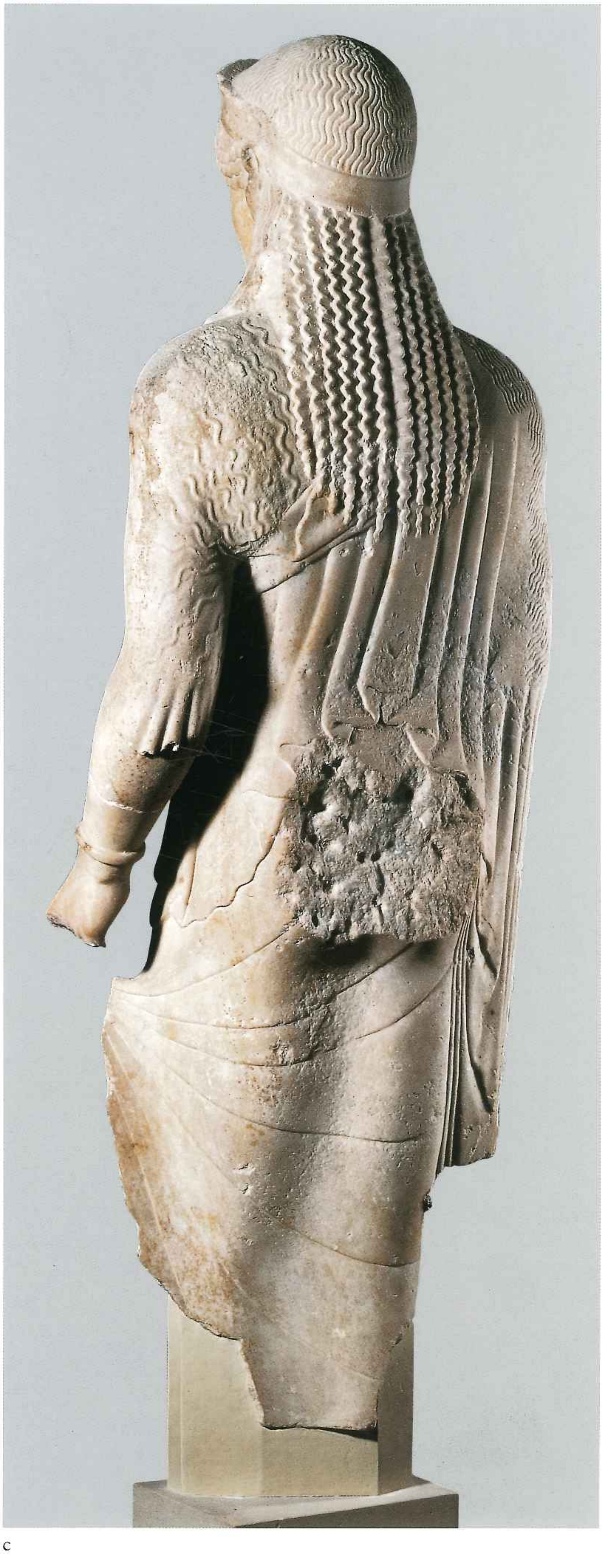

HALSSAUM
OHRSCHMUCK
UNTERKLEID
STREIF AM LINKEN ÄRMEL
ÜBERWURF
ÜBERWURF
ÜBERWURF
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES
FUSSRAND DES GEWANDES

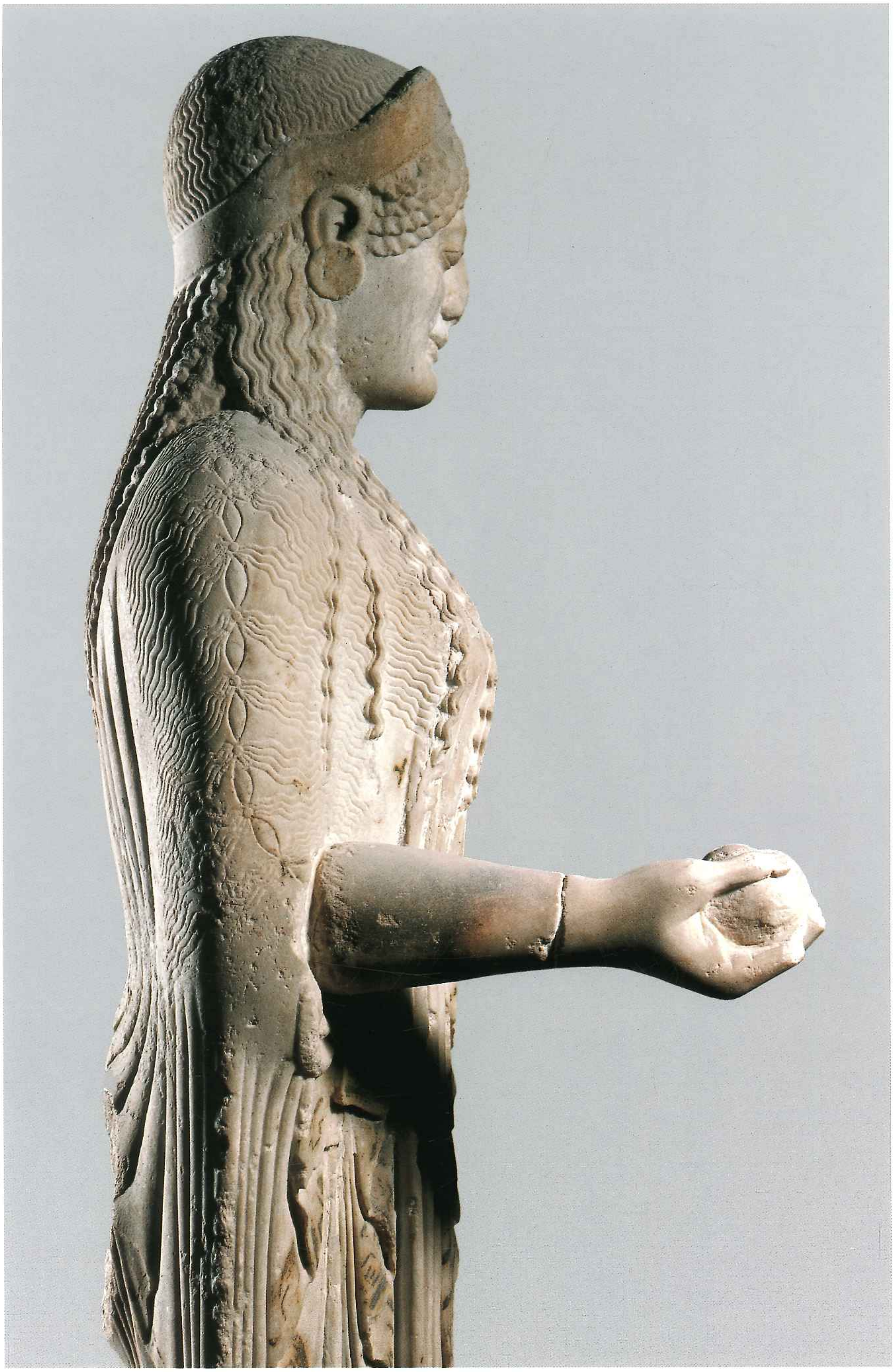
b

Athens, Akropolis Museum 680



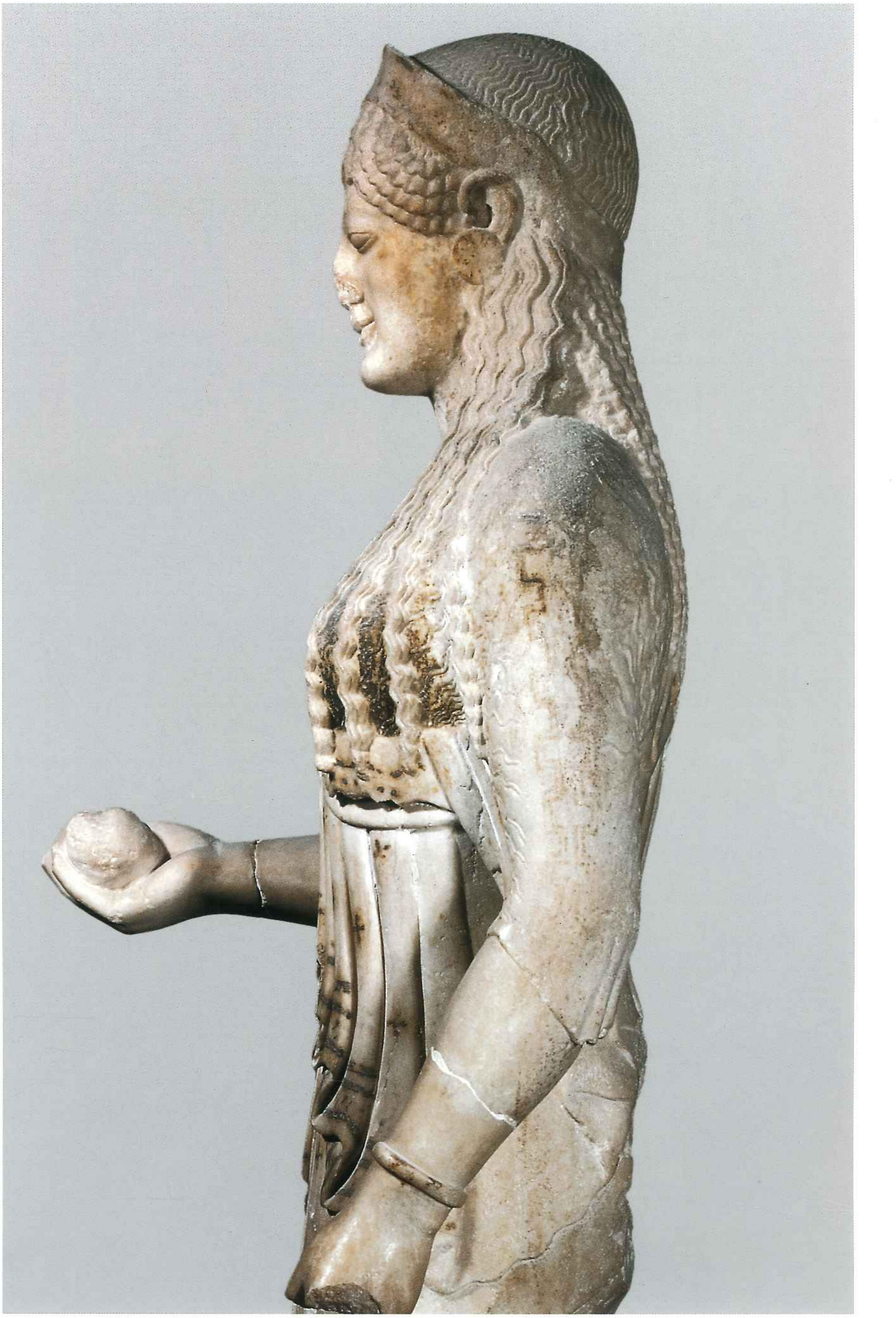
c

Athens, Akropolis Museum 680



d

Athens, Akropolis Museum 680



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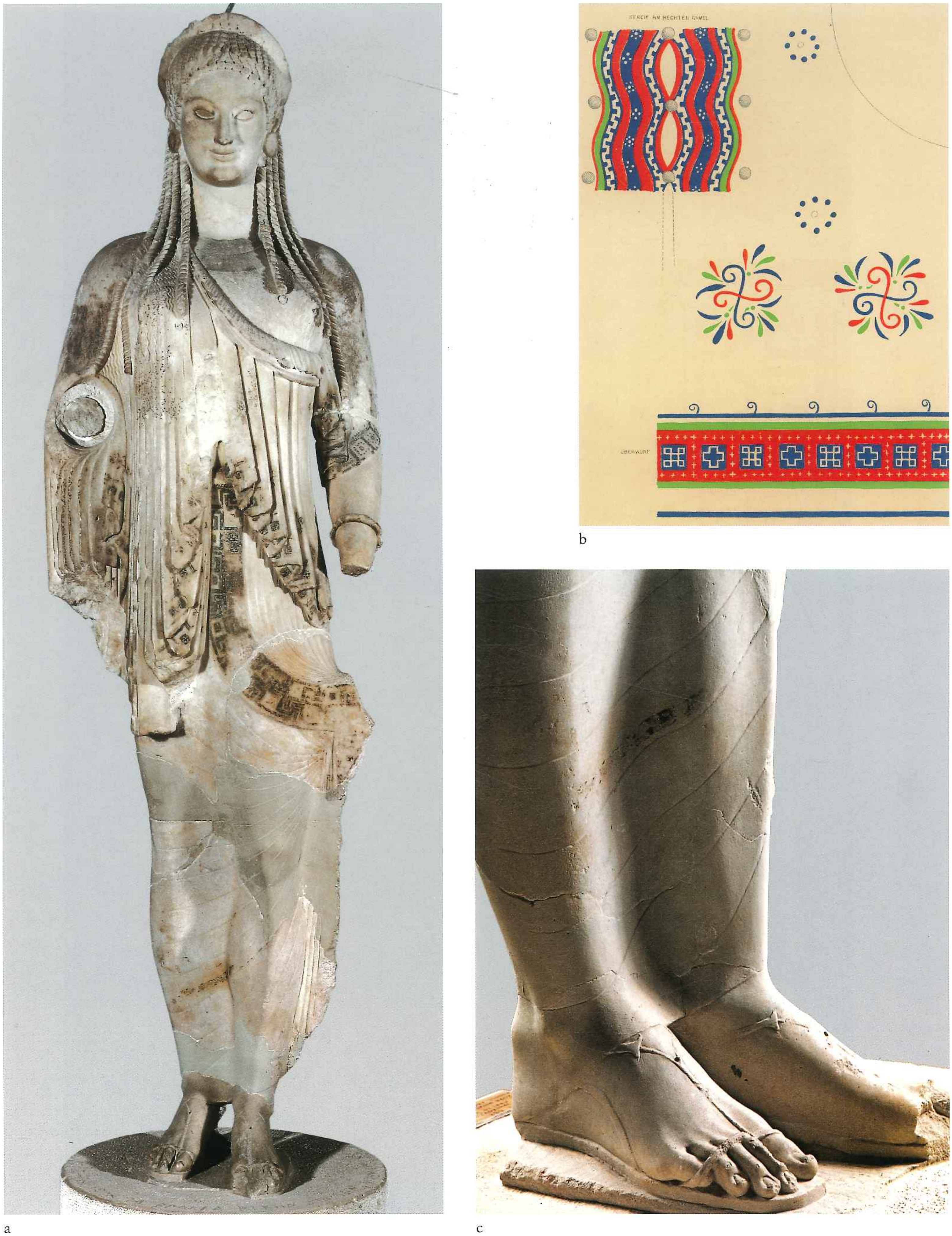
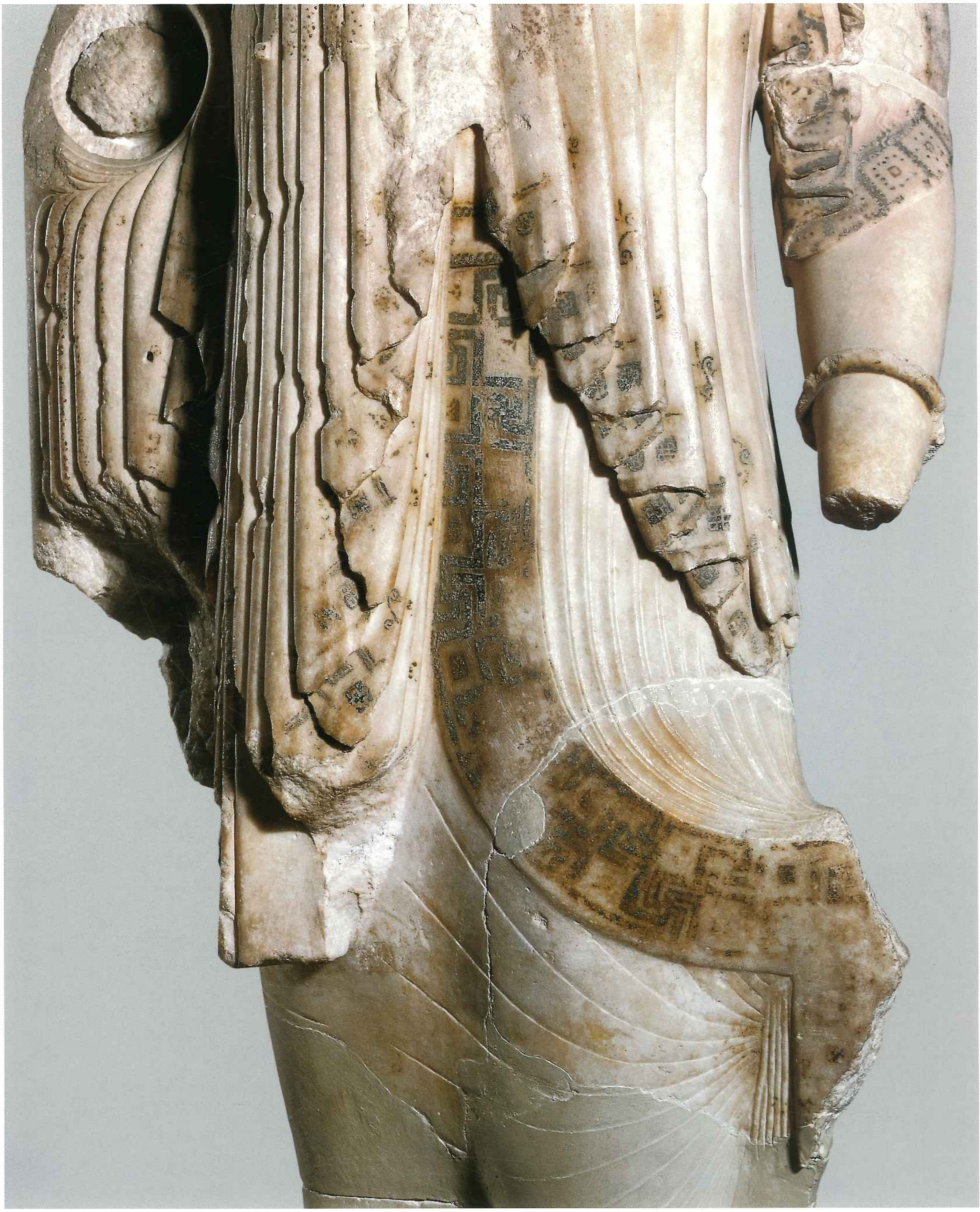
Athens, Akropolis Museum 680

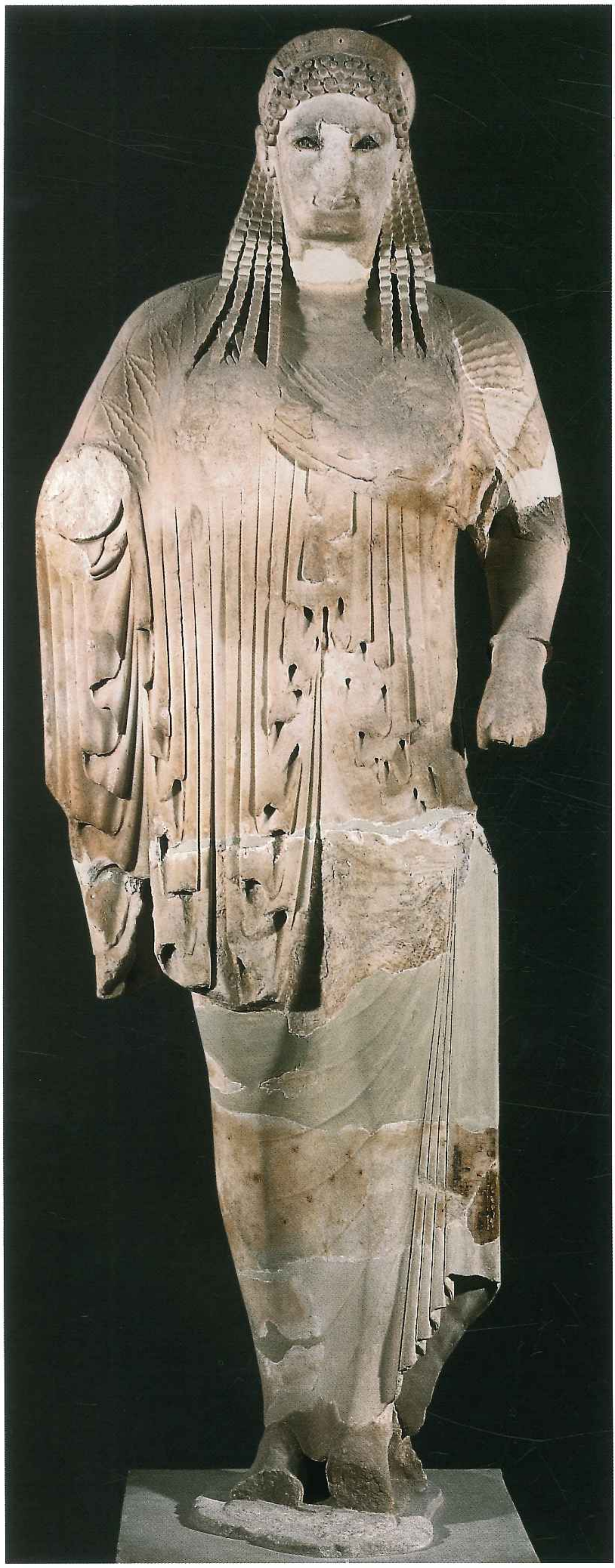

STREIF AM RECHTEN ÄRMEL
ÜBERWURF
b
a
c

Athens, Akropolis Museum 682



d

Athens, Akropolis Museum 682



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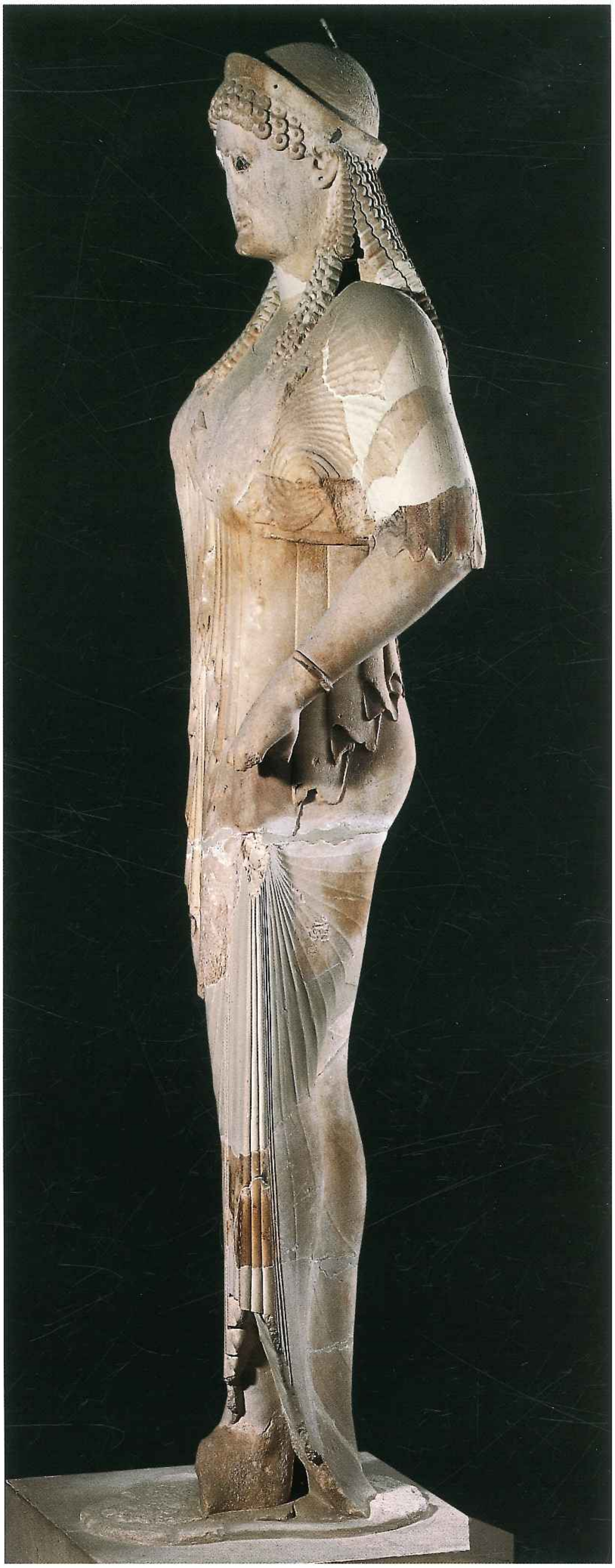
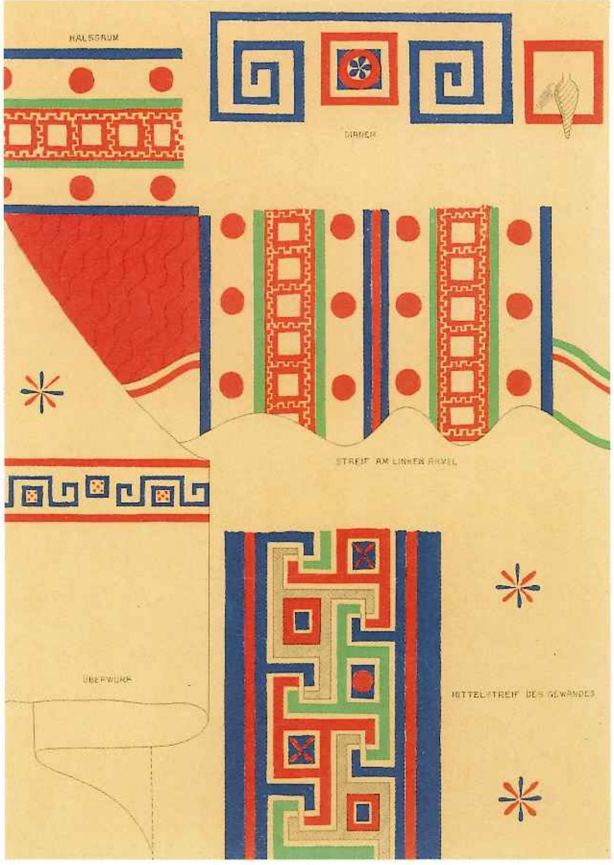
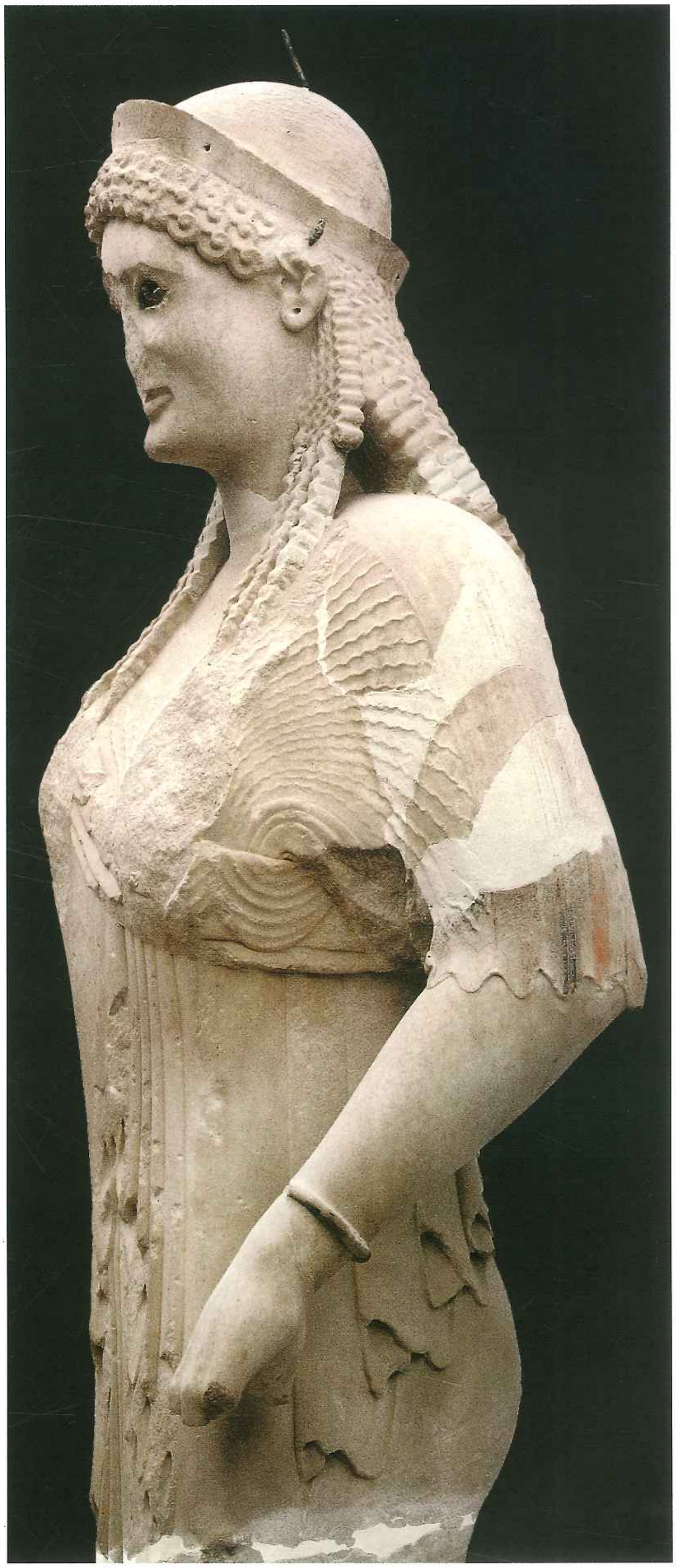


b

Athens, Akropolis Museum 681

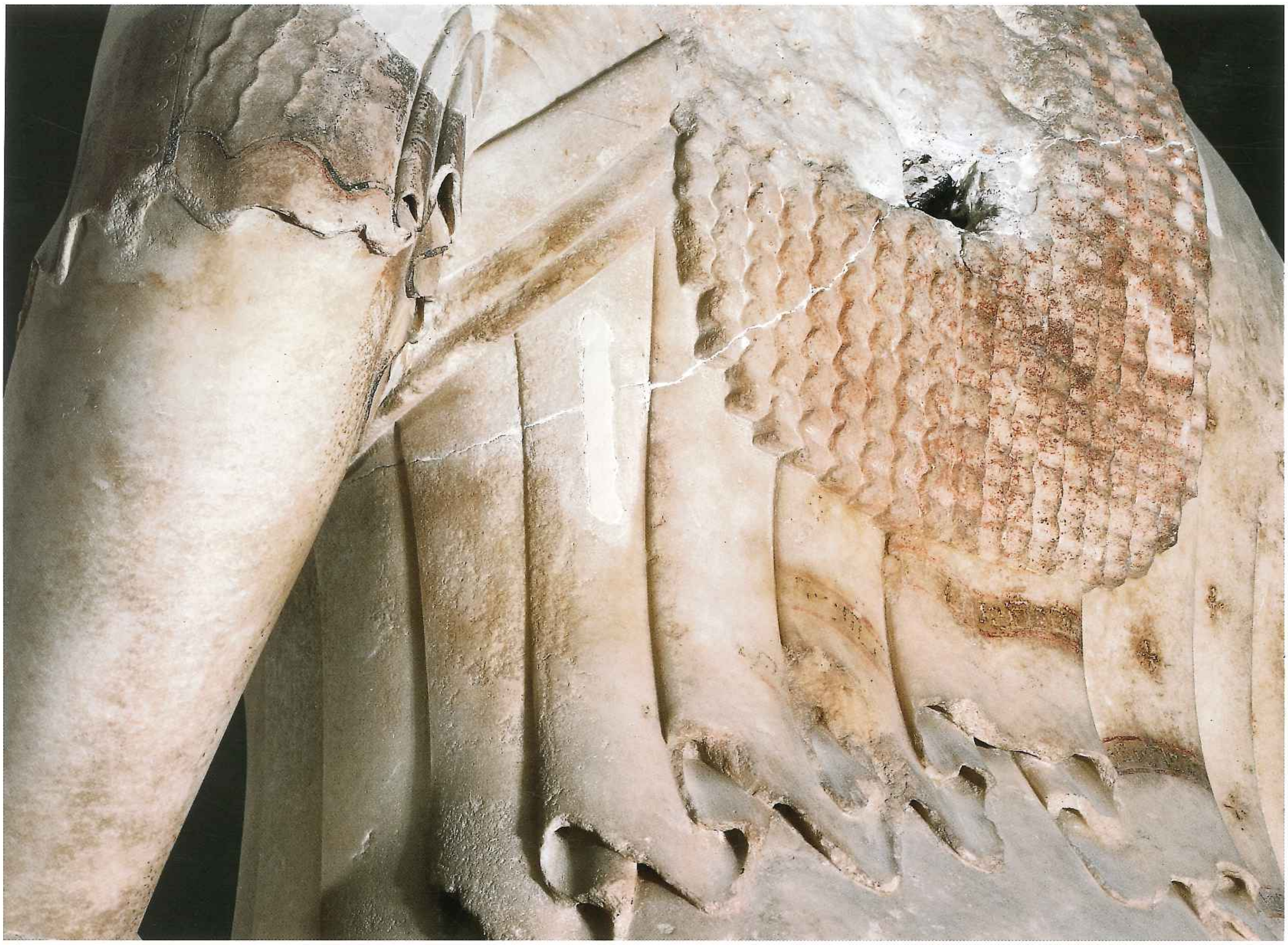

HALSSAUM
DIADEM
STREIF AM LINKEN ÄRMEL
ÜBERWURF
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES

c



d

Athens, Akropolis Museum 681



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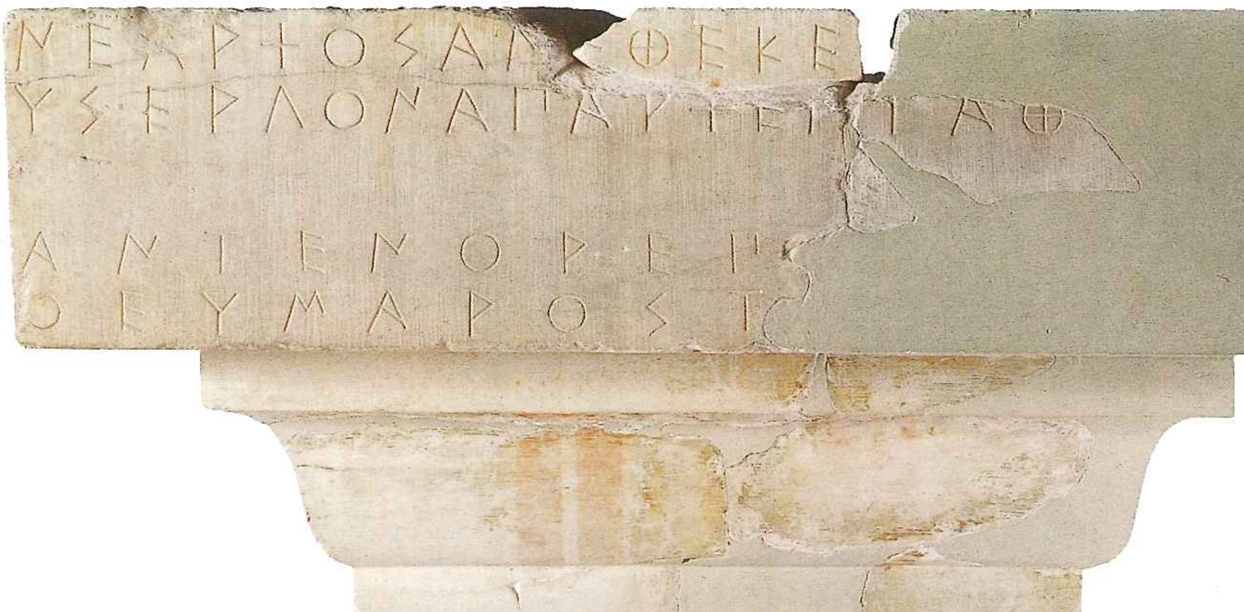
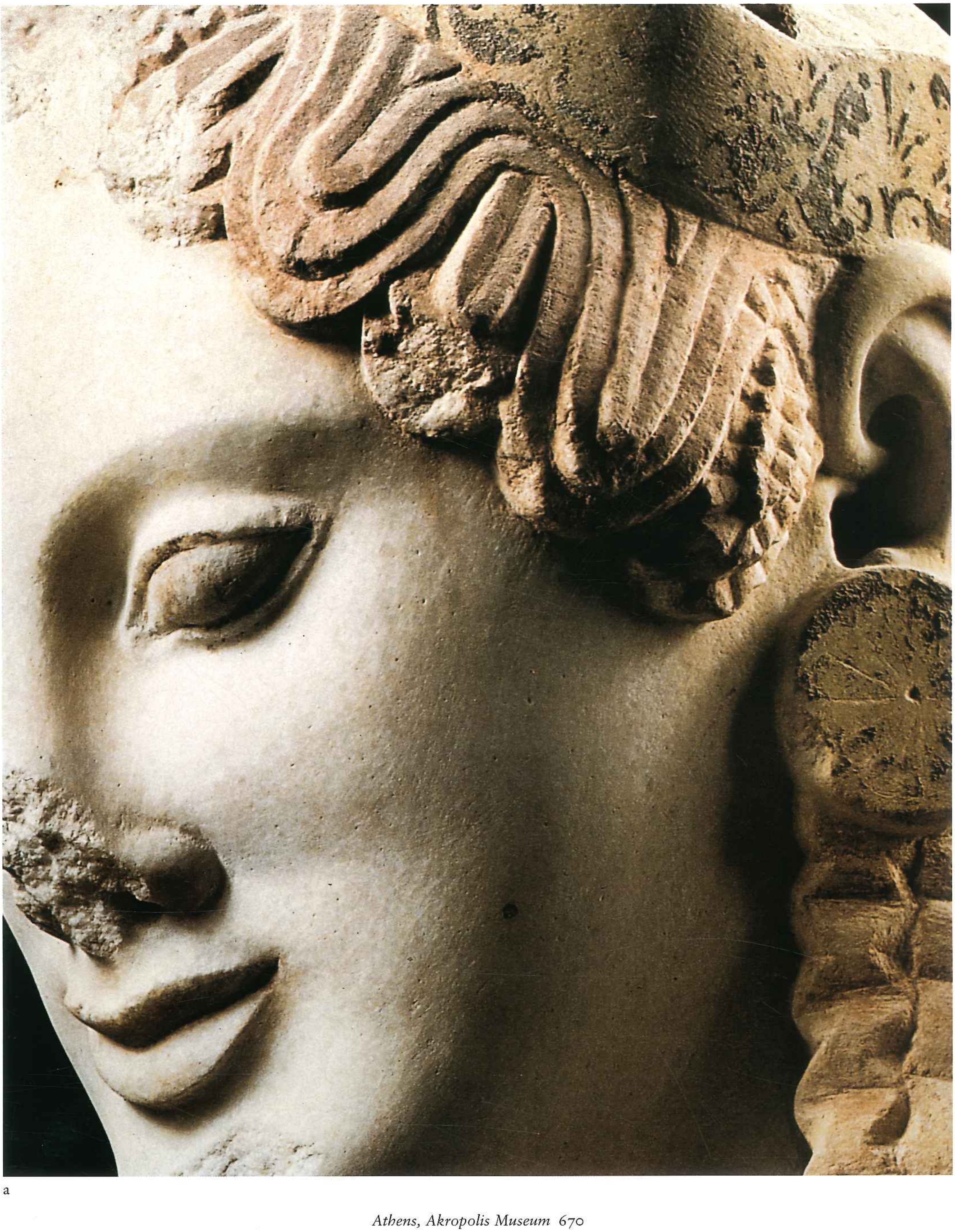

ΝΕΑΡΧΟΣΑΝ ΘΕΚΕ
ΥΣΕΡΓΟΝΑΠΑΡΧΕΝΤΑΘ
ΑΝΤΕΝΟΡΕΠ
ΟΕΥΜΑΡΟΣΤ

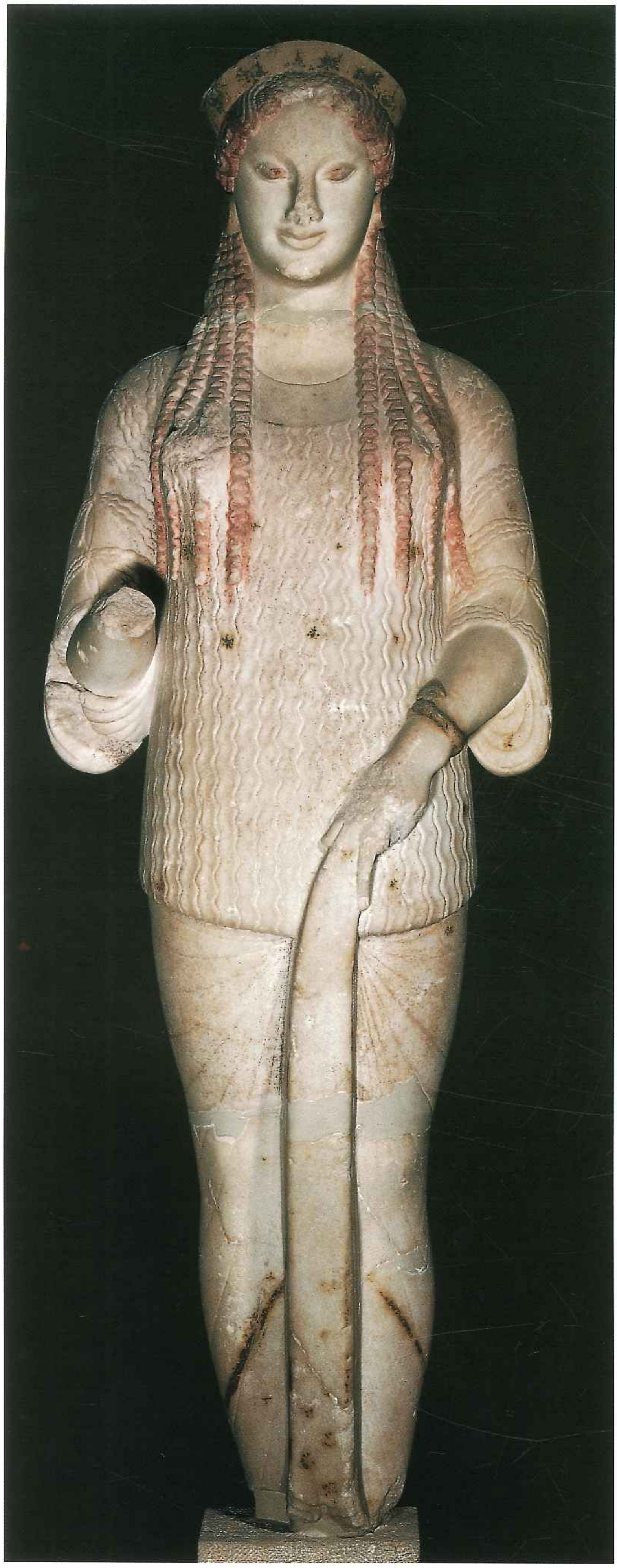
f

Athens, Akropolis Museum 681

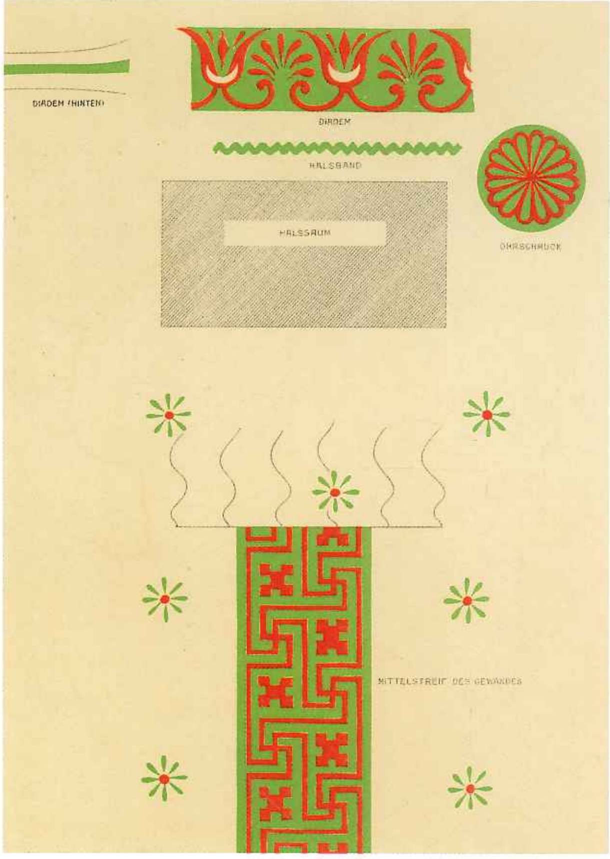


a

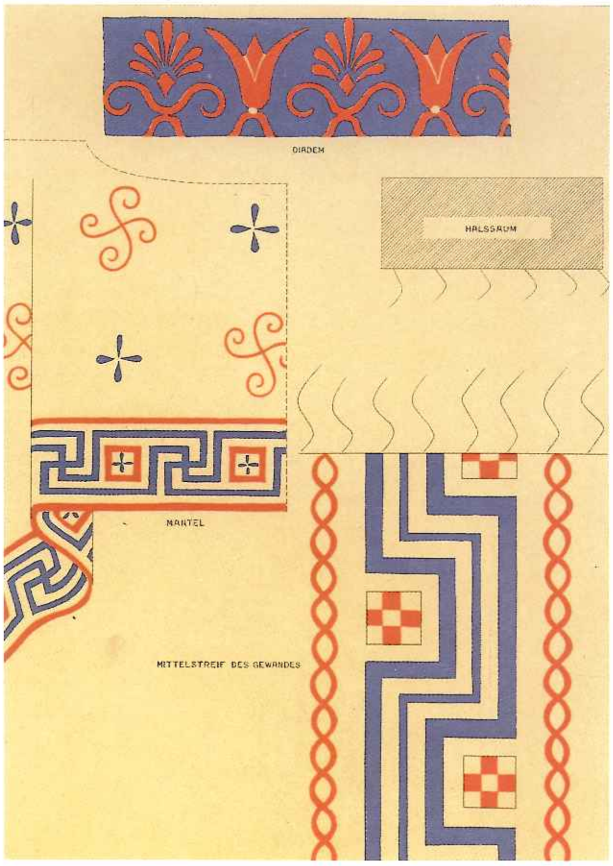
Athens, Akropolis Museum 670



670 b

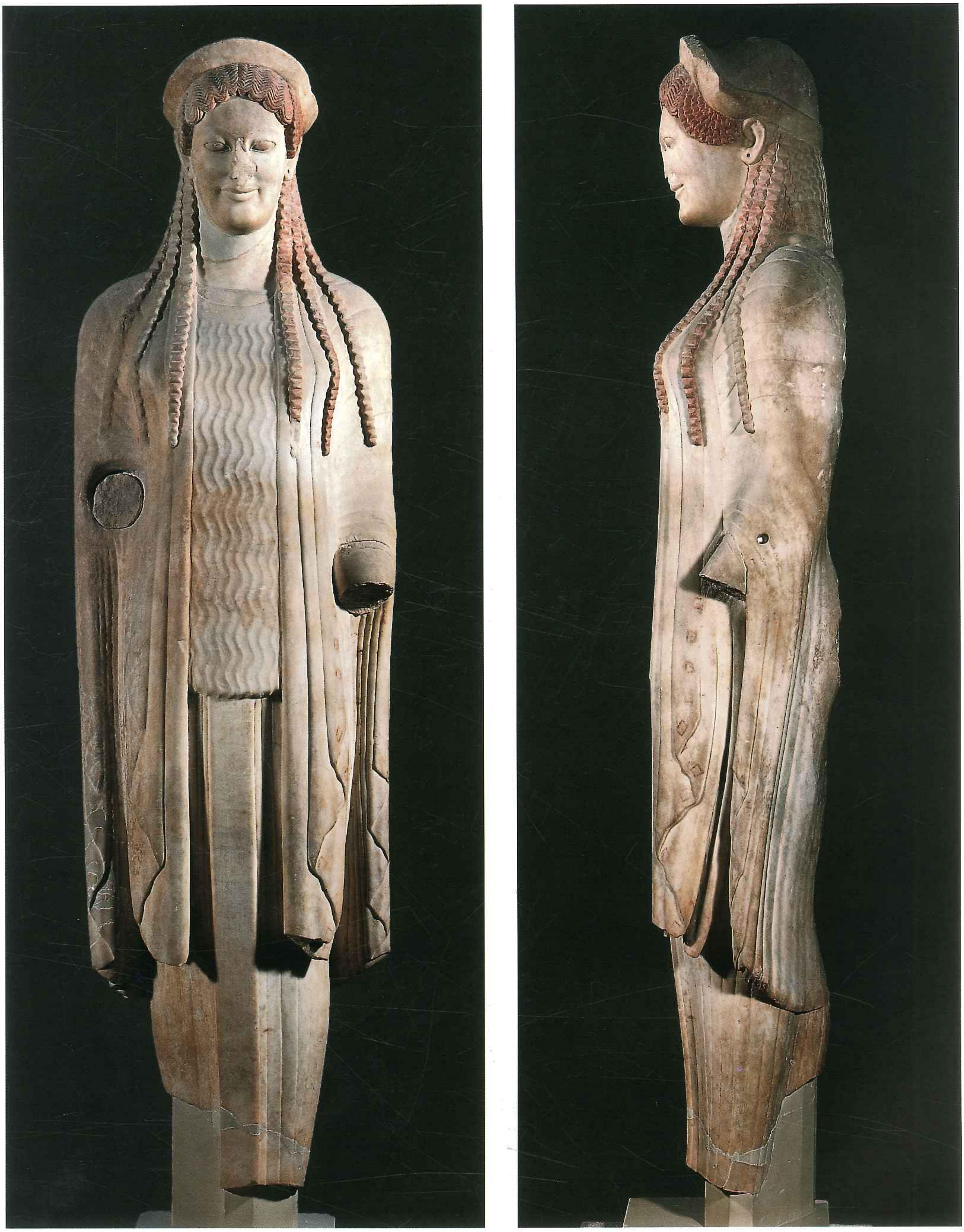

DIADEM (HINTEN)
DIADEM
HALSBAND
HALSSAUM
OHRSCHMUCK
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES

670 c


DIADEM
HALSSAUM
MANTEL
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES

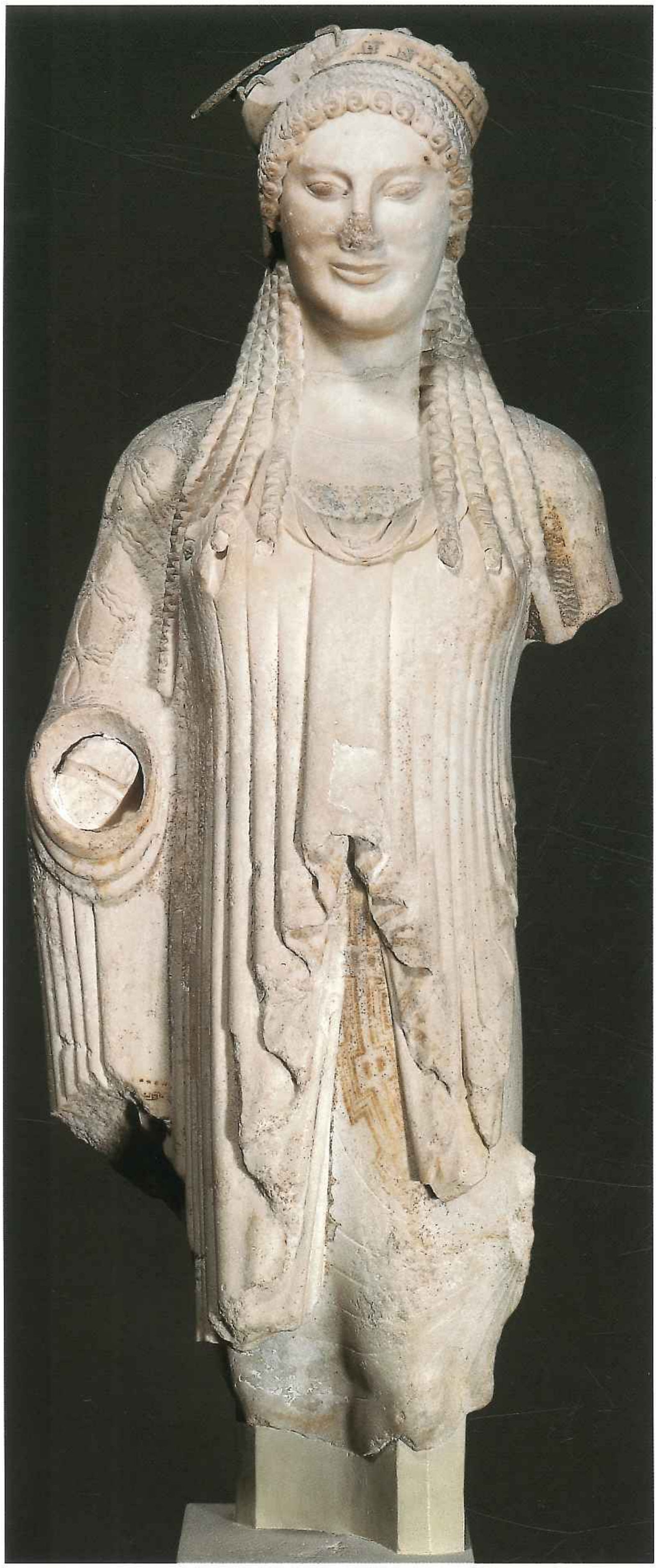
671 c

Athens, Akropolis Museum 670 and 671



a b

Athens, Akropolis Museum 671



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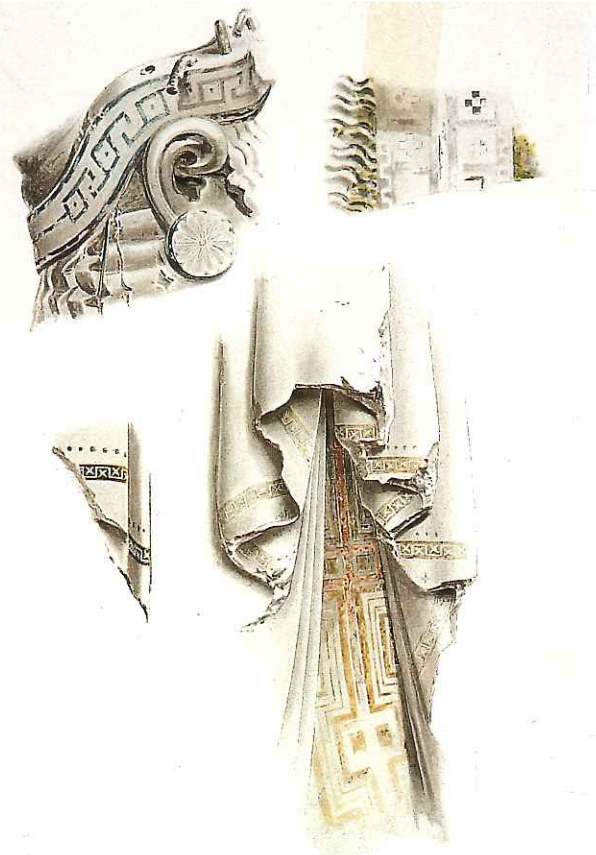
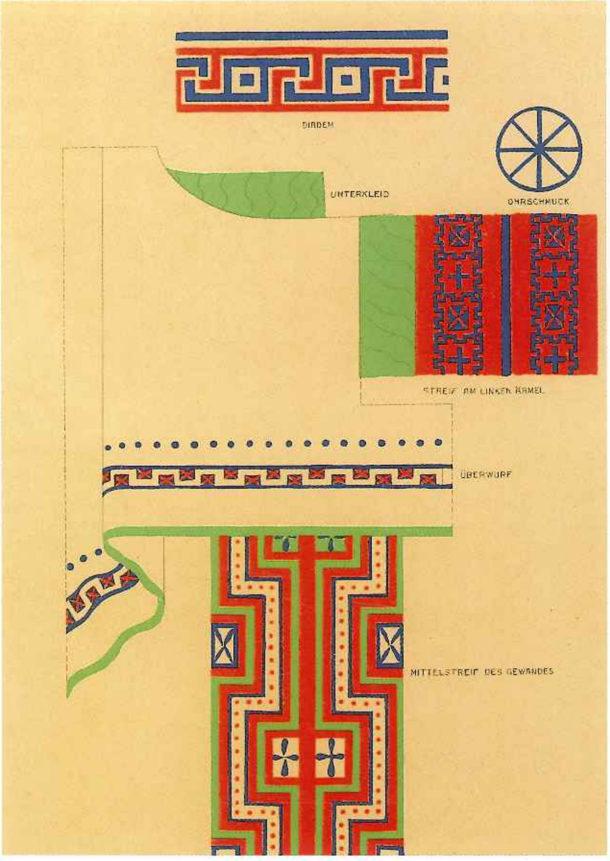
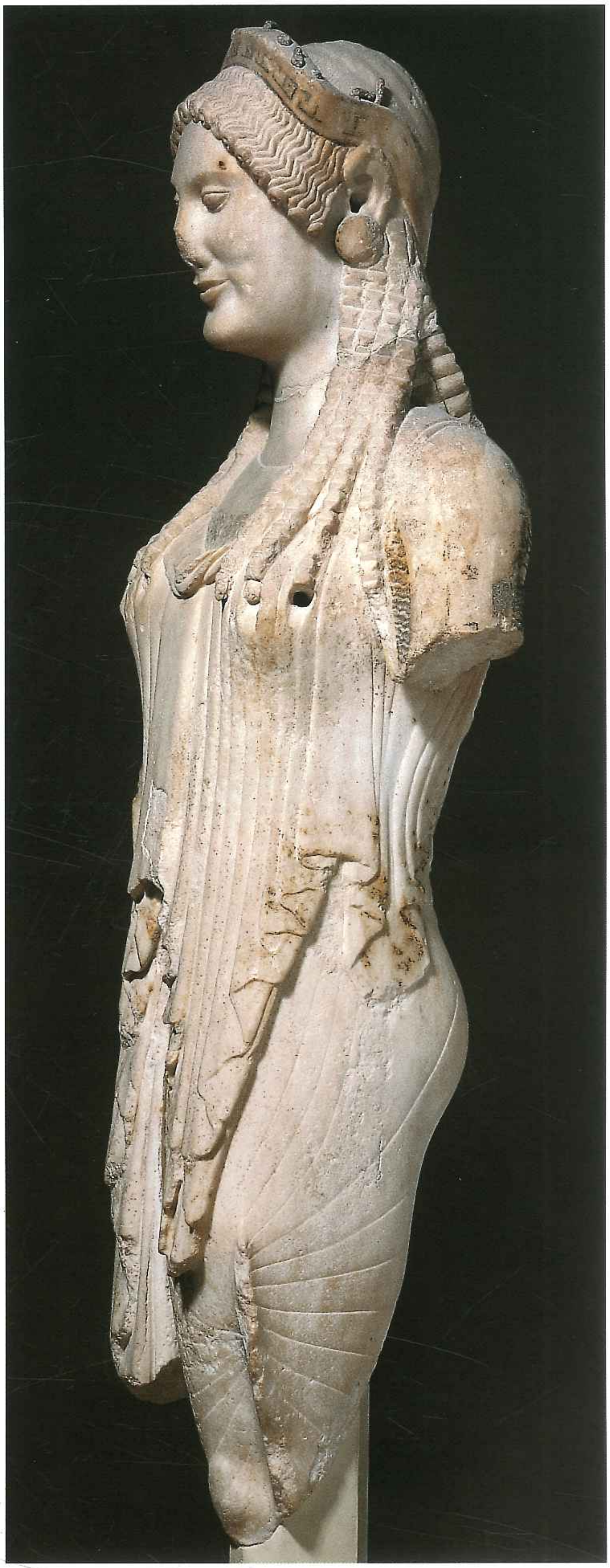


b

Athens, Akropolis Museum 673

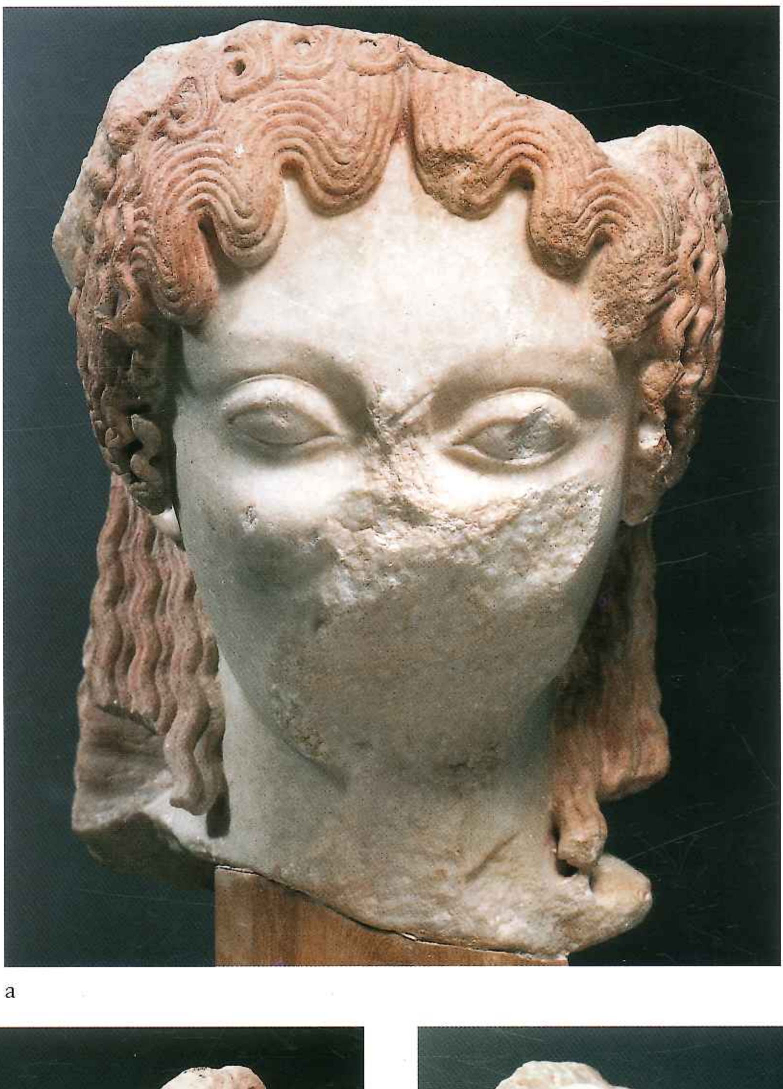

DIADEM
UNTERKLEID
OHRSCHMUCK
STREIF AM LINKEN ÄRMEL
ÜBERWURF
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES

c



d

Athens, Akropolis Museum 673



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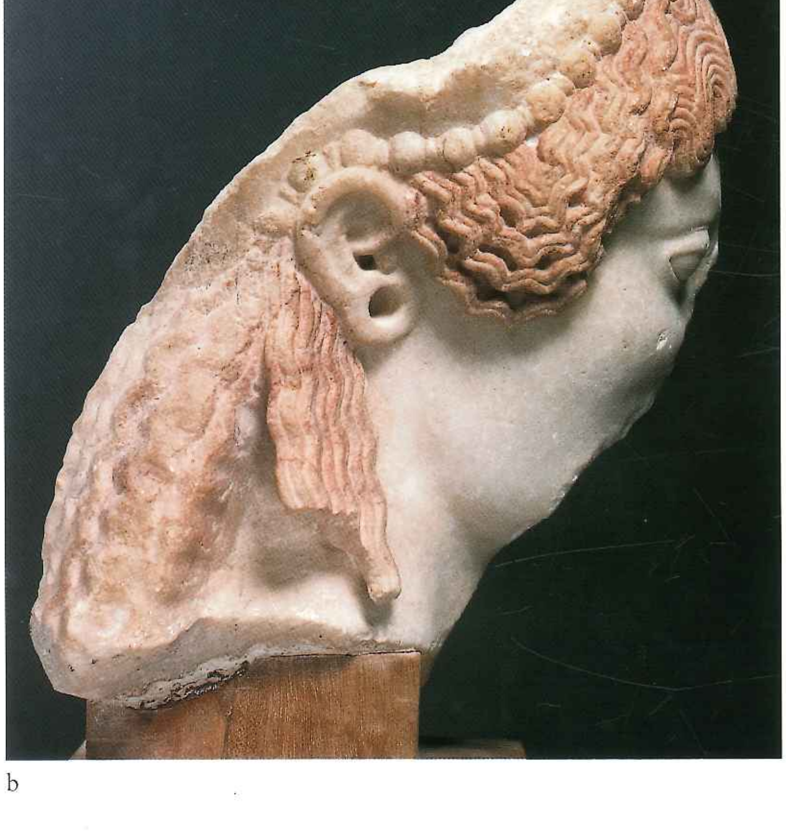

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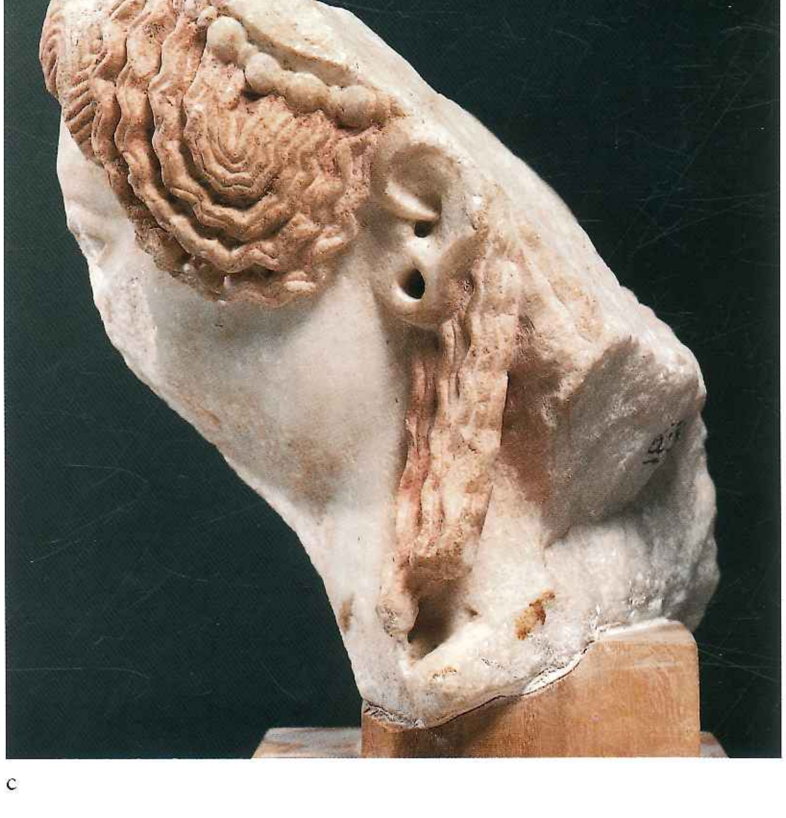

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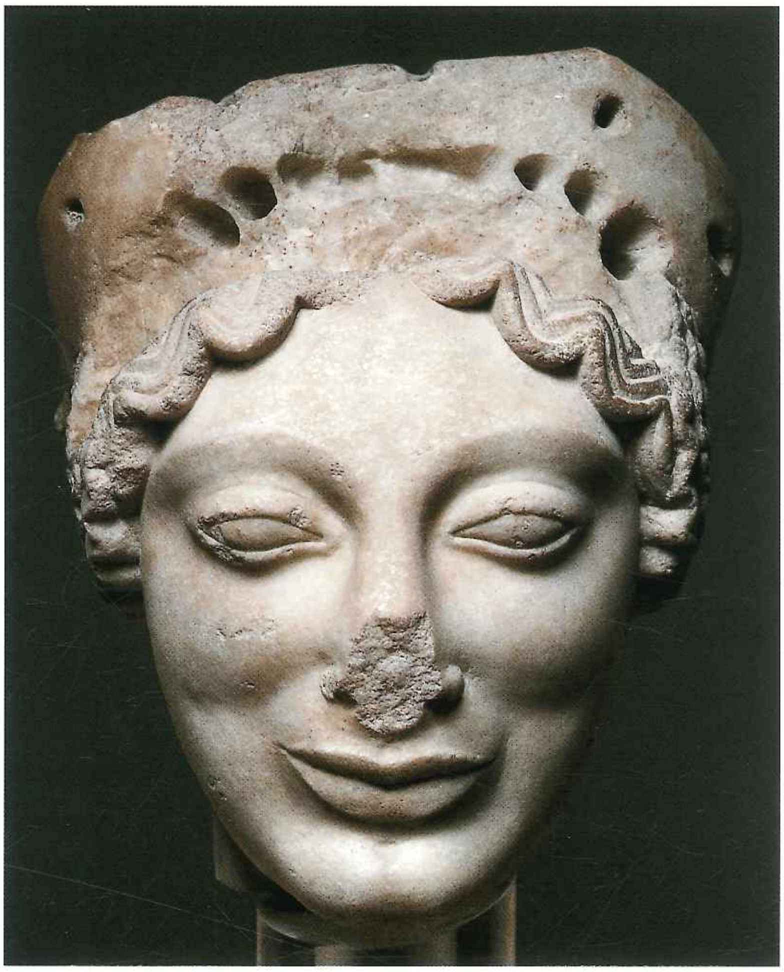
Athens, Akropolis Museum 659



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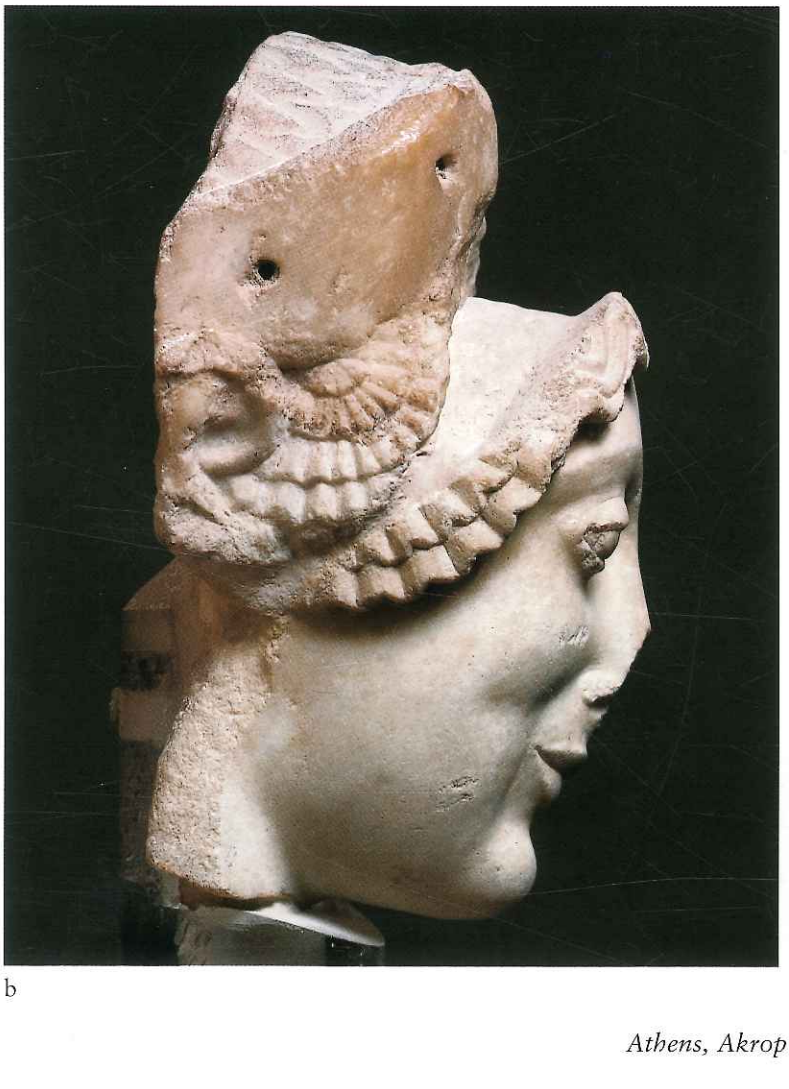

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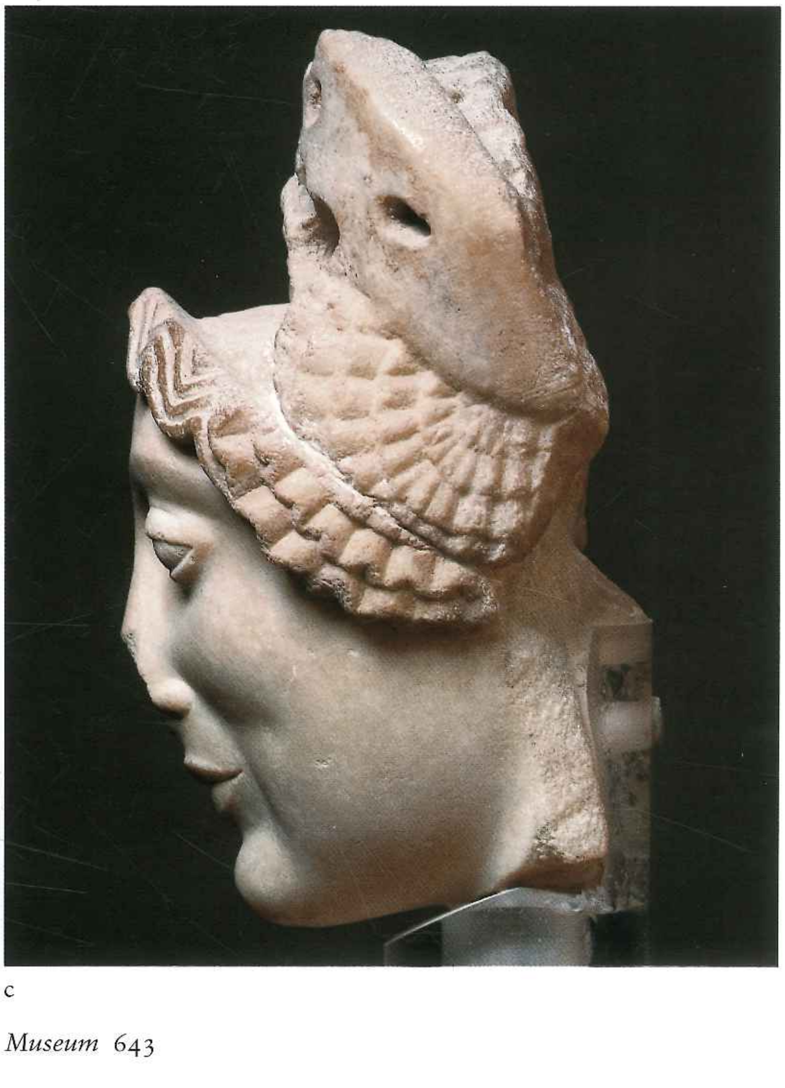
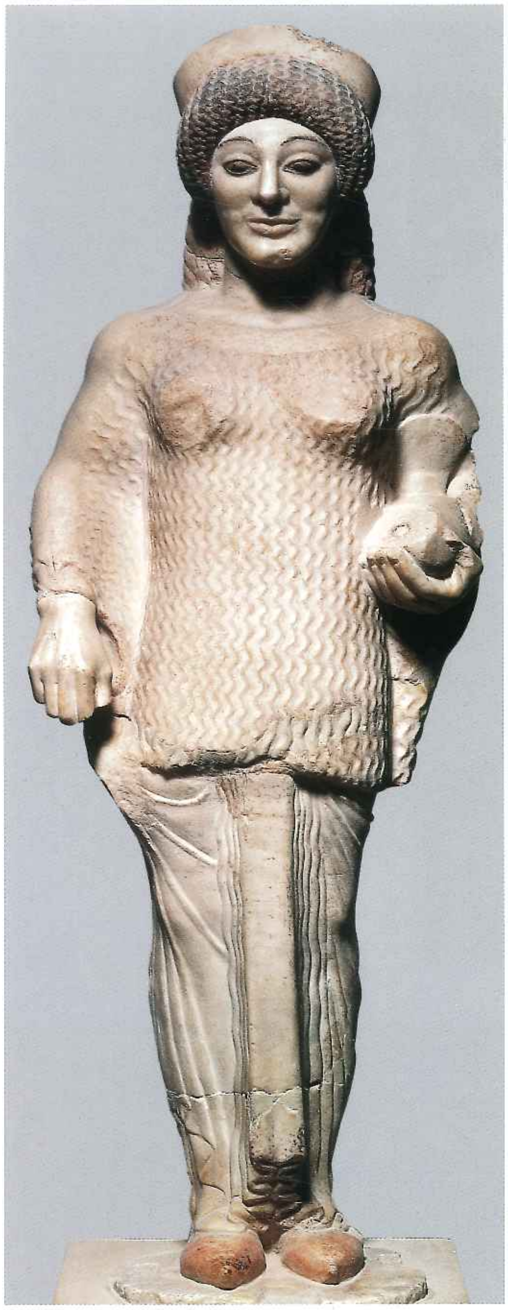
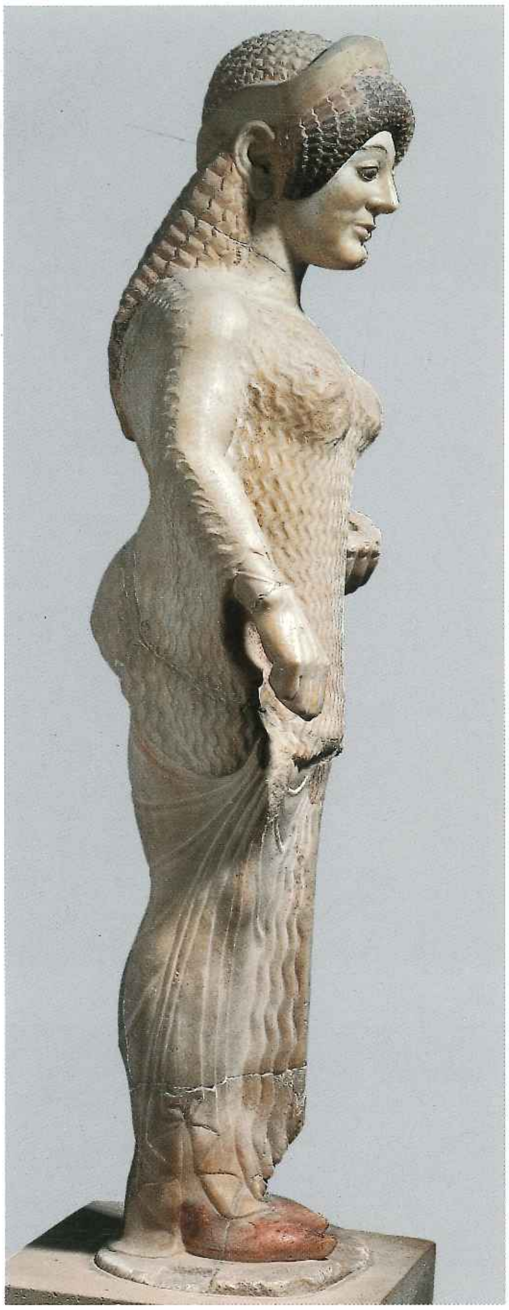


c

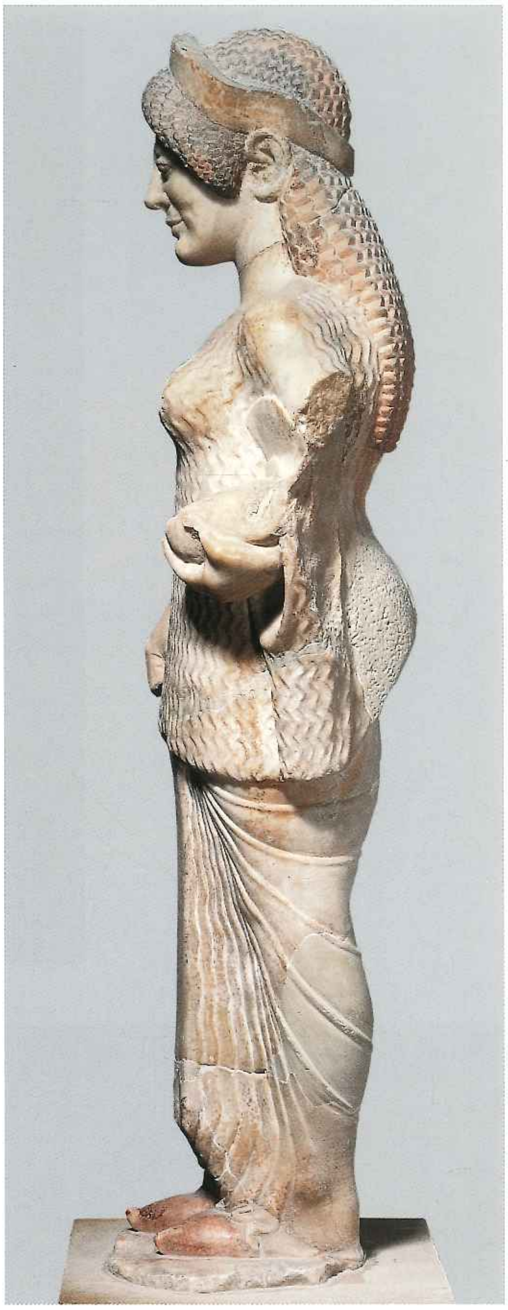
Athens, Akropolis Museum 643



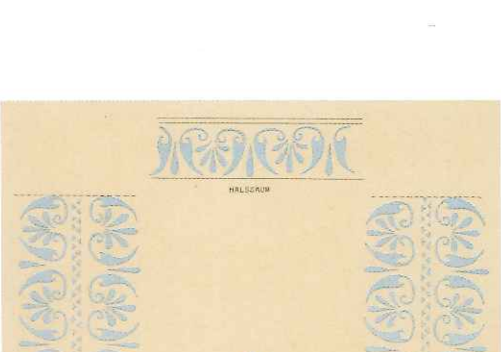
683 a



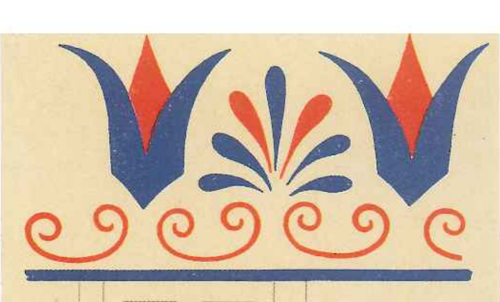
683 b



683 c

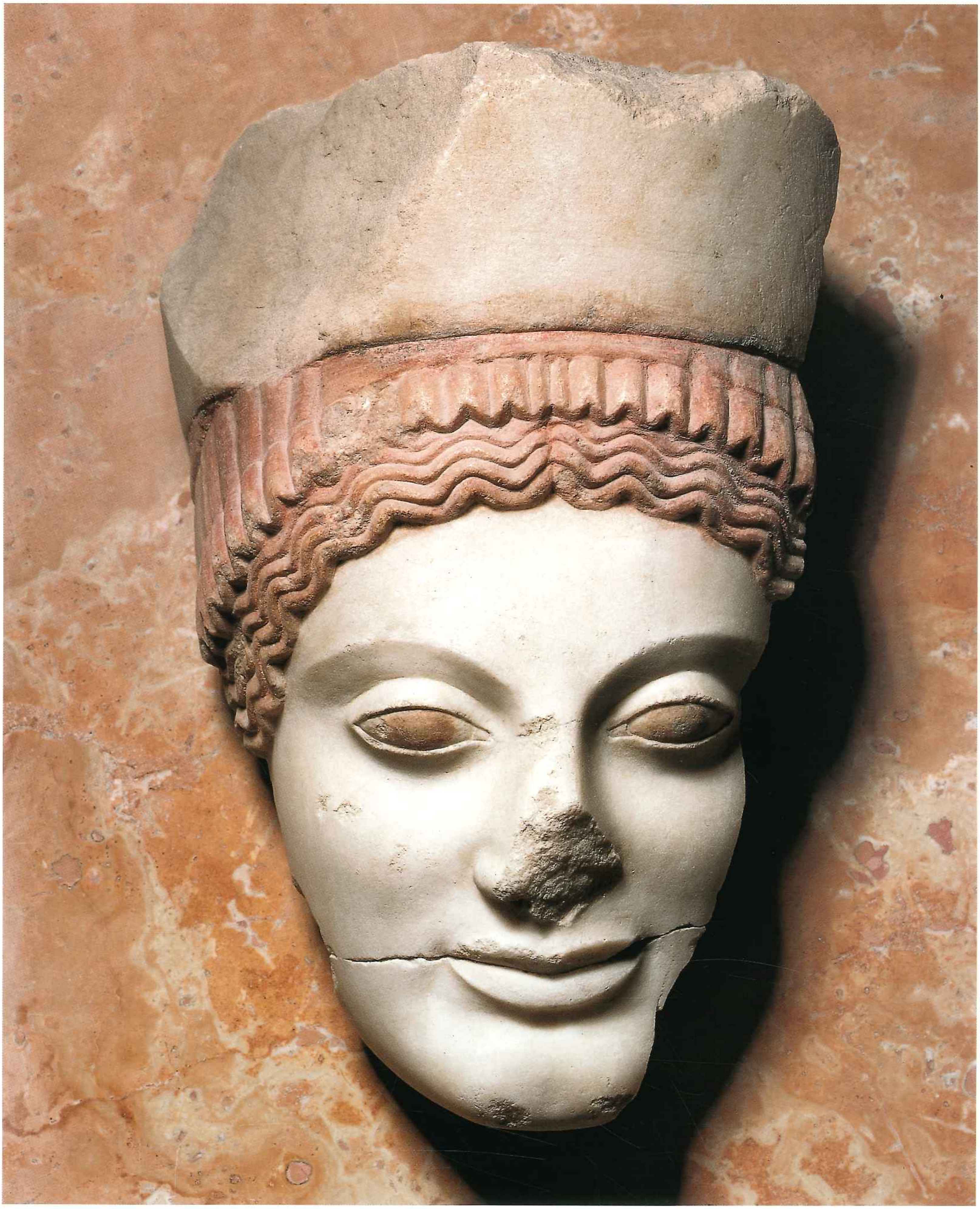

HALSSAUM
STREIF AM RECHTEN ARMEL
STREIF AM LINKEN ARMEL
STREUMUSTER AUF DEM GEWANDE

683 d



696 b

Athens, Akropolis Museum 683 and 696



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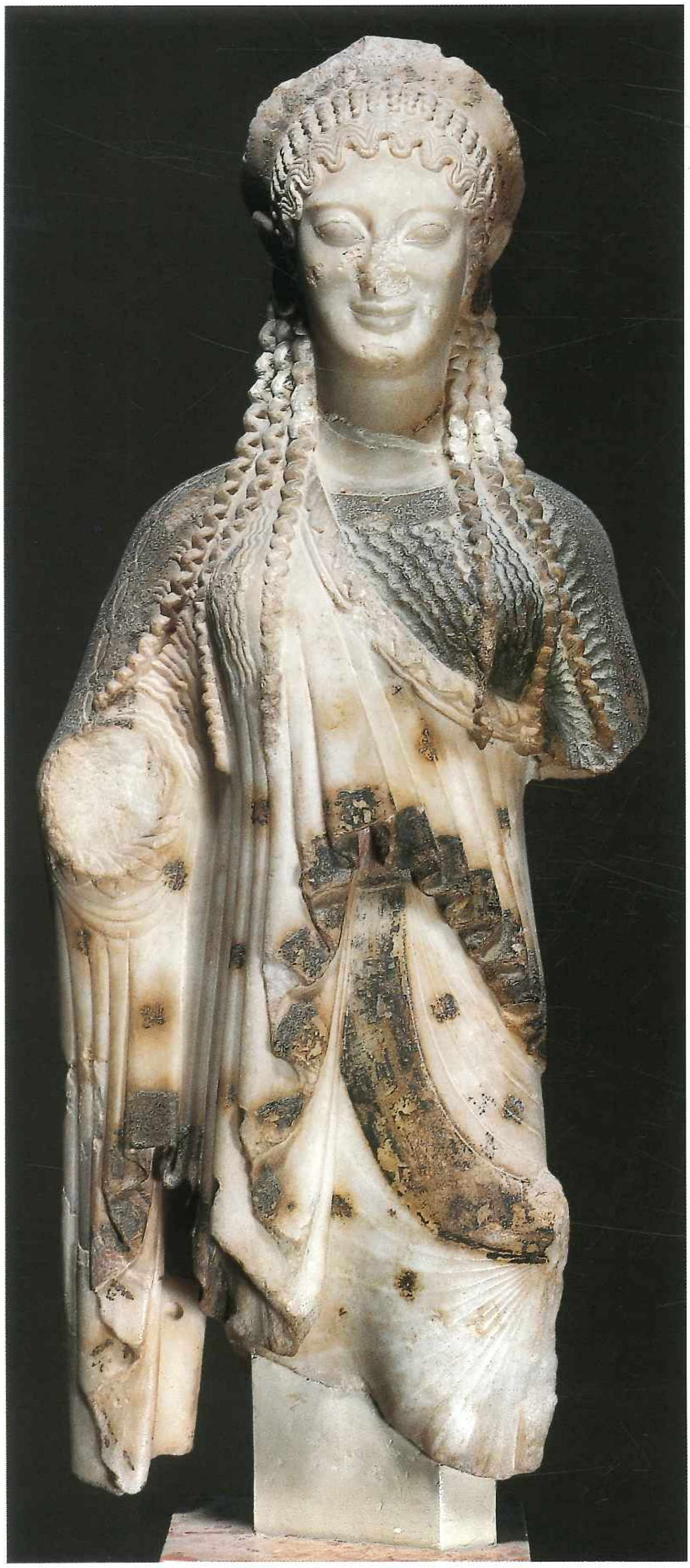
Athens, Akropolis Museum 696



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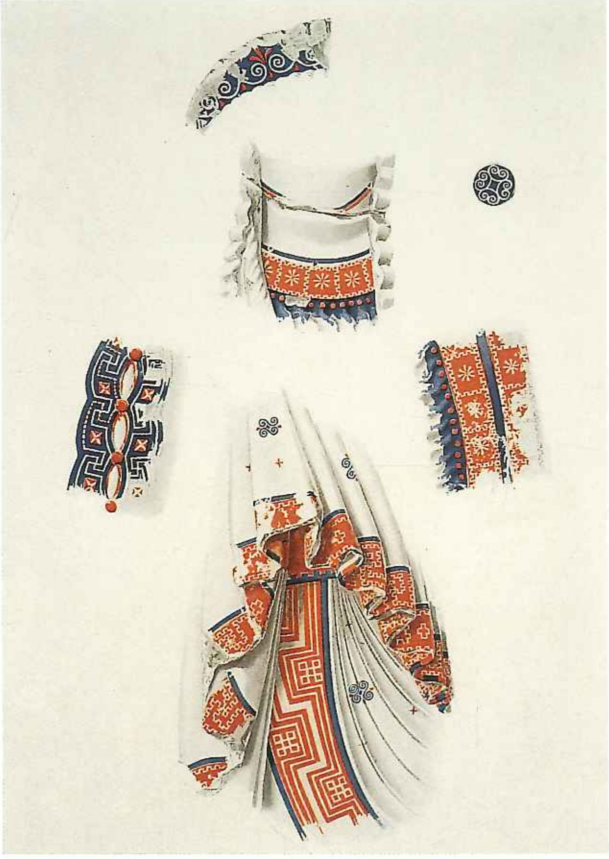

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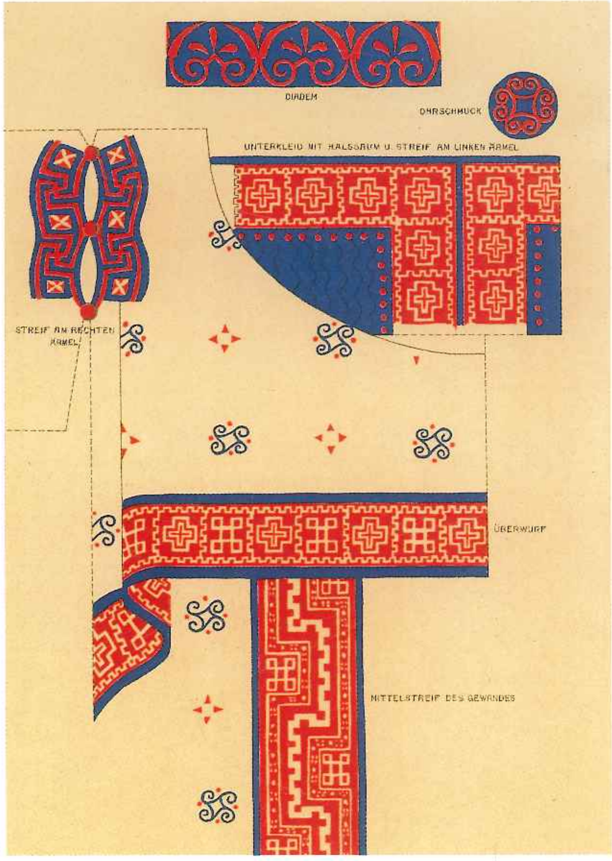
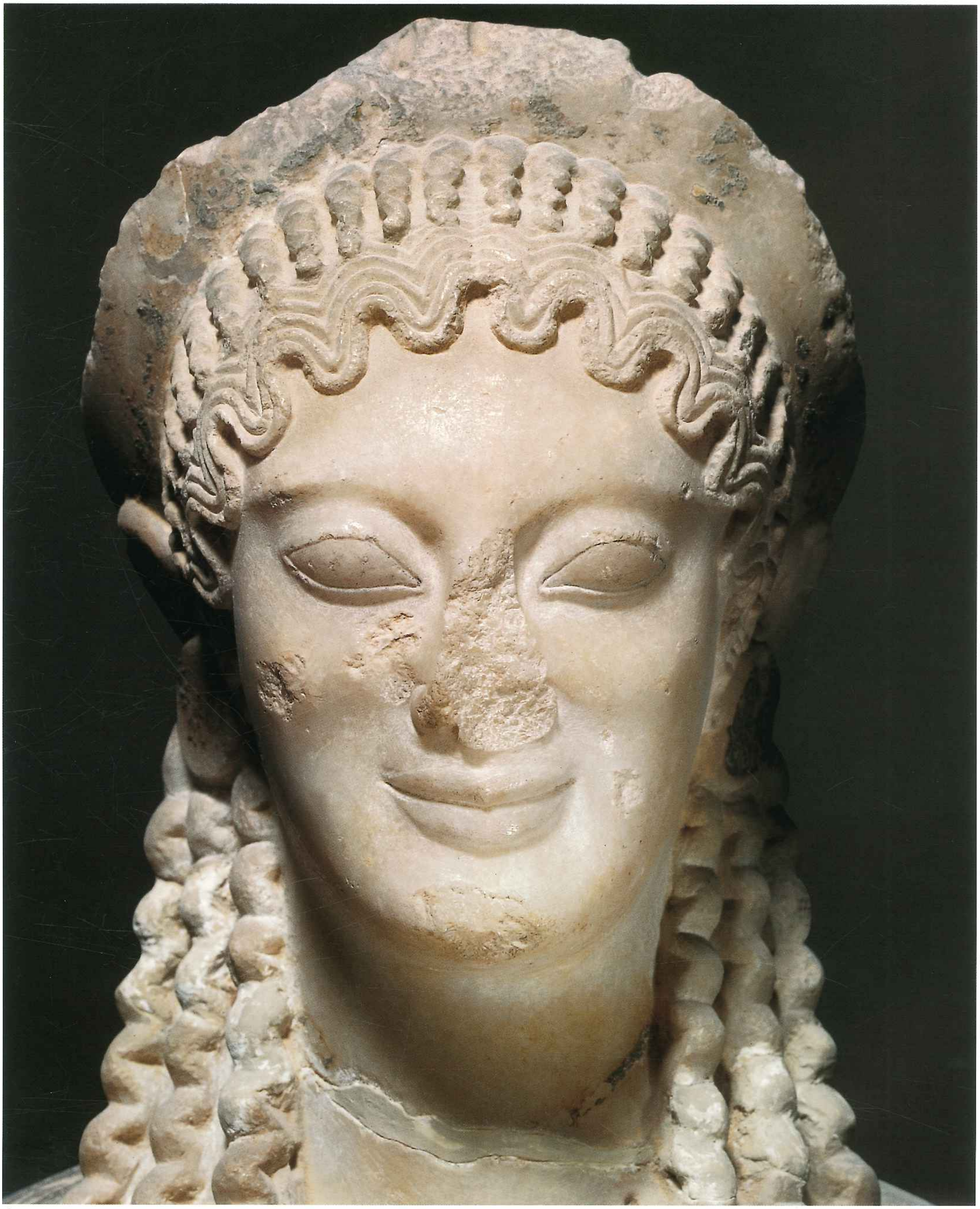
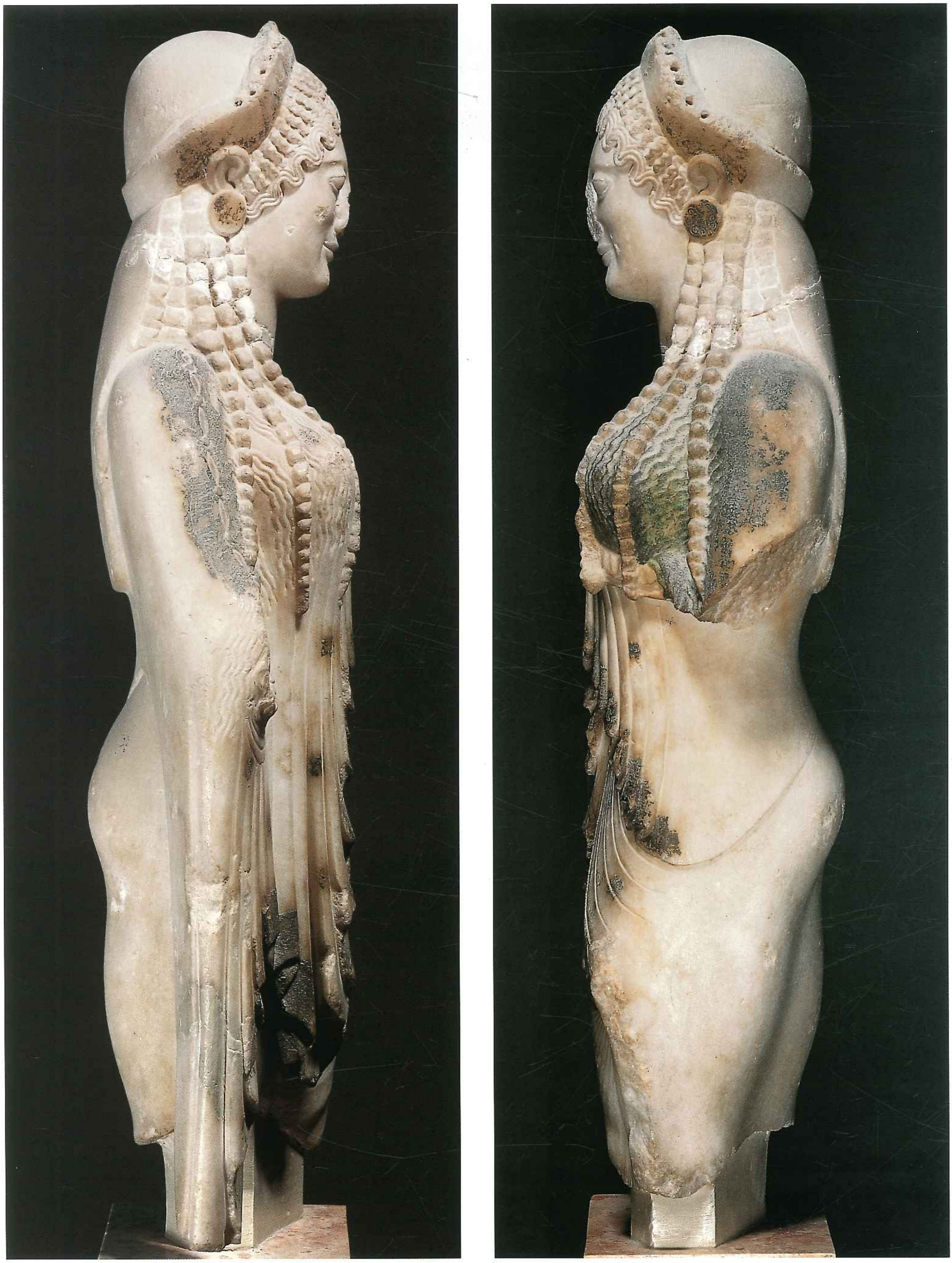

DIADEM
OHRSCHMUCK
UNTERKLEID MIT HALSSAUM U. STREIF AM LINKEN ÄRMEL
STREIF AM RECHTEN ÄRMEL
ÜBERWURF
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES

c



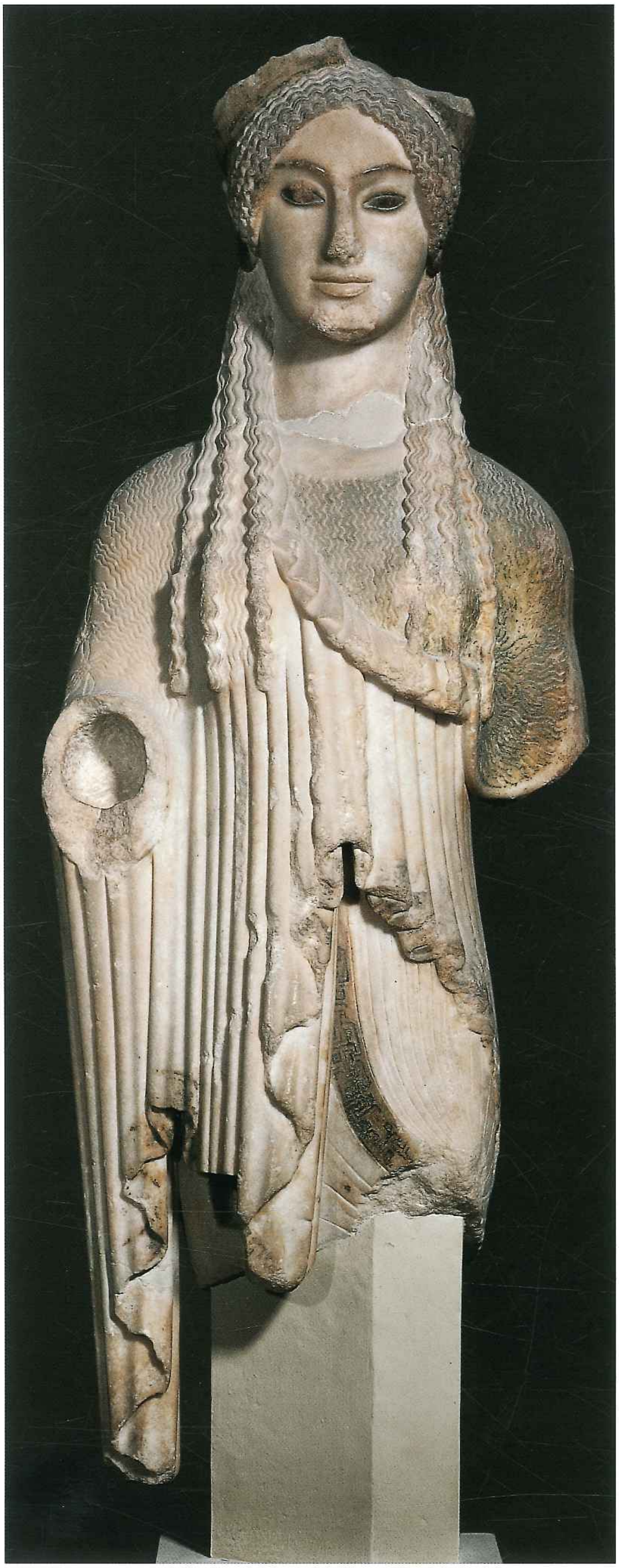
d

Athens, Akropolis Museum 675



e f

Athens, Akropolis Museum 675



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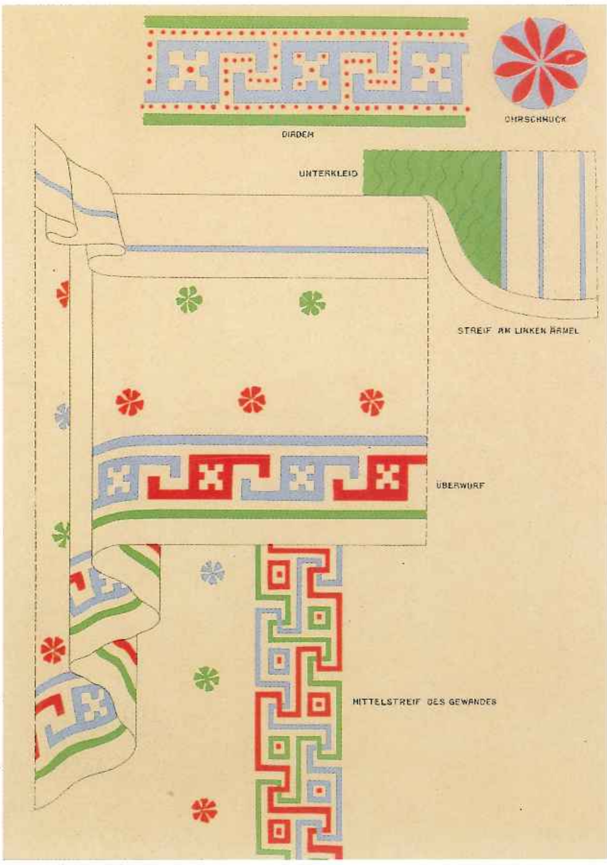
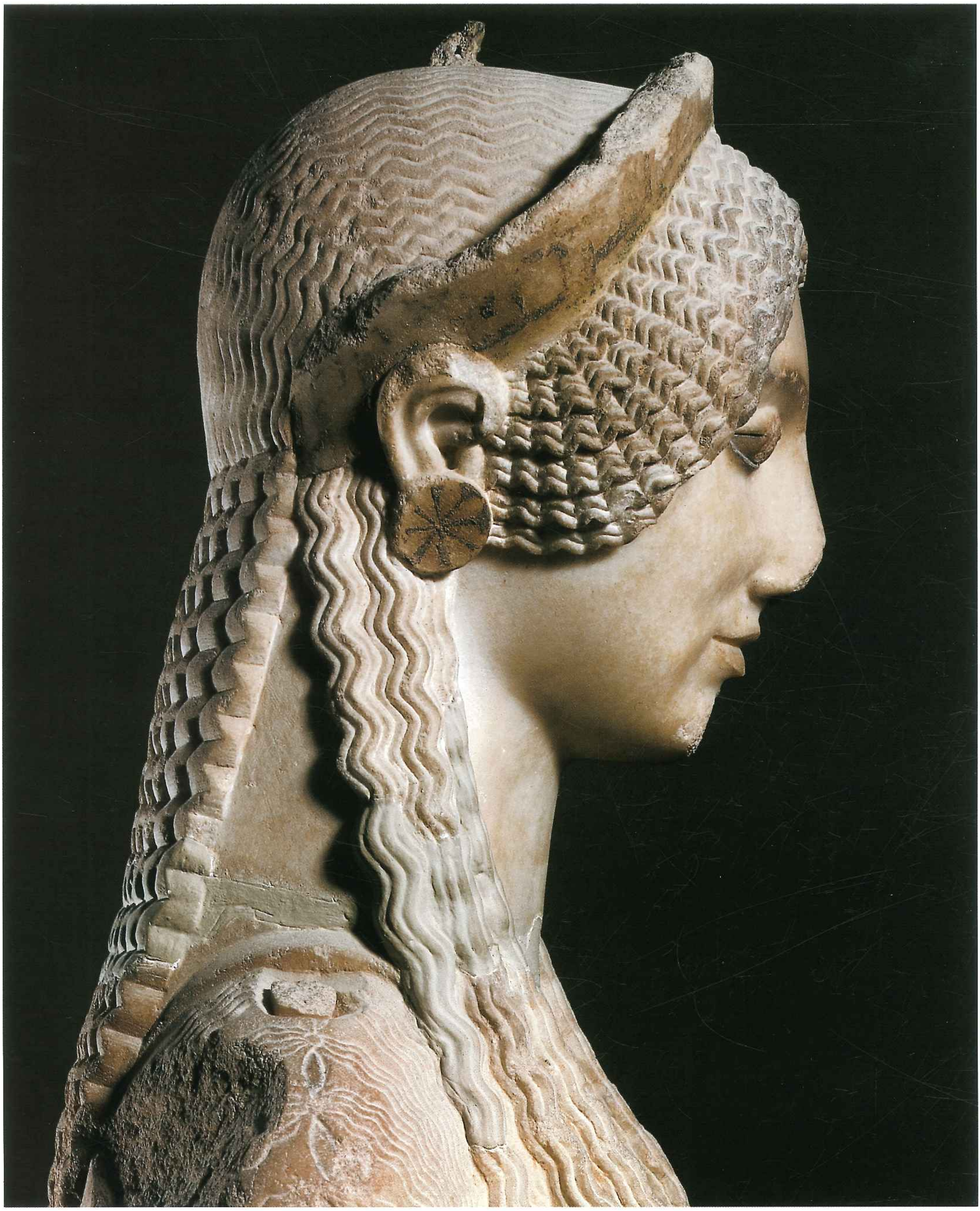

DIADEM
OHRSCHMUCK
UNTERKLEID
STREIF AM LINKEN ÄRMEL
ÜBERWURF
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES

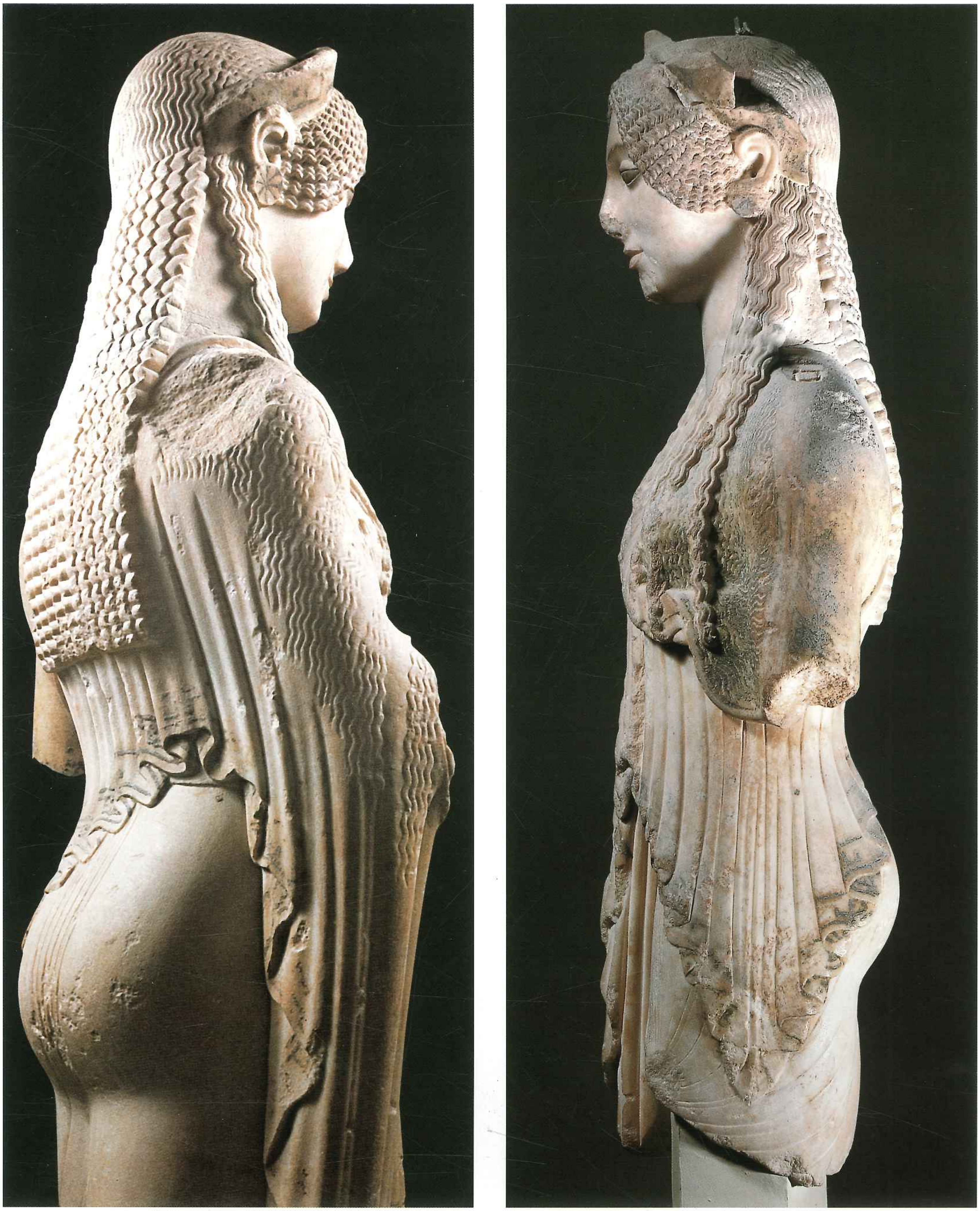
b

Athens, Akropolis Museum 674



c

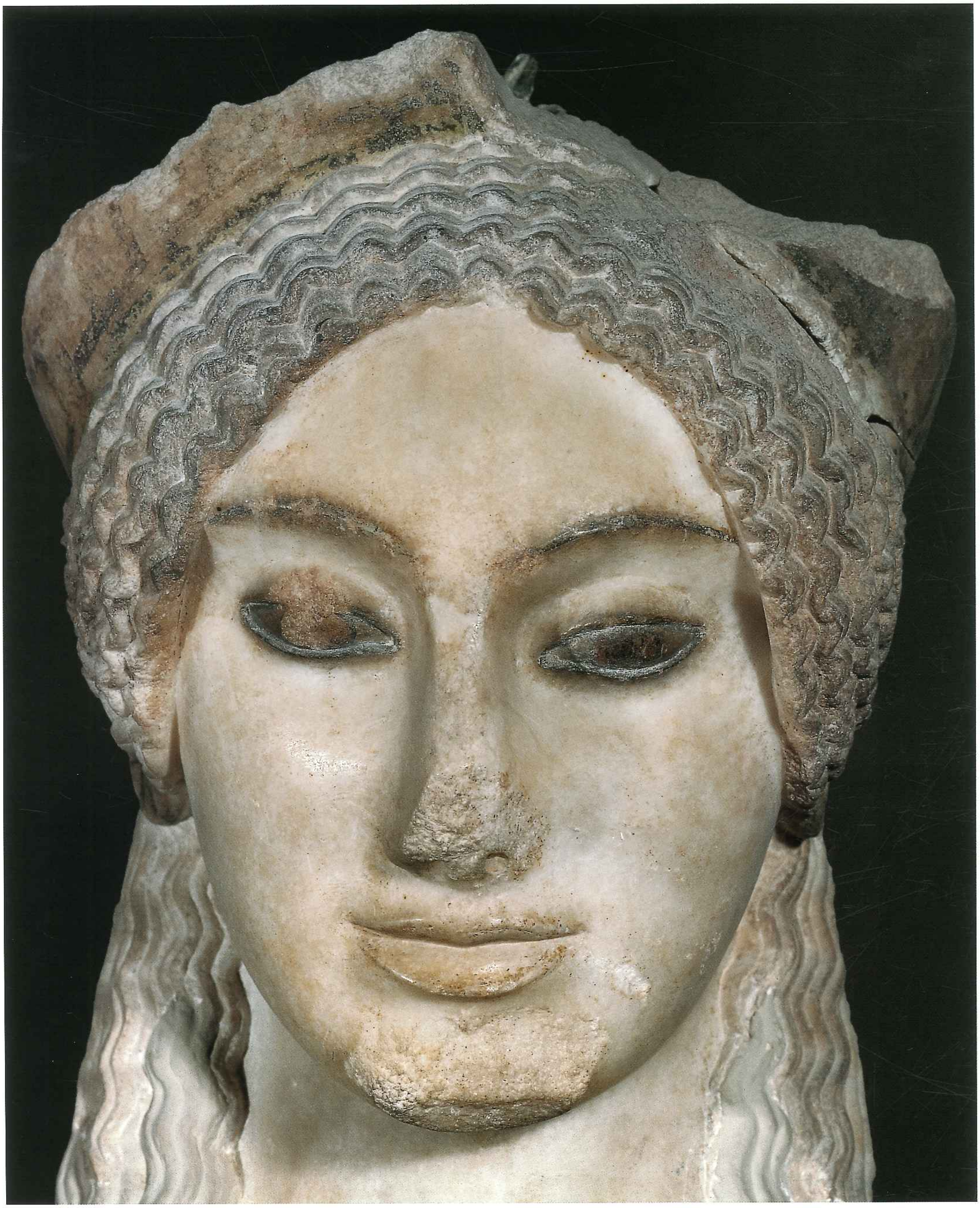
Athens, Akropolis Museum 674



d

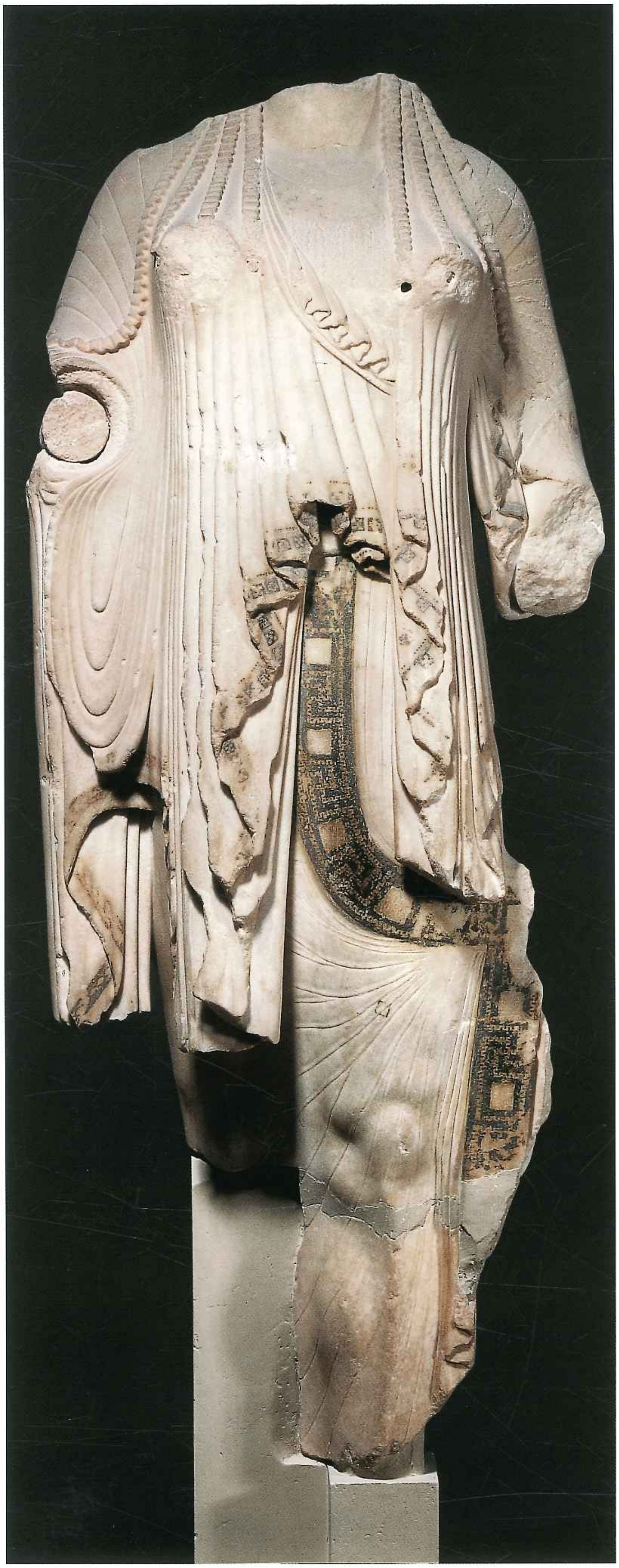
e

Athens, Akropolis Museum 674



f

Athens, Akropolis Museum 674



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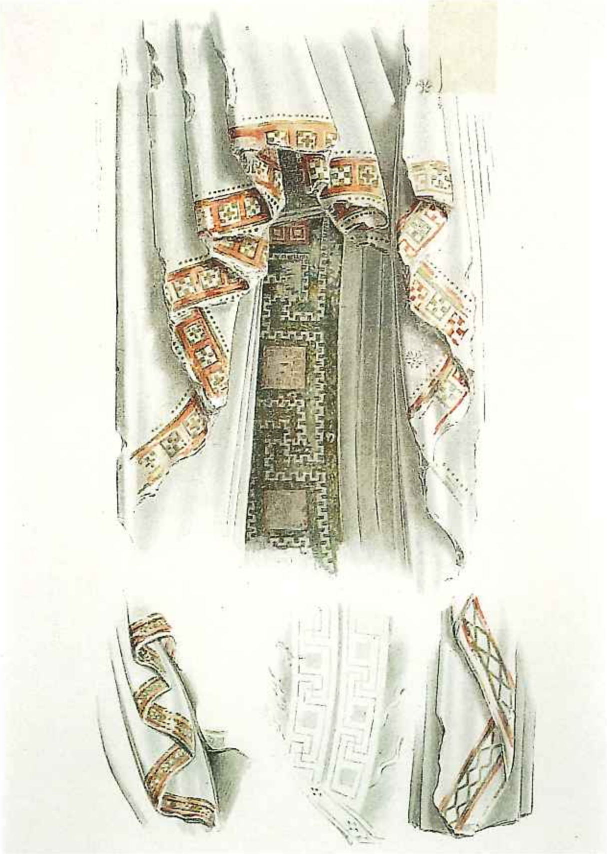

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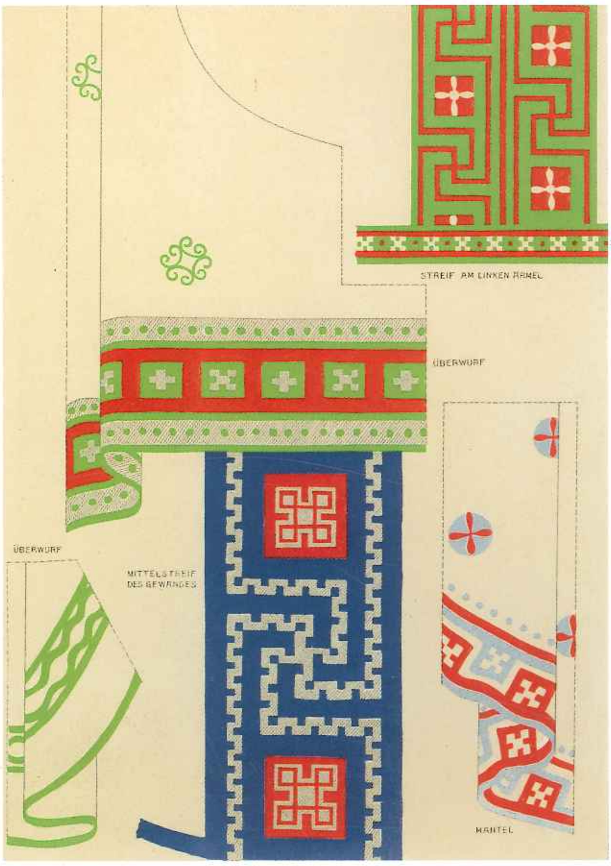
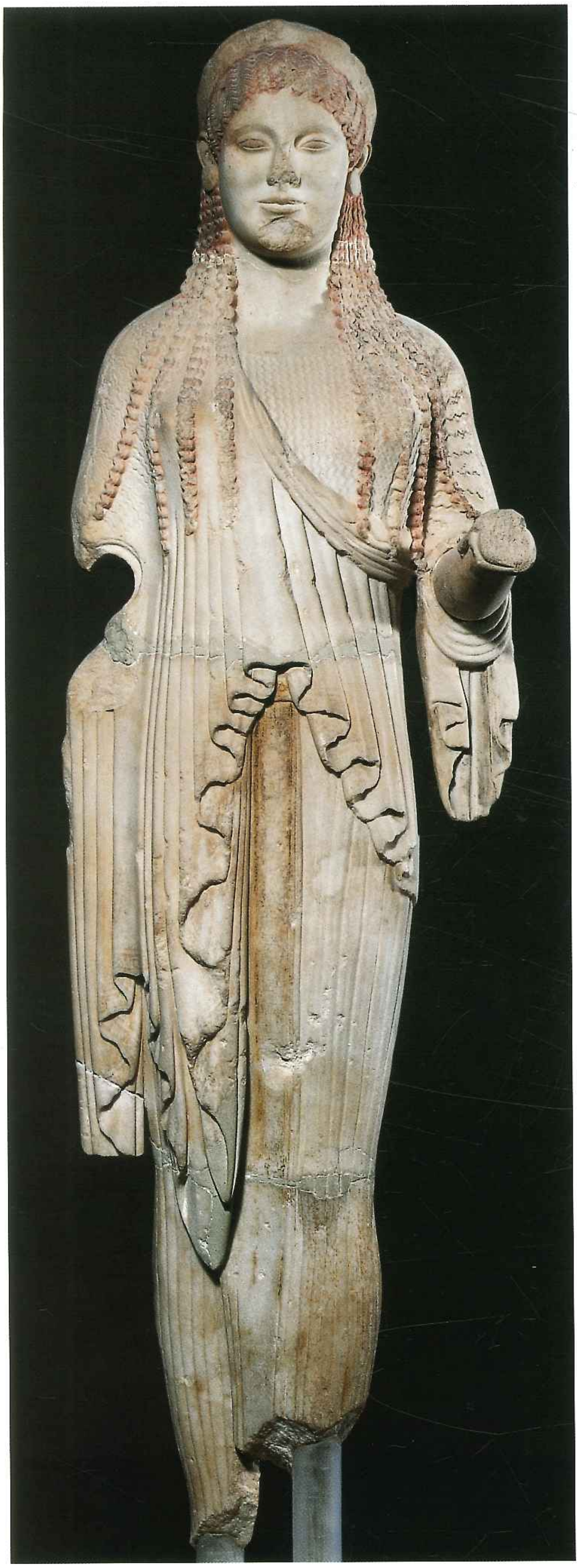

STREIF AM LINKEN ÄRMEL
ÜBERWURF
ÜBERWURF
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES
MANTEL

c

Athens, Akropolis Museum 594



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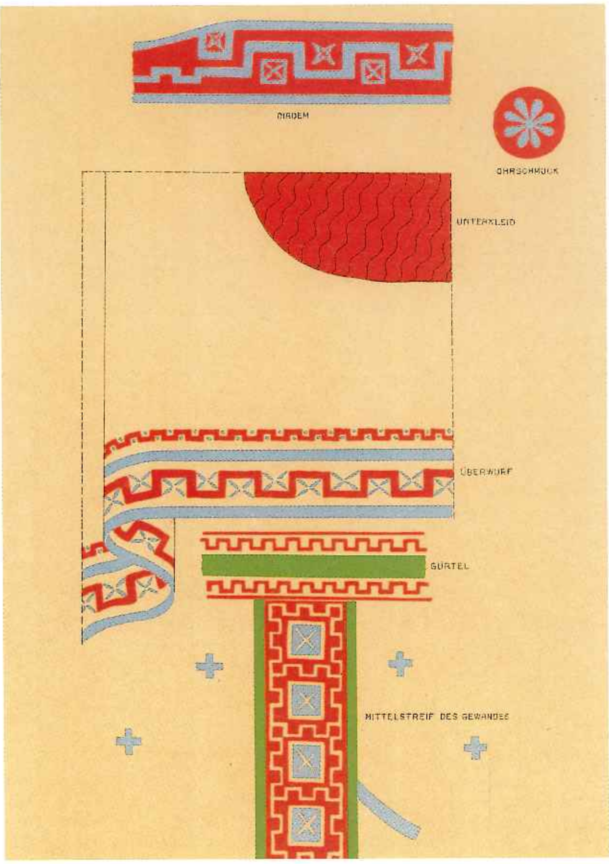
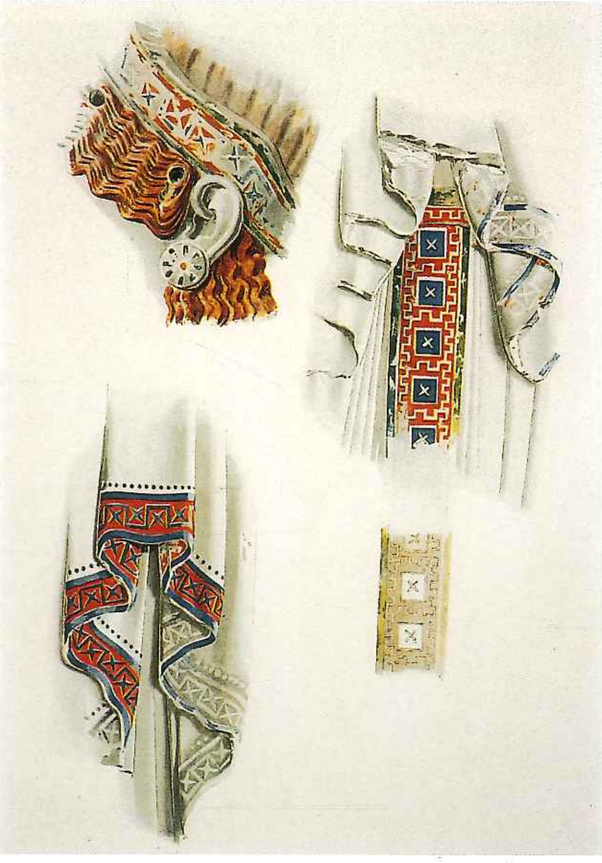
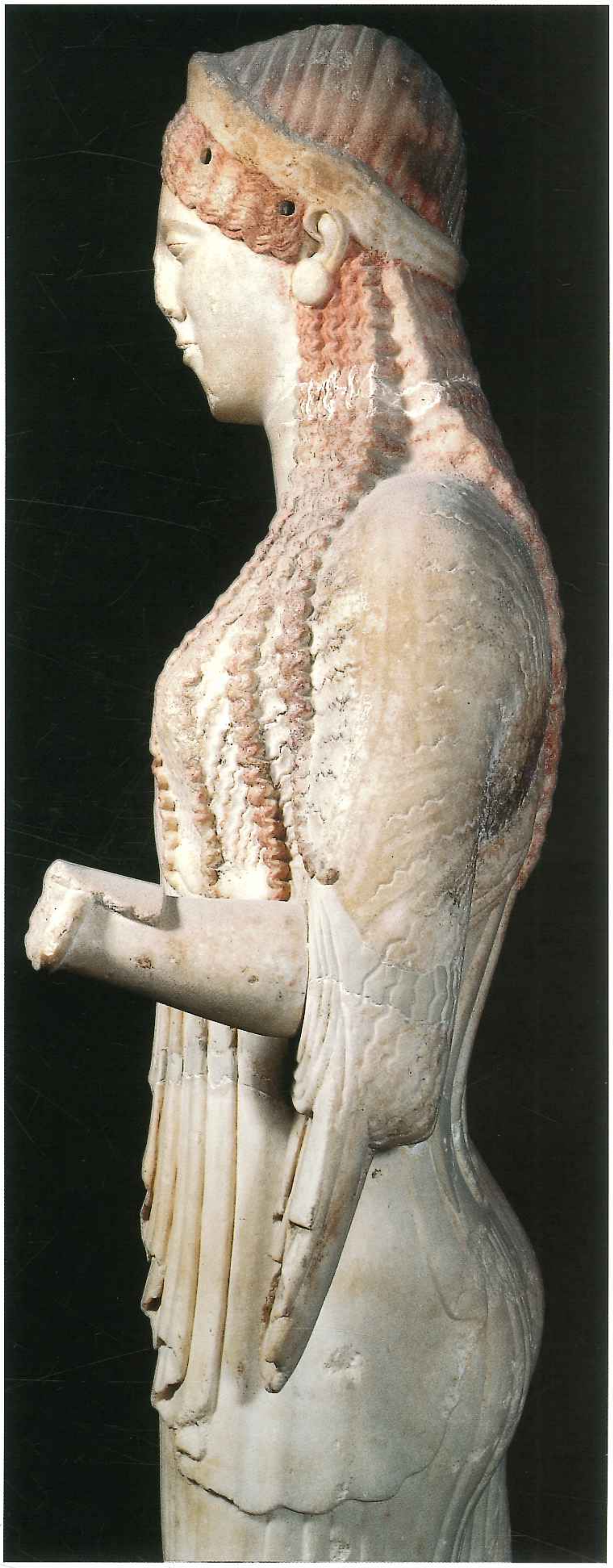

DIADEM
OHRSCHMUCK
UNTERKLEID
ÜBERWURF
GÜRTEL
MITTELSTREIF DES GEWANDES

b

Athens, Akropolis Museum 685



c



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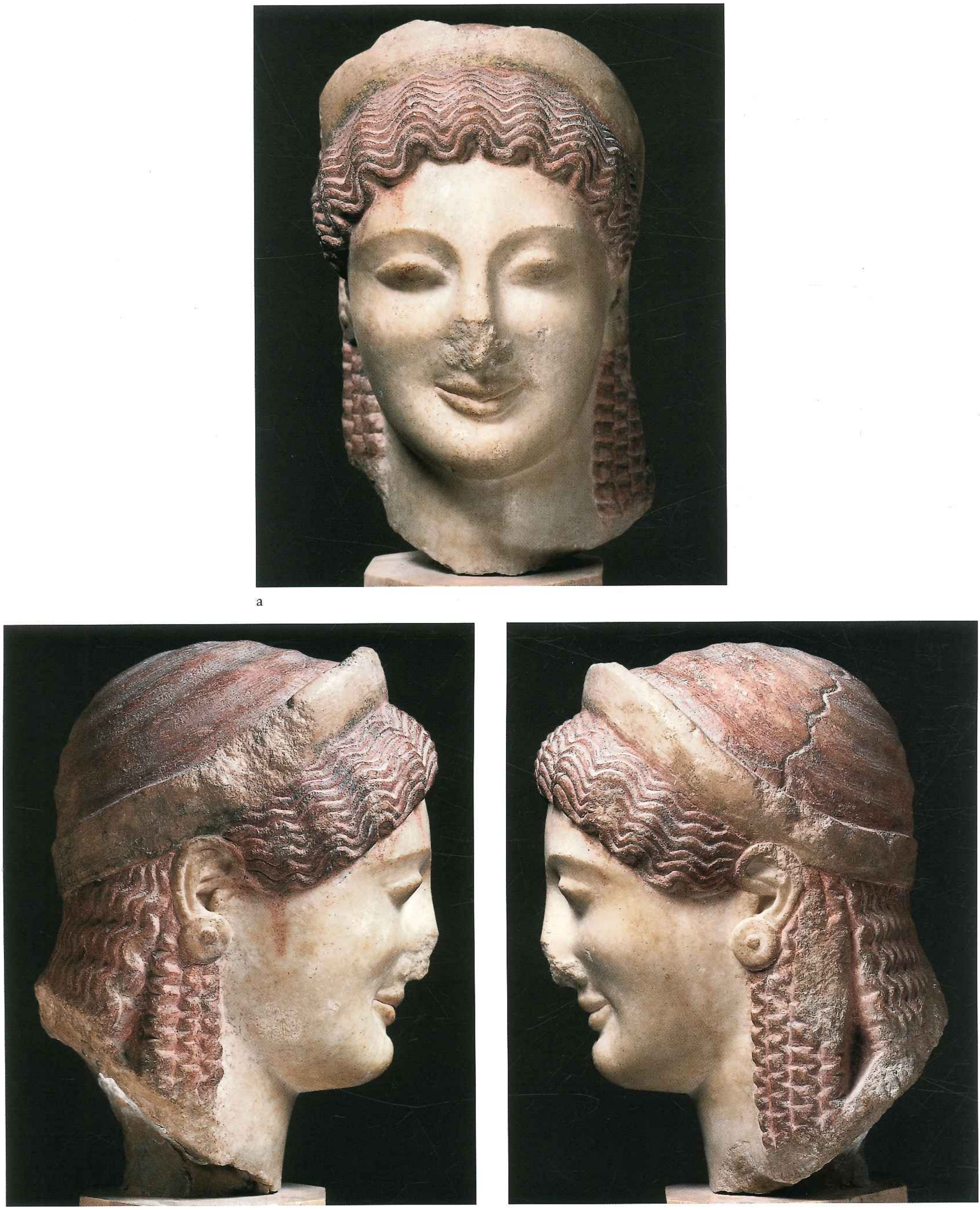
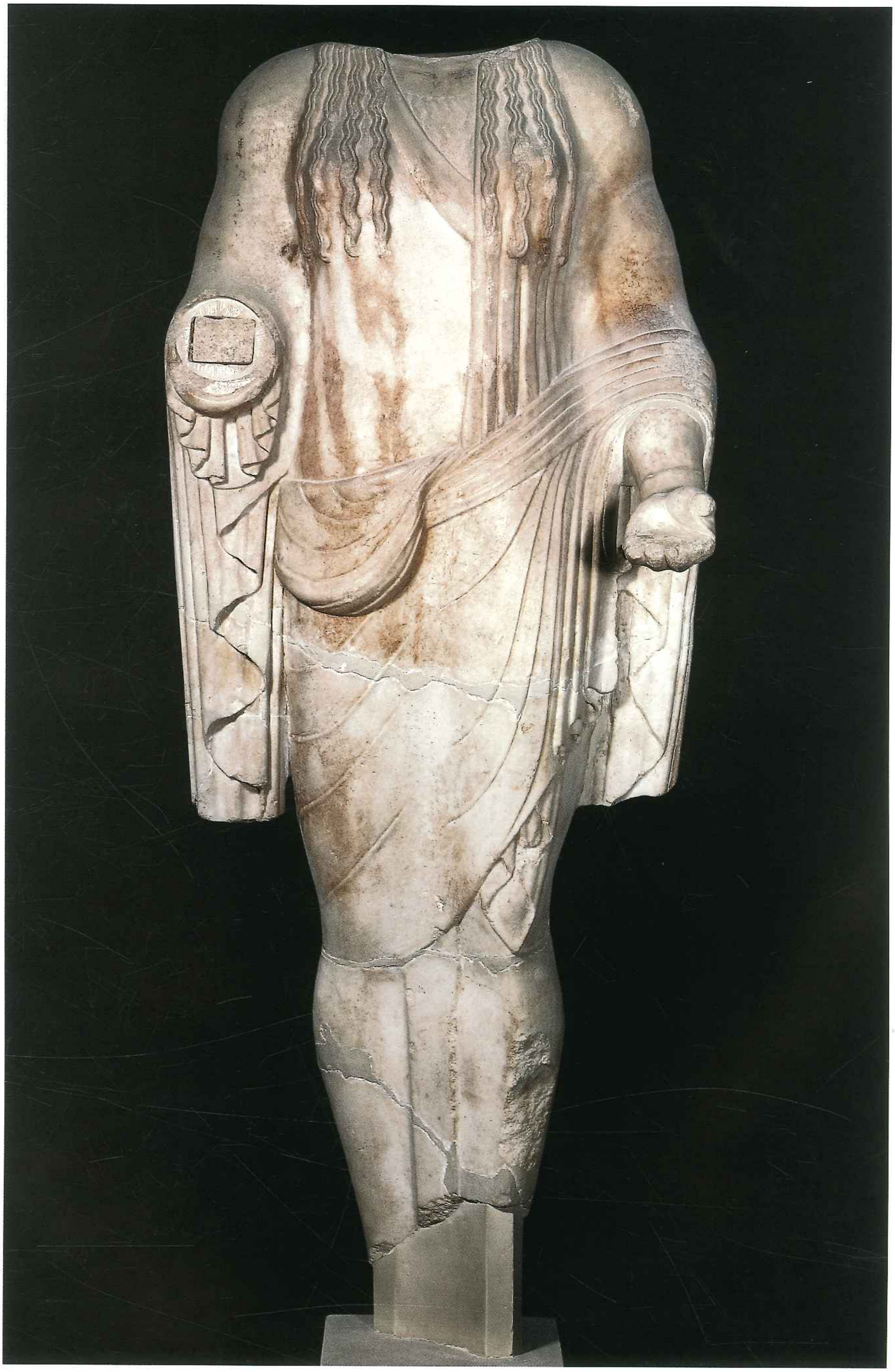
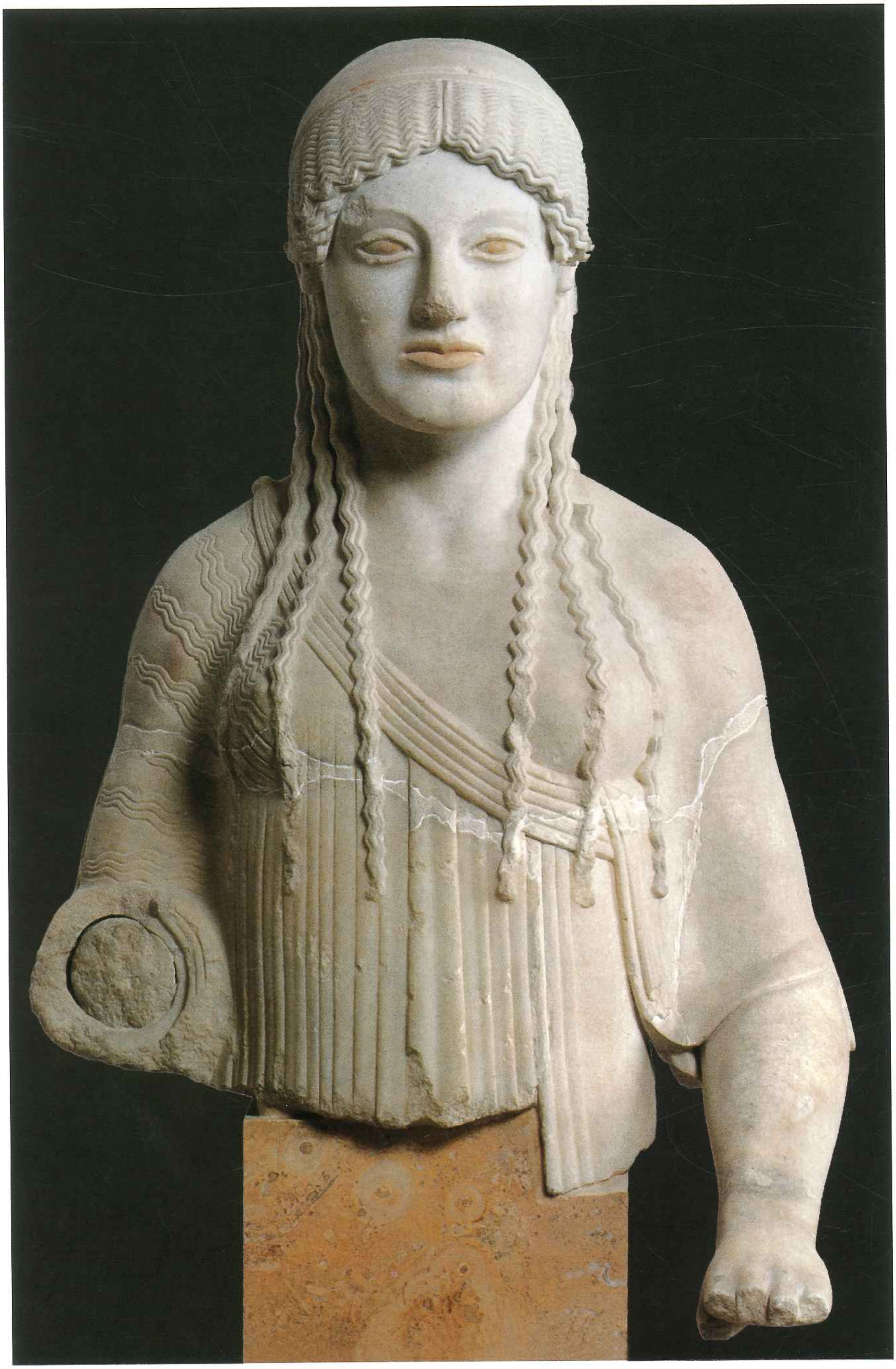
Athens, Akropolis Museum 685



Athens, Akropolis Museum 616



Athens, Akropolis Museum 615



Athens, Akropolis Museum 686